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LANCASTER AND YORK

SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY

London
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HENRY VI (*in his latter days*).

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LANCASTER AND YORK

A CENTURY OF ENGLISH HISTORY

(A.D. 1399—1485)

BY

SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY OF BAMFF, BART., M.A.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW; LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

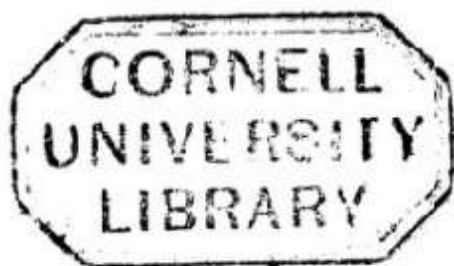
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- BLONDEL, R. *De Reductione Normanniae.* J. Stevenson. (Rolls Series, No. 32.) Born *circa* 1390, a native of the Cotentin in Normandy. He migrated to Brittany at the Conquest of Normandy by Henry V. Lived at one time at the Court of Queen Yolande, and afterwards at the French Court. Began to write patriotic verse in 1420; still living in 1460.
- B. M. Add. Charters; B. M. Add. MSS. British Museum, Additional Charters; Additional Manuscripts.
- "BOETHIUS", H. HECTOR BOYS (Boyis, Boyce, Boes), of Panbride in Forfarshire; born at Dundee 1465?; first Principal of Aberdeen; died 1536. His History of Scotland down to the accession of James III was published in 1527; a second edition appeared in 1574, with a continuation by Ferrerius. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

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- COLLINS, ARTHUR. *The Peerage of England*, ed. 1779.
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- ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy. (London, 1747.) De Comines, a Fleming, was born 1445, and became Lord of Argenton by marriage. He joined Charles the Bold at Lille in 1464, was with him at Montlhéry, went over to Louis XI in 1472, and remained in his service till Louis' death. He himself died in 1509. Both the above editions are enriched with illustrative documents, &c. The two are respectively cited as Comines-Dupont, and Comines-Lenglet.
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- Foedera, Conventiones et Litterae*. T. Rymer. (London, 1709.)
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- Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*. 2 vols. James Gairdner. (Rolls Series, No. 24.)
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- Lords' Report.* Reports of the Lords' Committee on Matters appertaining to the Dignity of a Peer. (5 vols., 1829.)
- "MAJOR, J." *Historia Majoris Britanniae.* (Edinburgh, 1740.) John Mair; b. circa 1468; D.D. Paris 1506. Taught at St. Andrews; Tutor to George Buchanan.
- MARCHE, OLIVIER DE LA. *Mémoires.* Beaune et d'Arbaumont. (Société de l'Histoire de France.) La Marche was *Maître d'Hôtel* to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.
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- MORE, SIR THOMAS. *Life of Richard III.* Lumby. (Pitt Press.) *Opera Omnia.* (London, 1689.) Born 1482-3? Patronised by Cardinal Morton, who sent him to Oxford. Under-Sheriff of London 1513; Chancellor 1529; executed 1535. According to W. Rastell, More wrote his *Life of Richard III* about the year 1513, both in English and Latin, the English being the original. An inscription produced by Mr. Gairdner (*Letters Richard III*, ii. xxi) would make out that More was born in 1476.
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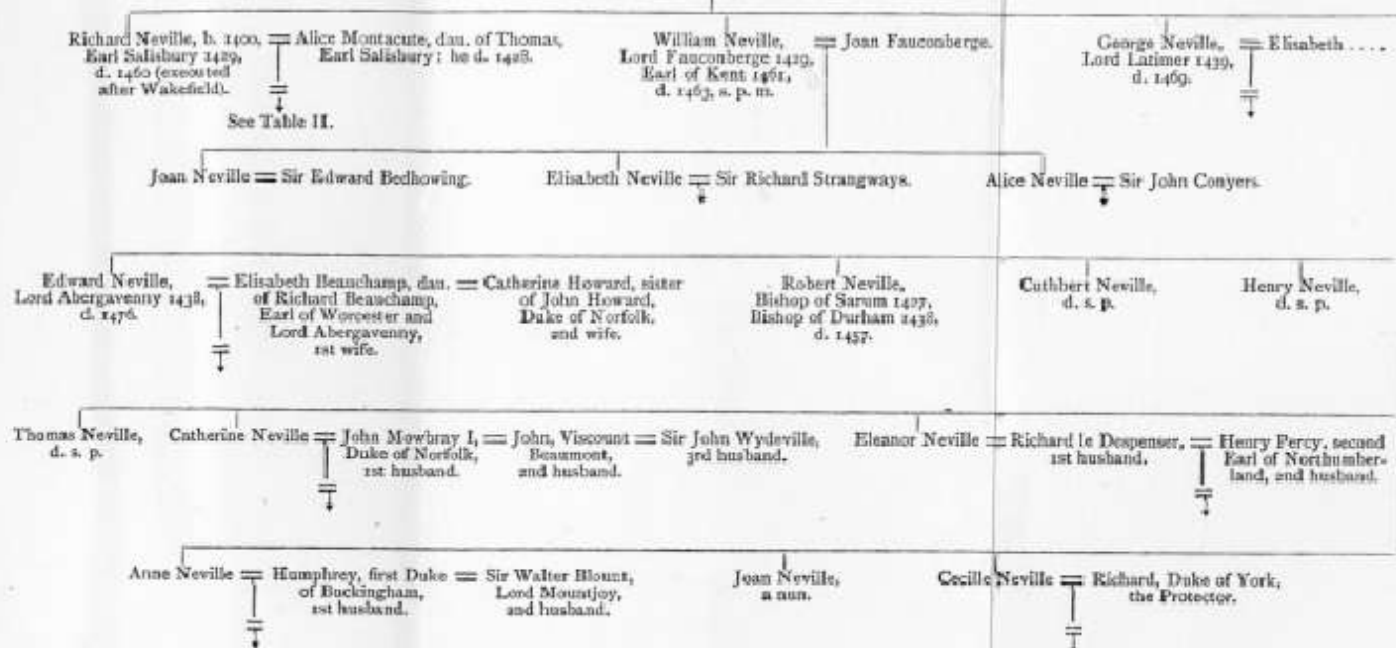
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TABLE I.
FAMILY OF RALPH NEVILLE,
First Earl of Westmorland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort.

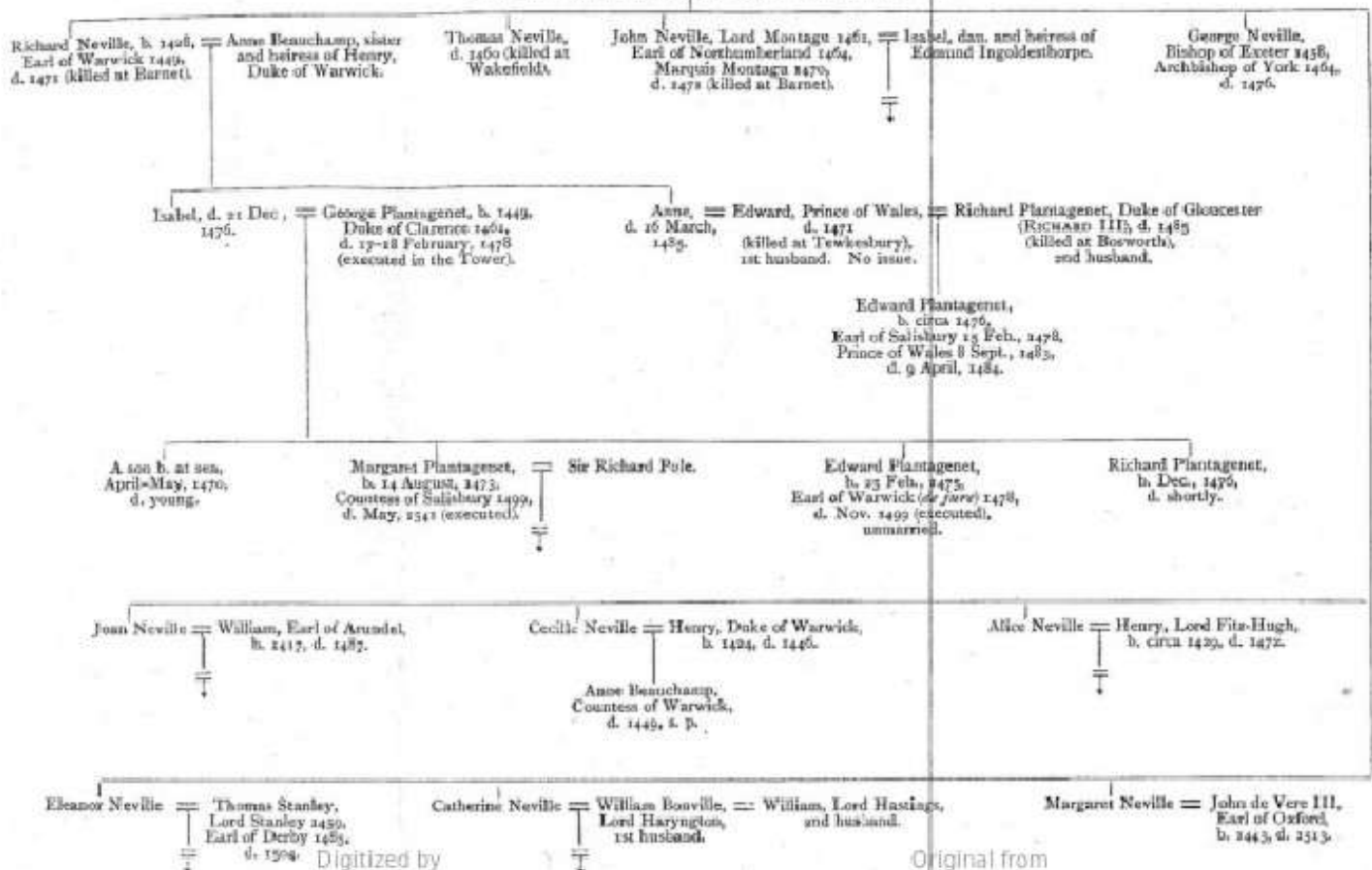


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TABLE II.
FAMILY OF RICHARD NEVILLE,
Earl of Salisbury, by Alice ("Aleys") Montacute.



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Page 32, note 2. For "Eale" read "Bale."

QUOTATIONS.—NOTICE TO READER.

WHERE double inverted commas (“ ”) are used the *ipsissima verba* of the author cited are given. If the words are translated, transliterated, or in any way modified, single commas (‘ ’) are used, e. g. “Richard nadgairs Roy”; ‘Richard late King’; “Lordes Temporels”; ‘Lords Temporal’.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

The war in France.—The Council of Bâle.—Conferences at Oye.

HENRY VI, as already mentioned, was now his own master—

CHAP. I.
November
1437.

“Lord of himself, that heritage of woe”.

But for a youth of his disposition, ‘emancipation’ made little practical difference. The Earl of Warwick as the King’s governor had done his best by his pupil. He had made him “a good scholar and an accomplished gentleman”¹. He could not make him a strong man or a King fit to rule England². Henry VI as a governing King.

Hitherto the Council, when not overpowered by Gloucester, had ruled with sufficient capacity and success. From this time forward we shall find the King’s easy good nature introducing a standing element of weakness and confusion. So we found it under Henry III. But His wish to please everybody.

¹ Stubbs, Const. Hist. iii. 108.

² Hardyng’s estimate of Henry’s capacity is a very low one.

“Therle Richard of Warwicke . . .

. . . in mykell worthyhead,

Enfourmed hym; but of his symplehead

He could litle within his brest conceyve;

The good from eivill (*evil*) he could uneth (*hardly*) perceyve”.

p. 394. This was an unfair, but probably not an uncommon estimate. The foreign writers fully shared it.

**

B

CHAP. I.
1437.

the cases were wholly different. Under Henry III the disturbing element was the perpetual intrusion of the King's temper and the King's caprices. Under Henry VI the disturbance was caused by the King's entire abnegation of self, and his kindly wish to please everybody.

The Earl of Warwick's commission as King's Lieutenant of France was sealed on the 16th July, 1437¹, but he did not sail till long after that, having apparently been detained an extraordinary time at Portsmouth by foul winds. His force is said to have been "seven times shipped and unshipped". At last he made out his trip to Honfleur about the 9th November².

To the North of Paris York had held his ground fairly, the fighting being mostly done by the Lords Talbot and Scales, and Sir Thomas Kyriell. In 1436 Lillebonne and sundry small towns had been recovered in Caux, and efforts made to bring Normandy in general to order³. Towards the close of January 1437, Ivry had been taken⁴.

The Duke
of York in
the North.

On the night of the 12th-13th February, 1437, Pontoise was once more wrested from L'Isle Adam, the English being helped by the severity of the weather, which enabled them to cross the frozen moats on ice⁵. In March fifteen places were recovered, mostly in the Vexin; among them were Mezières, Luzarches, Ambeville, Genneville. An attempt on Rouen by La Hire and Xaintrailles was frustrated. Falling back to Ry on the outskirts of the Forest of Lions they were attacked by Talbot and Scales, and utterly defeated⁶. The recovery of Pontoise was followed up late in the season by the capture of the

¹ Foed. x. 674.

² E. Hall, 187, 188, cf. Proceedings, v. 7c, an order to Warwick to hold a general muster at once, 9th November. On the 26th October orders were sent to Warwick at Portsmouth; on the 18th November to him in France; Issues, Michaelmas 16 Henry VI.

³ J. Wavrin, iv. 206. For executions of robbers and rebels at Caen see Stevenson, ii. lxii.

⁴ Beaurepaire, États, 61.

⁵ Bourgeois, 329; J. Chartier, i. 233; G. Bouvier, 394.

⁶ Beaurepaire, États, 62; J. Wavrin, iv. 216; E. Monstrelet, 749, 754. "En la fin de ceste annee", i. e. 1426, ending 25th March, 1427.

neighbouring fort of Orville. Chevreuse also was taken and held for a while, notwithstanding a French advance from the South¹.

CHAP. I.
—
1437.

Charles had been stirred up not only to place an army on foot, but even to encourage it by his royal presence. The earlier part of the season was most profitably employed in repressing Free Companies that were pillaging France in its length and breadth. The offenders at this period were not Englishmen, nor supported by England. The English districts were entirely free from these disorders. The offenders were Frenchmen, acting under commissions obtained from French magnates². The Companies having been dispersed or forced to join the royal standard, an army was mustered at Gien about July for operations in *Gâtinais* and Brie. The Constable de Richemont and the Count of Anjou, who were in command, began by taking Château Landon and Nemours; while another force took Cherny near Joigny³. Montargis was too strong to be attacked⁴. On the 25th August the French laid siege to Montereau; Charles joined them on the 21st September; on the 10th October the town was carried by assault; on the 22nd Sir Thomas Gerrard surrendered the castle. On the 12th November Charles VII made his first entry into Paris as its King; the Dauphin Louis, then fourteen years old, rode beside him in full armour⁵.

Advance of
Charles VII.

Charles
enters
Paris.

The Duke of York could do nothing for the relief of Montereau; his hands were in a manner tied by the fact that his authority had expired, though his successor had not yet come out. He was able, however, to reduce Tancarville, Fécamp, and Malleville-les-Grès all in the *Pays de Caux*⁶.

¹ Bourgeois, 332, 337; J. Chartier, i. 235.

² J. Chartier, 241, also 215; G. Bouvier, 394; Martin, France, vi. 362. In Champagne the companies were known as "Les Escorcheurs" (*The Flayers*!).

³ J. Wavrin, 219-221; J. Chartier, 236; G. Bouvier, 395; Gruel, 770.

⁴ See Proceedings, v. 29, 34.

⁵ Bourgeois, 333-336; J. Chartier, 236, 237, and notes; J. Wavrin, iv. 219-225; E. Monstrelet, 756; Gruel, 770.

⁶ G. Bouvier, 396; J. Wavrin, 225; E. Hall, 187.

CHAP. I.

1437.

The English on the Channel coast.

The first matter to which Warwick had to give his attention was the relief of Crotoy, which was being closely besieged by the Burgundians¹. The siege had been undertaken by the Duke's officers in Ponthieu, who, finding the undertaking more arduous than they had anticipated, appealed to their lord. The Duke came down in person, ordered earthworks to be thrown up for the defence of the besiegers, and called for further levies under John of Luxemburg. But the Count of Ligny explained that he had never broken with the English, and that he could not take part in any operations against them. Thereupon Talbot and Kyriell appeared at Saint-Valéry; and, crossing the Somme by the old ford of Blanche Taque, burst into Ponthieu, ravaging all round Rue, Hesdin, and Auxy. The siege of Crotoy was then abandoned; the English recrossed the ford unmolested, and the Duke returned to Arras for Christmas².

Death of Sigismund.

England and his successor Albert.

A second Queen Dowager passed away within the year, Johanna of Navarre, widow of Henry IV. She died at Havering-at-Bower in July³. The year also saw the end of England's old ally, the Emperor Sigismund. He died at Znaim in Hungary on the 9th of December. Big, florid, licentious; energetic, but unstable; "kindly, affable, and ready in speech" he possessed in perfection "all the lesser arts of sovereignty"⁴. The English Government evidently understood and shared his wish that his son-in-law Albert, Duke of Austria, should be chosen his successor. Sigismund's Garter was immediately offered to Albert, and England's interest with "Th' Elisours"⁵

¹ The alarm of an attack on Guisnes raised in London in November must have been caused by this affair.

² See J. Wavrin, iv. 227-241; E. Monstrelet; G. Bouvier, 399, 400; J. Chartier, i. 245; E. Hall, 188; cf. Devon Issues, 435.

³ 2nd July, Chron. Giles, 17; 9th July, Chron. London, 123; 10th July, Palgrave, Proceedings, v. 56.

⁴ Creighton, History Papacy, ii. 162, from Aneas Sylvius.

⁵ i. e. 'The Electors,' Proceedings, v. 81, 86, 88; Bekyngton, Letters, i. 246; a grand Requiem for Sigismund was sung at St. Paul's, 3rd May; W. Gregory, 180. The King attended.

exerted on his behalf. When Albert was duly elected on the 18th March, 1438, the congratulations of England must have been some of the first received. With the congratulations came the suggestion of a matrimonial alliance¹.

"The death of Sigismund removed the only man who might have averted an open outbreak between Eugenius IV and the Council of Basel"². The relations of the Fathers to the Pope had been antagonistic throughout; in fact the history of the Council is that of one continued struggle for the mastery. Up to 1434 the Council had the best of it, mainly through "accidental circumstances". "Eugenius IV had been subdued, not by the Council's strength but by his own weakness"³. But the Fathers, though anxious to reform the Pope, and in fact to supplant him, showed no disposition to reform themselves. The management of the Council passed by degrees into the hands of extreme men, and the democratic character of its constitution—the lower clergy having seats and votes—alarmed the rulers of Europe⁴. The credit of having effected the treaty of Arras fell to the Pope. The interest taken by France in the Council began to wane from the time of the reconciliation with Burgundy, and that of Sigismund failed from the time of his reconciliation with Bohemia (23rd August, 1436)⁵. Little progress had been made with either of the original objects of the Council, namely the suppression of heresy, the reform of the Church, and the pacification of Christendom⁶, when a fresh battle-field was found in the question of the union with the Eastern Church. This matter was hailed by all parties as an escape from the disagreeable question of Reform⁷. The Council resolved that the Greeks should come to Bâle or Avignon. This did not suit the Greeks, but they were

CHAP. I.
1434-1436.

Council of
Bâle.

Eugenius
IV and the
Council.

Question of
Union with
Eastern
Church.

1433-1434

¹ May, Proceedings, 96, 97; a marriage between Henry and one of Albert's daughters was suggested "Yif that th'empereur wol condescende to mariage".

² Creighton, Papacy, ii. 163.

³ Id. p. 116.

⁴ Id. p. 127.

⁵ Id. pp. 140, 142.

⁶ Id. p. 72.

⁷ p. 119.

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1437.

The
Council
transferred
to Ferrara.

willing to meet the Fathers in Italy, as suggested by the Pope. On the 18th September, 1437, Eugenius published a Bull transferring the Council to Ferrara¹. The Council who knew what would happen if they went to Italy retorted by prohibiting anyone under penalty of excommunication from attending at Ferrara; and Eugenius was again threatened with suspension if he did not submit² (12th October). This alarming "*monytorie*" (*admonition, warning*) was laid before the English Privy Council on the 21st of the month³; and, early in November, an indignant remonstrance was addressed to the Council by Henry VI⁴.

The Pope
suspended.

The death of Sigismund ensued; the high-minded Cardinal Cesarini, till then the President of the Council, left Bâle in despair; the remaining Fathers, however, held boldly on their course, and on the 24th January, 1438, pronounced Eugenius suspended for contumacy. But their proceedings "ceased to attract attention", and the interest of Christendom was transferred to the Papal Council in Italy⁵.

Charles
VII leaves
Paris.

On the 3rd December, 1437, Charles VII left Paris for Touraine. He left the city impoverished by taxes imposed for the siege of Montereau, and bowed down by famine and sickness. The harvests of the autumn had failed utterly⁶. The Free Lances that had followed him to Paris evacuated a district that could no longer support them; moving down the Somme they passed through Artois to the borders of Hainault, and from thence into Guise and Champagne, where they established them-

¹ Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 1; also cited by Creighton from John of Segovia, p. 1033.

² Creighton, Papacy, ii. 153.

³ Proceedings, v. 64.

⁴ Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 37.

⁵ Creighton, ii. 164-166. In February, however, the Privy Council deliberated as to sending ambassadors "to Ferraire or to Basil wheder that the Grekes wol come"; Proceedings, v. 91; cf. 97, 98. On the 25th May Henry wrote civilly to Bâle; Bekyngton, ii. 53.

⁶ Bourgeois, 338, 341, 342.

selves under the sheltering flag of John of Luxemburg¹. CHAP. I.

The operations of the year 1438 were reduced to a *minimum* by the pressure of the general distress. In 1438.
Operations
in Nor-
mandy. March the English reduced and dismantled two petty Norman holds between Gournay and Gisors². In May they were able to strengthen their position in Caux by winning back Longueville and other places near Dieppe³. Yet their command of the country was so slight that the Count of Eu, who had just been exchanged for the Earl of Somerset, was able to march without opposition into Harfleur to take up his position as French Captain-General of Caux and the *Beauvoisis*⁴.

The relief of the year was taken out by the younger Edmund Beaufort, Edmund, Earl of Mortain, who was apparently Edmund
Beaufort,
Earl of
Dorset. created Earl of Dorset on the occasion. He went over to Cherbourg about the 19th June, with 346 spears and 1281 bows, engaged to serve for six months⁵. Advancing towards the Loire he was able to capture, but not to hold, La Guerche in Brittany⁶. On the other hand the Con- Operations
in central
France. stable de Richemont, who had the command in Paris, failed to capture Pontoise⁷; but the Bastard of Orleans was able to win back, or rather buy back, Dreux, Chevreuse, and Montargis. Dreux and Chevreuse were sold by a Frenchman, Guillaume de Brouillart, who had long been Captain of Dreux for the English⁸. Montargis was

¹ E. Monstrelet, 761, 762; cf. 771.

² Namely Longchamps and Neufmarché; Stevenson, ii. lxxiii.

³ J. Wavrin, iv. 242, 243; E. Monstrelet.

⁴ J. Wavrin, 247-249; E. Monstrelet; Charles of Artois, Count of Eu, had been taken at Agincourt; John Beaufort, third Earl of Somerset, had been taken by the French at Baugé. The final order for the exchange was signed 3rd May, 1438; Foed. x. 697.

⁵ Issue Roll, Easter 16 Henry VI; Proceedings, v. 94; Edmund Beaufort is styled Earl of Dorset from the 28th May, ib.

⁶ G. Bouvier, 400, 401; E. Hall, 189; La Guerche is in the Department of Ille et Vilaine, between Vitré and Châteaubriant.

⁷ June-July, Bourgeois, 341.

⁸ Bourgeois, 342, and note; G. Bouvier, 400; J. Chartier, i. 235; J. Wavrin, 244; cf. Stevenson, ii. 542. Chevreuse is in the Department of Seine et Oise, some nine or ten miles south-west of Versailles.

CHAP. I.
1438. given up by the man who had won it, and held it for the English since the spring of 1433, the Arragonese captain called in French François de Surienne¹. Probably he found his isolated position at Montargis quite untenable.

Operations in the South of France But the great campaign of the year was fought in Gascony. Charles VII, who, as already stated, had left Paris for Tours in December 1437, in February 1438, moved into Saintonge to organise a combined attack on the English dominion in the South. Pothon de Xaintrailles and the Sire d'Albret were commissioned to invade Gascony from the frontiers of Bearn, while Rodriguez de Villandrado was sent into *Agenais*.

The English frontiers since 1415. In July 1415, when we gave the reader a sketch of the English frontiers in Guienne, Rions, Saint-Macaire, La Réole, Budos, and Bazas² were in the hands of the French, and had been so since 1377. All these places had been recovered between the years 1420 and 1424³, and the English dominion pushed northwards and eastwards into the modern departments of Dordogne and Lot et Garonne.

French invasion of Gascony. Thus when in the summer of 1438 Rodriguez de Villandrado began his advance from the French portion of Agenais we hear that he began by capturing Issigeac (Dordogne), Eymet, Lauzun, and La Salvetat (Lot et Garonne), localities which may be taken to mark the frontier as it then stood. Crossing the Garonne at Tonneins, he swept down the left bank of the river past Bordeaux, and through Medoc, to the very mouth of the Gironde. Having been joined by the Sire d'Albret, who had traversed the Landes with equal success, they sat

¹ Montargis was yielded in the last week of October; Dreux and Chevreuse on the 1st November: Cosneau, De Richemont, 280; De Surienne, usually styled *L'Aragonnais*, did not leave the English service; he still held Saint-Germain-en-Laye for them; de Beaucourt, iii. 14; and had envoys in London in July, 1439. Issues, Easter 17 Henry VI.

² All these places are in the Gironde; the first three on the right bank, the latter two on the left bank, of the Garonne.

³ See our map of the English possessions in February, 1415 (above), and Ribadieu, *Conquête de Guienne*, 106-116.

down to attack Bordeaux. The garrison were lured into a sally in which they suffered severely ; but the French were not properly equipped for a regular siege. They had no artillery, and provisions soon ran short. They retired from Gascony. Of all the places they had captured the only one that remained any time in their hands was Tartas.¹

CHAP. I.
1438.

In Paris the distress and mortality in the autumn proved as great as in the previous years ; small-pox committed terrible ravages, the Bishop of Paris, Jacques du Chatelier, being one of the victims. Nocturnal wolves prowled the suburbs in quest of street dogs².

Famine
and sick-
ness in
Paris.

On the part of the English Government we begin at last to trace a distinct wish for peace, and "the sooner the lever" (*the sooner the leaver*, i. e. *better*). They agreed to waive the demand previously made for prepayment of the cost of transporting the Duke of Orleans to Cherbourg, where a conference was proposed³ ; but the French were in no hurry, and allowed matters to drag on⁴.

The
English
inclining
to peace.

With the Scots a truce was signed for nine years from the 1st May. With a King not yet seven years old the Scottish Regency had enough to do to maintain its position, and the English had the good sense to accept peaceful overtures in a friendly spirit⁵. It will be remembered that the Queen Mother of Scotland was a Beaufort, sister of the newly liberated Earl of Somerset. Lastly, when the Duchess of Burgundy, Isabella of Portugal, a granddaughter of John of Gaunt, made advances for a truce,

¹ See de Beaumont, Charles VII, iii. 14, 15 ; to this writer is due the credit of having exhumed the history of this campaign which had escaped all other writers of recent times. Tartas is in the Landes, half-way between Mont-de-Marsan and Dax.

² Bourgeois, 342, 343, and notes ; J. Chartier, i. 245, 246 ; G. Bouvier, 400. In 1439 the wolves increased to such an extent that 20 livres a head were given for their destruction ; Bourgeois, 349 ; Chartier, 247.

³ 10,000 marks (£6666 13s. 4d.) was the sum demanded ; see Foed. x. 663, 683, 707, 708 ; Proceedings, v. 44, 64, 67, 86.

⁴ See the Memorandum by Sir John Popham, the English envoy ; Stevenson, ii. lxxix.

⁵ Foed. x. 679, 687, &c. ; Rot. Scot.

CHAP. I. nominally a commercial truce, between England and
 1438. Flanders her offers were accepted¹.

Cardinal It would seem that this pacific turn was due to Cardinal
 Beaufort Beaufort, who from this time onwards appears as favouring
 peace, or at any rate a contraction of the English pre-
 tensions, with a renewal of the Burgundian alliance. This
 and the was the only way in which England could hope to keep
 Burgun- her ground at all on the Continent. If the Cardinal was
 dian alli- indeed "the chief merchant of Wolles" (*wools*) in all
 ance. England², then no doubt he had the best reasons for
 holding to peace with Flanders. The King's own tastes
 were wholly literary and pacific; anything that sounded
 of peace would commend itself to him.

1439. In January 1439, Cardinal Beaufort went over to Calais
 to meet the Duchess of Burgundy. The French were
 induced to take advantage of the opportunity. On the
 Agreement 31st of the month an agreement *ad referendum* was signed
 for a con- for a conference, to be held either at Calais or Cherbourg,
 ference. as the Kings might decide, the English agreeing to bring
 the Duke of Orleans to the place of meeting. Henry having
 expressed a preference for Calais, the French gave in
 to his wishes, and Calais was fixed as the *rendezvous*³.

The Eng- In May the ambassadors received their instructions, and
 lish in- the English Government at last brought themselves to
 structions. entertain that question, without which all pretence of
 negotiation was futile—the question of the renunciation;
 but this was reserved as a last card to be played by Cardinal
 Beaufort, and by him alone, if absolutely necessary, and
 provided that all other questions were satisfactorily settled⁴.

¹ 23rd November, Foed. x. 713–716; Hugh de Lannoy, the Burgundian, was in London in May; Proceedings. The Duchess Isabella was daughter of John of Portugal by Philippa of Lancaster; in December, 1429, when on her way to Flanders to be married, she was hospitably entertained in London; Proceedings, iv. 9.

² So Gloucester; Stevenson, ii. 443. He is not the best of authorities, but he alludes to the fact as one known to all.

³ Foed. x. 718, 720; J. Wavrin, iv. 251.

⁴ "If . . . the difficulte of accorde . . . rested oonly in the leving of the name and coroune of France . . . rather thanne the thyng falle to rapture", &c. Foed. 727.

The preferential scheme for which the envoys were directed to contend was a partition of France, each King retaining the titular sovereignty of the whole, and the *minimum* cession of territory that the ambassadors were authorised to accept was the Bretigny Dominion, with Normandy, Maine, and Calais, all in absolute sovereignty. They were also directed to revive the proposal of a matrimonial alliance between Henry and a daughter of "the Adversarie", who might be asked to bring a dowry of "a milion of scutes"¹. Failing peace, the envoys were ordered to strive through the mediation of the Duchess of Burgundy and the Duke of Orleans for the best truce they could get.

For the Duke's ransom 100,000 marks (£66,666 13s. 4d.) were to be asked. These offers mark a distinct advance on anything yet proposed by the English; but it is painful to have to state that the envoys were directed to open the negotiations with an insulting demand for the surrender of all France without "let, trouble, or empechement", as "the moost reasonable mene of peas" (*means of peace*); moreover it appears that this offensive demand was actually embodied in the formal credentials of the envoys, and that the French King was not even styled 'the adversary of France', but simply 'Charles of Valois'². This inconsistency was probably due to Gloucester, who hated any appearance of concession. Among the chief negotiators were the Archbishop of York, John Kemp, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Stafford and Oxford. On the 26th June the embassy crossed from Dover to Calais. Two days later the French envoys, namely the Archbishop of Rheims, the Count of Vendôme, and the Bastard of Orleans, now Count of Dunois, appeared at Newnham Bridge, outside Calais, and were duly escorted into the town³.

Confer-
ences near
Oye.

¹ £366,666 13s. 4d. the écu running "two of the value of a noble", Foed.

² May 8-25; see Foed. x. 720-733. The Commission, however, given at p. 728 is not the original one, but an amended one substituted for it afterwards; see below.

³ See the diary of Thomas Bekyngton, Gloucester's Secretary, printed by Sir

CHAP. I.
1439.

A week was spent in settling preliminaries, exchanging guarantees, and getting ready the place chosen for the actual meetings. The site chosen was between Oye and the sea, considerably nearer to Gravelines¹ than to Calais. Three hundred persons on either side would be allowed to attend armed only with swords and daggers; ten men from each side would daily scour the country in the rear of the opposite party². On the 6th July the parties rode out to the meeting place. Extensive accommodation had been provided in the way of wooden booths hung with cloth and tapestry. The Cardinal's quarters included a hall large enough, it was thought, to seat 300 persons at table. The quarters for the Duchess of Burgundy were constructed at a distance of about a bow-shot, with an elegant tent, half way between, for the actual conferences.

The first
meeting.

About 10 o'clock in the forenoon the Duchess appeared on the ground, having apparently driven from Gravelines³. The Cardinal, who was there beforehand, hastened to meet her, and after exchanging friendly salutes, led her to the council tent, the envoys on both sides following. The Duke of Orleans, to his great mortification, was not brought to the meeting place, being left in safe keeping at Calais.

The Eng-
lish com-
mission
reformed.

The Archbishop of York having opened the proceedings with a complimentary address in Latin, the envoys proceeded to exchange credentials; whereupon the French at once protested against the form of the English commission. They protested against the style 'Charles of Valois'; they protested against the preliminary demand for the cession of France; and they protested that the commission gave no apparent authority to entertain any question of renunciation by Henry. The Cardinal was obliged to agree to a modification of the English commission, pledging his

H. Nicolas, *Proceedings*, v. 335, 336. "Newnham" is the English rendering of "Neuilly".

¹ De Beaucourt styles the congress "*Les conférences de Gravelines*", but this is inaccurate; see his *History*, ii. 106, "*près du Château d'Oye*".

² *Proceedings*, 336-340.

³ Cf. *Proceedings*, pp. 345, 363 "*de curru*".

Government to accept whatever might be settled by the plenipotentiaries. That brought the proceedings of the day to a close, the parties returning to Calais and Gravelines¹.

CHAP. I.
1439.

On the 10th July a second meeting was held, the Duchess being again present. Amended commissions were produced and accepted on both sides, the French, to please the English, having consented to some verbal alterations in their mandate².

The Archbishop of York then opened negotiations on the lines laid down by his instructions, beginning with the demand for the entire cession of France, and then offering to cede certain territories beyond the Loire. The Archbishop of Rheims answered frankly that if the English wished to come to terms they must make up their minds to renounce the style of France, to render homage for any possessions they might be allowed to retain in France, and to reinstate all dispossessed owners within their dominion, a point of great practical importance which the English envoys had been instructed to resist to the utmost. A private colloquy with the Duchess convinced the Cardinal that the French were in earnest on these points, and that in consequence a truce was all that could be hoped for³.

English demands.

French requirements.

On the 18th the parties met again at the old place, and the Duchess confided to the Cardinal her belief that peace was hopeless; but she suggested a truce for fifteen, twenty, or more years, during which time Henry should abstain from styling himself King of France; while Charles would waive the claim for homage. But when the proposal was reduced to writing the French added demands for the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, and the reinstatement of the dispossessed clergy and laity, which made acceptance

¹ Proceedings, 340-344.

² See these, *Id.* 346-352, and *Foed.* x. 728. The French commission is dated "Ryem" (Riom, Puy de Dôme), 7th April; the English commission, Kennington, 23rd May.

³ Proceedings, 352-354.

CHAP. I. by the English impossible¹. The negotiations, however,
 1439. were kept up on the footing of these proposals, the Duchess pressing the English to accept. After three more meetings, including one during which the envoys were exposed to rain, inside and outside the council tent, from 8 a.m. till 6 p.m., the English agreed to lay the scheme before their King, the French offering to allow him to retain his existing possessions in Guienne, with Calais and Normandy, *minus* Mont-Saint-Michel².

French
offers laid
before
Henry

and re-
jected on
Glouces-
ter's advice.

On the 5th August the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Stafford, and Lord Hungerford sailed for England to consult the King³. The Archbishop did his best to obtain a favourable answer; but Gloucester, if we may credit his own assertions, told Henry that for himself he would rather die than accept such terms⁴; and in Beaufort's absence he could carry the day.

On the 9th September the Archbishop returned to Calais with an "instruction" dictated by Humphrey. Henry refused to abandon the style of France even for a time; he refused to render homage; and he refused to reinstate the dispossessed persons. The instruction was accompanied by an explanatory memorandum. On the main points the ground taken was the old one that any disuse of the title would discredit the King's original position in France, and make it seem a mere "tyranny"; on the third point it was obvious enough that to place the territorial and ecclesiastical control of Normandy in the hands of declared enemies would be mere suicide; and so far Gloucester was right; but on the other points the English were bound to give way if they wished to retain any footing at all in France. Gloucester refused to see this, and the dynasty paid the penalty. The House of Lancaster was committed to Henry V's policy, and bound to sink or swim with it⁵.

¹ Proceedings, v. 366-370.

² Id. 373-377; the French offer is given at p. 378.

³ Id. 377, 383.

⁴ "I saide that I wolde never agre me therto to dye therfore"; Stevenson, ii. 446.

⁵ Proceedings, 388-395.

The Cardinal felt deeply the humiliation of having to announce this rupture. But the French envoys had already been recalled; and a letter to the Duke of Orleans informed the Cardinal that their presence was required at a meeting of the Estates General to be shortly held¹.

On the 15th September the indefatigable Duchess once more drove over to Calais to ascertain the nature of Henry's answer. As the only thing to be done she fell back on the commercial treaty between England and Flanders. On the 28th of the month a truce for three years was sealed. On the 2nd October the Cardinal recrossed the Channel².

CHAP. I.

1439.

Truce with
Flanders.

¹ Proceedings, 395-397; G. Bouvier, 404. The French had left Gravelines on the 30th July.

² Id. 397-406; Foed. x. 736; for the truce with Holland see Id. 739.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

The War in France.—Parliament at Westminster.—Councils of Ferrara and Florence.

CHAP. II. THE military situation, doubtless, had something to do
1439. with the French indisposition for further parley. The tide
The of war still ran in their favour, while on the 30th April the
military military situation. stout Earl, Richard of Warwick, had, as he himself anticipated, succumbed to his work.

His functions devolved on the Earl of Somerset¹.

Reinforce- In May the Earl of Huntingdon was appointed King's
ments for Guienne Lieutenant of Guienne, to recover the places captured by
the French in the previous summer. For this purpose he
received the substantial equipment of 300 spears and 2000
bows². With this effort to retrieve losses in the South
and Nor- only small contingents were available for 'France' or
mandy. Normandy. About 1000 men were taken over by Sir
Richard Wydeville and Sir William Chamberlain in July³.

French But Charles VII had once more forced the Free Lances
siege of of the South to fall in under the banner of the Constable,
Meaux. and sent them to attack Meaux⁴, the last conquest of

¹ Devon Issues, 445; Chron. London, 124. For Somerset's position see Stevenson, ii. 304, and Wavrin, iv. 257.

² The Earl sailed about the 27th June, on which day he drew stores. Issues, Easter 17 Henry VI, and Easter 20 Henry VI, *sub fine*. His fleet had returned by the 22nd October. His appointment was for six years.

³ They drew their second quarter's pay on the 17th July. Issues, Easter 17 Henry VI; also E. Hall, 189.

⁴ G. Bouvier, 401; "grant tas de larrons... pour leur... detestable gouverne-

Henry V, and the only remaining stronghold of the English to the East of Paris.

CHAP. II.

1439.

About the 19th July De Richemont began the siege, establishing his men in detachments round the town, some in the old quarters at Saint Faron, some at the Cordeliers, some in vineyards, 'and some on the side of Brie'. "Bastilles" were erected, approaches dug, and guns worked by the Master of the Ordnance, Jean Bureau. The town of Meaux, which had resisted Henry V for five months, fell in three weeks. On the 12th August the Constable, informed that the English were mustering their forces at Pontoise, gave a grand assault and carried the place in half-an-hour. As in 1422 the bulk of the garrison made good its retreat to the so-called Market of Meaux, a detached suburb on the left bank of the Marne, protected by a bend in the river¹.

Within three days Somerset and Talbot came up and challenged the French. But the Constable knew better than to risk a pitched battle. For three days the English skirmished with the French on the banks and in the islands of the river; and then, having 'refreshed' the Market, and left a new commander and new troops, returned to Normandy.

The French, however, kept up the siege; Charles VII and the Count of Maine again coming to Paris to encourage them. On the 13th September the Market surrendered, Sir William Chamberlain and his men being allowed to retire with all their goods².

The place captured.

The meeting of the Estates General of Langue d'Oïl to which Charles had referred, was duly held in his presence at Orleans in October. Representatives of the Dukes of

Estates General at Orleans.

ment nommez les Escorcheurs . . . après eulx ne demouroit rien ne qu'après feu". Bourgeois, 345, 346, 347.

¹ Bourgeois, sup. and notes; J. Wavrin, iv. 254; Gruel, 772; G. Bouvier, 402. The news reached Calais on the 19th August; Proceedings, v. 384. All business in Paris was suspended during the first fortnight of August.

² Bourgeois, 348; J. Wavrin, 257-260; Gruel, 774, 775; G. Bouvier, sup.; Proceedings, 385-387, 401. Sir William Chamberlain was greatly blamed. A fuller account will be found in Cosneat, De Richemont, 291, &c.

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C

CHAP. II. Burgundy, Brittany, and Orleans, and of the Count of Ar-
 1439. magnac were present; in fact the assembly was 'the most
 brilliant and important of the reign.' The offers made to
 the English at Calais were produced, and the question of
 peace or war fairly put. The peace party was in the
 ascendant, and it was resolved that the English should be
 invited to resume negotiations on the 1st May, 1440.
 But while declaring for peace the Estates agreed to vigour-
 ous measures for the establishment of a standing army,
 and the suppression of Free Companies. A fixed *taille*
 or tallage of 1,200,000 *livres per annum*¹ was voted, to be
 applied by special treasurers to the maintenance of a royal
 army; all private levies being absolutely forbidden.

The stand-
 ing army
 of France.

From this ordinance French historians date the standing
 army of France².

Operations
 of the
 winter.

In accordance with this double policy operations were
 kept up through the winter. In November the Sire de
 Bueil made his way into Sainte-Suzanne, one of the
 strongest English holds in Maine³. An attack on Avranches
 was less successful. The place, which stands on the left
 bank of the river Sée, with the river Sélune some four
 miles to the South of it, had been invested for three weeks
 by the Duke of Alençon and the Constable, when Dorset,
 Talbot, and Scales came to the rescue. Approaching
 apparently from the South, they found the French posted
 to receive them along the river Sélune, which joins the
 Sée a few miles below Avranches. Unable to force the
 passage of the Sélune in the face of the enemy the English
 turned the flank of the French position by making their
 way round the mouth of the combined rivers on the sands
 opposite Mont-Saint-Michel, and so ascending the right
 bank of the Sée recrossed the river into Avranches. The
 French at once abandoned their works and retired to
 Brittany⁴.

¹ "l'impôt fixe et permanent", Martin.

² See G. Bouvier, 404, 405; Martin, France, vi: 378, 382; Sismondi, France, xiii. 349.

³ G. Bouvier, sup.; J. Chartier, i. 252.

⁴ December; J. Chartier, i. 250; G. Bouvier, 405; Gruel, 775.

On the 12th November Parliament met at Westminster. On the 21st December the Session was adjourned to the 14th January, 1440, to meet at Reading. This town was perhaps selected from sanitary considerations, epidemics being prevalent in the metropolis ¹.

CHAP. II.
1439-1440.
Parliament
at West-
minster.

The Chancellor in his speech again ventured to take credit for pacific intentions; and the Commons made a slight increase in their grants. They gave a Subsidy and a half for the two years 1440 and 1441, instead of one Subsidy as of late years; they renewed the wool duties for three years, from the 11th November, 1440; and Tonnage and Poundage for the like period from the 1st April at existing rates ². They also granted a shabby poll-tax on foreigners for three years: all householders "not English borne" were required to pay 1s. 4d. a year, "non-householders" 6d. Natives of Wales, persons of Religion, and children under twelve years of age alone were exempted ³.

Money
Grants.

If no direct complaints of the continuance of the war appear on the Rolls, complaints of the hardships occasioned by the war are not wanting. The judges threatened to resign in a body, some of them having received neither salary nor robes for two years ⁴; and loud complaints were made of the sums left due and owing by the Royal Purveyors.

Indebted-
ness of the
Crown.

This matter served to bring out the scrupulous feelings of the young King. A charge on the available revenues of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster having been suggested for the benefit of the royal creditors, a 'schedule' was tendered to the Commons in Henry's name asking that the whole matter should be specially referred to the Council; "as the Kynge ne wolde in any wyse that the

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 3, 4; J. Stow, 378. The king was requested to abstain from giving the usual kiss to persons doing homage for fear of contagion; Rot. Parl. p. 31.

² The Poundage rate of 20d. given on the Parliament Roll is a clerical error; see Receipt Rolls.

³ Rot. Parl. v. 3-6; Convocation granted a Tenth; Wilkins, iii. 536. For the poll-tax cf. Proceedings, v. 421.

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 14.

CHAP. II. people of his londe shulde be illuded as towards the hope
 1439-1440. that he had putte hem in". To this request the Commons
 gave a ready assent¹.

Since the departure of the Earl of Warwick for France the King had been treated as his own master, as already mentioned, doubtful questions being referred to him for decision. In general the answer was "content if my Lords are content"; but the Ministers found that if the King was easily led by them he was easily led by others also, and they had to remonstrate against a dangerous disposition to grant anything that was asked. On one occasion the King was told that he had lightly sacrificed 2000 marks².

Business
 of the
 Session.

A good deal of miscellaneous business was transacted in the Session. A sort of Mutiny Act was passed placing the relations of soldiers to their captains on a legal footing. Weights and Measures were dealt with, and Commissioners of Sewers reappointed for ten years³. The King agreed to relieve cheese and butter from the Staple regulations, but refused to extend the same privilege to hides, rabbit skins, or tallow; nor would he allow wheat to be shipped from one part of England to another "without special license", though famine was raging⁴. This permission was probably withheld for fear the corn might be exported abroad.

Protection
 to Native
 Trade.

Again a weak disposition was shown to listen to the interested suggestions of the native merchants whose thirst for Protection was insatiable. The old regulations for 'hosting' foreign merchants were revived. They were forbidden to deal with each other while in England; they were required to report all their transactions to the "host" under whose roof they lived; and they were required to invest the produce of all their sales in native merchandise.

Privateer-
 ing.

For the benefit of the privateering interest it was enacted

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 7, 8. The arrangement was carried out, the trusts of Henry V's will having been substantially executed; Id. 32, &c. But the Lancaster revenues were not nearly equal to the expenditure of the Household; Id. 62.

² See Proceedings, v. 29, 40, 48, 88, &c.

³ Stat. 18 Henry VI, cc. 3, 10, 16, 17, 18, 19.

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 28-31.

that no safe-conduct should be valid unless both the name of the ship and that of the master were specified ¹. Henry, however, refused to exclude the Italians from participation in the carrying trade, a further boon requested on behalf of the merchant navy ².

The year 1439 was the second of two years of dearth, severely felt, especially in the southern counties. The failure of crops began in the autumn of 1437, from wet weather. In 1438 wheat rose from 4s. and 6s. the quarter to 8s. and 10s. the quarter, and in places to 13s. and 16s. the quarter ³. 1439 was "a year of undoubted famine, the most serious since the great famine of 1315-1316", the cause again being excessive rain and absence of sunshine. Wheat was commonly at 12s. and 14s. the quarter, rising in places to 16s. and 20s. the quarter ⁴. "Also this yere was so grete derthe of corn that men were fayn to ete rye bred and barly, the whiche nevere ett non before; and rather thanne fayle, bred mad of benes, pesces, fecches, and wel were hym that might hav ynowe thereof" ⁵.

Historically the most striking incident of the year 1439 was the proclamation at St. Paul's Cross on the 28th August of the Union of the Greek and Latin Churches; or, as the chronicler puts it, that the Emperor and clergy "of Gryke" had "obeyed hym unto the Chyrche of Rome of certayne artyculys of the faythe" ⁶. This was the outcome of the Papal Councils of Ferrara and Florence, a great diplomatic triumph for Eugenius IV, and a corresponding blow to the rival Council of Bâle. Probably

¹ Stat. cc. 4, 8. Hall, the representative of City interests, approves of the 'hosting' of foreigners "if it were wel kept", p. 187.

² Rot. Parl. v. 31. The Chronicle of London gives the 9th February as the date of the close of the Session. Stow states that Sir John Sutton was created Lord Dudley on the last day of the Reading Parliament. The date of this peerage is given as 15th February, 1440.

³ Rogers, Prices, iii. 36, iv. 233; J. Stow, 377; E. Hall, 189; W. Gregory, 181.

⁴ Rogers, sup.

⁵ Chron. London, 124; cf. W. Gregory, 181; W. Worcester, 459; Foed. x. 717.

⁶ W. Gregory, 184; see also Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 49.

CHAP. II. it was one of the few questions of the time in which Henry VI felt a personal interest.

1438.
John Palaeologus II.

Reigning by tacit permission of the Turks, John Palaeologus II had come to Italy in February 1438, to beg for help. Nothing short of a crusade could save the Empire, now almost bounded by the walls of Constantinople¹.

Council of Ferrara;

On the 4th March Palaeologus entered Ferrara, where the Council had begun to sit. Coming as beggars the Greek clergy might have known that concessions would be expected of them. The acceptance of the Western Creed and recognition of the Papal Supremacy "was the necessary price for Papal aid". Yet the Greeks battled for every point as if they had been in a position of absolute independence². At the end of a year the Council was adjourned to Florence on account of pestilence (10th January, 1439). At last the Emperor, realising the necessities of his situation, ordered his clergy to give way.

adjournment to Florence.

Mutual concessions.

The Pope promised a standing force of two galleys and 300 soldiers for the defence of Constantinople; he also undertook to preach a crusade and rouse the West. On these conditions doctrinal *formulae* on which the two Churches could agree were at length adjusted³. On the still more delicate question of the Papal Supremacy the Greeks were brought to acknowledge the Pope as Sovereign Pontiff 'saving the rights of the Patriarchs of the East'. On the 5th July, 1439, the decrees were signed; next day they were published in the beautiful Duomo of Florence, recently crowned by the dome of Brunelleschi. The Emperor returned to Constantinople to be received as a man who had betrayed his country. The Pope held

¹ See Creighton, ii. 174; Milman, vi. 266-276; Gibbon, Decline and Fall &c., xii. 57.

² Creighton, 183; Milman, 281.

³ On the principal point in dispute the Greeks agreed to hold that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; "ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς καὶ μοναδικῆς προβολῆς". For the Latins this was rendered "tanquam ab uno principio et una singulari productione", 'as from one origin and by a single emanation'. See Sylvester Sgouropoulos (Syropulus) Hist. Concil. Florent. p. 243 (Hagae-Comitis, 1660); Migne, Patrol. Series Graeca, clix. 1076-1088; Creighton, 186; Milman, 291.

his word so far as he could ; he sent his two galleys and his 300 men¹ ; to rouse the West to a crusade was beyond his power. Had the interest felt in the affairs of Constantinople been ten times what it was the state of the West was such as to preclude all idea of such an enterprise².

CHAP. II.

1439.

The Council of Florence neither united the Churches nor saved Constantinople, but it was not utterly fruitless. It prepared a home for the reception of Greek learning in the West³.

The feud between Gloucester and his uncle, which had seemed more or less to slumber after the Congress of Arras, woke into new life after the conferences at Oye. Humphrey doubtless thought that he had scored a victory over his uncle by inducing the King to break off the negotiations ; by so doing he had sealed the fate of the English dominion in France. But the Cardinal knew what he was about ; he appreciated the importance of the Burgundian alliance ; he had doubtless been apprised of the Duke's latest policy, and could urge its acceptance by England. The Duke thought of rallying the French Princes in resistance to the growing power of the Crown and *Bourgeoisie* : he wished in particular to secure the Duke of Orleans. The scheme had much to tempt an English statesman ; and as the first step towards its realization the Cardinal laid himself out to procure the liberation of the Duke of Orleans ; but, as the real end of this measure had to be kept carefully secret, he could only urge it "upon truste and hope" that it would lead to peace⁴. The French Duke at any rate would have to pay a heavy ransom ; and he had always protested that if only he were once set free he could settle terms between England

Gloucester
and Car-
dinal
Beaufort.

¹ Creighton, 190-192 ; Milman, 293. See Syropulus, sup. 282-295 ; Migne, sup.

² See a letter from Henry to Palaeologus at Ferrara full of pious thankfulness at the prospect of union. Of help to Constantinople there is not a suggestion ; Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 77.

³ See Gibbon, sup. 114 ; Creighton, sup.

⁴ Stevenson, Letters, ii. 458.

CHAP. II. and France. On the 31st January, 1440, safe-conducts
 1440. were issued for reopening negotiations at Calais¹; while,
 Arch- as a special distinction for a leading supporter of the
 bishop Cardinal's policy, leave was given to the Archbishop of
 Kemp a York to accept a Cardinal's Hat; Beaufort in return agree-
 Cardinal. ing to allow a recent loan of 7000 marks to stand over till
 November².

These matters were settled at Reading during the sitting of Parliament, and therefore presumably with its sanction; at any rate with the sanction of the Lords. Gloucester, however, took the opportunity of making a furious personal attack on the two Cardinals urging the King to dismiss them both from his Council table. The charges were embodied in a letter "which assumes the dimensions of a pamphlet". Both the prelates were freely taxed with malversation and treachery. They had emancipated the King of Scots for private ends; they were responsible for the reconciliation of Burgundy with France at Arras; they were the real authors of the 'infamous' proposals made at Oye. Even the loans with which Cardinal Beaufort had so constantly helped the Government were turned against him; the money had always been advanced at a wrong time or with an evil intent³. "The paper is sufficient by itself to establish the writer's incapacity for government"⁴.

A paper
var.

The Council, without noticing the personal part of Humphrey's protest, justified the proposal to liberate the Duke of Orleans as being the King's own act, done for the sake of peace. They urged the iniquity of prolonging

¹ Foed. x. 756.

² 4th February, Foed. 758; Proceedings, v. 115; John Kemp was created Cardinal of Sta. Balbina, 18th December, 1439: he did not receive his Hat till January 1441. See Bekyngton, Letters, i. 37-50 and notes.

³ See the document; Stevenson, ii. 440; E. Hall, 197; R. Arnold, 279; cf. MS. Cott. Vitellius A. xvi. cited Pauli. The paper appears to have been drawn up in February; it refers to intended negotiation in March, and to the Duke of Orleans as having been brought to London. He was removed from Somersetshire on the 10th February, the order having been issued 29th January. Stevenson, i. 432; Foed. x. 823; Devon Issues, 439.

⁴ Stubbs, iii. 125.

the war in language "full of good sense and good feeling"; but their arguments failed to show how the liberation of the Duke would conduce to peace, unless the English were prepared to retire altogether from France¹, a conclusion for which England was not at all prepared; and so Humphrey was able to retort with effect that the Duke's ransom was not worth considering; and that his return home would infallibly prove an accession of strength to the "Adverse Partie"².

Gloucester knew how to appeal to the vulgar side of English feeling. From this time onwards we may trace the growth of a "vicious, sturdy, unintelligent hatred" of peace with France. That Henry himself wished for peace we may be sure; it is more than likely that he wished to liberate Orleans from motives of pure good nature. His own attention at this time was engrossed with his foundations at Eton and Cambridge, works in which, to the last, he took the deepest interest³. The purpose of liberating the Duke of Orleans was thus adhered to. On the 2nd July the agreement was settled, on terms so easy as to suggest that there must have been something more behind. The Duke was required to pay down 20,000 marks, and to give security for the payment of 30,000 marks more within six months, the security to include bonds by the Dauphin and nine other French magnates. In return Henry agreed to 'enlarge' his prisoner for a year, within which time the Duke would use all his efforts to establish 'Final Peace'; if successful he would be free for good, and his ransom would be refunded; if unsuccessful he would be bound

CHAP. II.
1440.

The King's
Colleges
at Eton
and Cam-
bridge.
The Duke
of Orleans.
Agreement
for his
liberation.

¹ See the paper, Stevenson, ii. 451; it must have been written in or after March, as it refers to the dissensions at the French Court.

² Foed. x. 764; an exemplification taken at Humphrey's request, 2nd June.

³ The arrangements for the foundation of St. Mary's College, Eton, were made in September and October of this year. The Papal sanction was given 28th January, 1441. Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 270-293, &c. The foundation charter of the College of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Cambridge (afterwards King's College), is dated 12th February, 1441; Foed. xi. 36. For the buildings there, see Stow, 379. For the King's personal interest in these matters, see Bekyngton, Letters, i. lxxxii, &c., and generally below, p. 42.

CHAP. II.

1440.

to return into captivity. No hostages were exacted; but the Duke pledged himself in case of any alleged default on his part to submit himself absolutely to the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Chamber: the King of France also would undertake to keep the Duke to his engagements¹.

The agreement should be viewed in connexion with other arrangements by which it was accompanied. The Duke of York was again named Lieutenant General of France and Normandy for five years². This appointment was expressly stated to be made by the advice both of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort, and was doubtless intended to conciliate Humphrey; it was one of his charges against his uncle that he had "estraunged" the Duke of York, the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Henry Chicheley) from the King's Council³.

Treaty with
Brittany.

A few days later a treaty of amity was concluded between England and Brittany. The Duke promised to give the French no basis of operations in his territories; and Henry promised to keep down privateering⁴.

Treaties
with Ger-
man poten-
ates.

Again in the course of the next month a treaty was arranged with Dietrich, Archbishop of Cologne, who agreed to serve in France with 300 fighting men at Henry's cost, and received in return the promise of a pension of 800 marks a year⁵.

These measures give an appearance of greater breadth to the Cardinal's policy.

The arrangements for the liberation of Orleans were duly approved both by the Duke of Burgundy and the

¹ Foed. x. 776-786, 821.

² 2nd July; Foed. 786; Proceedings, v. 314; Stevenson, ii. [585], [586].

³ Stevenson, ii. 442. Hall speaks of jealousies between the Duke of York and Edmund Beaufort (Dorset) as far back as May 1436. His statements, however, on the subject are far from exact.

⁴ 11th July; Foed. 788, 789, 803.

⁵ 23rd August; Foed. 834-840; Proceedings, v. 126; Bekyngton, Letters, i. 96. Similar treaties had been concluded in December 1439, with Henry, Bishop of Münster, and Gerard, Count de la Mark; Foed. 741-750; Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 314. For the congratulations sent to Frederick III on his election (1st February, 1440), see Id. i. 107; Foed. 766.

King of France¹. The agents of the latter had been authorised to sign anything that might be requisite to free the Duke. Some time however elapsed before the business preliminaries could be adjusted. At last, on the 28th October, the Duke was sworn in Westminster Abbey to perform his part of the contract without deceit². When the Mass began Gloucester marched ostentatiously out of the church, and went down to his barge on the Thames³. On the 3rd November the King acknowledged the receipt of the 20,000 marks, and declared the Duke free to leave England⁴. Two days later he left London under the escort of the Bishop of Rochester, Lord Fanhope, and other envoys appointed to treat of peace⁵. From Calais the Duke went straight to Flanders to render prompt thanks to the man to whom he owed his freedom, the Duke of Burgundy. The feud between their two Houses was formally abjured, and within the month Orleans took for his third wife Philip's niece, Mary of Cleves⁶.

CHAP. II.
1440.

Orleans at
liberty.

¹ July, August; Foed. 763, 787, 798.

² Foed. 826; see also 803-817.

³ Paston, Letters, i. 40 (ed. Gairdner); the letter is dated 1st November.

⁴ Foed. 821, 823; the money was paid through a Florentine firm in London.

⁵ Stevenson, ii. 462; Foed. 824-827. Lord Fanhope was Sir John Cornewall, raised to the Peerage in July 1432; Rot. Parl. iv. 401. He had perhaps been Orleans' actual captor at Agincourt.

⁶ J. Wavrin, iv. 291-303; E. Monstrelet, 802-808. The Duke confirmed his agreement with Henry on the 11th November at Gravelines; Foed. 829-833. He was a poet of no mean parts; a great admirer of "plesaunt Chaucer", and wrote, it would seem, both in French and English. For his poems in the latter tongue see Roxburgh Club, 1829.

"Me thinketh right as a cypher now I serve

That number maketh and himself is none".

The Duke afterwards became the father of Louis XII.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

The War.—The *Praguerie* in France.—Attack on the Duchess of Gloucester.
—Siege and capture of Pontoise by the French.—Parliament at Westminster.

CHAP. III.

—
1440.
The war
in France.

THE liberation of the Duke of Orleans involved no cessation of hostilities with France. The Earl of Somerset, who had come home on private affairs in the autumn of 1439¹, returned to his duties at the end of February, taking with him 100 spears and 2000 bows. His first enterprise was a raid upon the unsuspecting district of Santerre²; where he captured Folleville, Lihons, and Harbonnières; the people of Lihons having barricaded themselves within the church it was burnt down over their heads with some 300 persons in it, men, women, and children. The English placed a garrison in Folleville and then made their way back to Rouen without molestation, the action of the gentry of Picardy being hampered by the attitude of John of Luxemburg, who was still in friendly intercourse with the English³.

Siege of
Harfleur.

The reduction of Harfleur was a greater undertaking, and a more legitimate success. Dorset was appointed to this task, and apparently sat down to it about the end of

¹ Proceedings, v. 113; Somerset's Indentures must have been sealed about the 11th December when he received his first quarter's pay; he drew his second quarter on the 24th February; Issue Roll, Michaelmas 18 Henry VI.

² Department Somme; between the Somme and the Avre.

³ J. Wavrin, iv. 266-273; E. Monstrelet. The Count died a year later, 5th January 1441; E. Monstrelet, 809; J. Wavrin, 303.

April. It would seem that the Lords Talbot and Faucon-
 berge, and the Arragonese de Surienne, were with him. CHAP. III.
1440.
 The town was again beleagured in the most approved
 style, the English entrenching themselves within a double
 line of earthworks and palisades, while the navigation of
 the river was again cut off¹.

They were materially helped by the circumstance that France was at the moment the victim of a *Praguerie*, as it The *Praguerie*.
 was called², or civil war. The Magnates and the *Écorcheurs*
 had risen against the Ordinance of November 1439, for-
 bidding private levies. La Trémoille intrigued for them,
 and they found a willing head in the Dauphin Louis, the
 future Louis XI, a cool, astute youth of sixteen, imbued
 with a profound contempt for his father. The Dukes of
 Bourbon and Alençon, the Counts of Vendôme and Dunois
 drew the sword against their King: but their views elicited
 no response from the people of France, who rallied round
 Charles VII, as the English in earlier days had rallied
 round Henry I, when threatened by his Barons. The
 Duke of Burgundy also refused to support the Dauphin
 against his father; and Charles showed an unwonted energy.
 The malcontents were driven from Poitou into Bourbon-
 nais and Auvergne, and forced to submit. On the 17th The Barons
subdued by
Charles
VII.
 July Charles proclaimed his reconciliation with his son;
 but the disturbance was not fully suppressed till six weeks
 later³.

These troubles over the King could turn his attention to
 Normandy. The Counts of Eu and Dunois, de Gaucourt
 and La Hire, were sent to the relief of Harfleur. Passing
 through Paris they marched to Amiens and Abbeville,
 where they halted to organise their forces. Dorset in turn
 appealed to his brother Somerset, who came from Rouen
 with all the men he could muster. Sir John Speke was

¹ See J. Wavrin, iv. 274; comparing Stevenson, Letters, ii. 313; Proceedings, v. 149.

² The name was derived from the Hussite wars in Bohemia.

³ April-September; see G. Gruel, 776; G. Bouvier, 407; E. Monstrelet, 793; Bourgeois, 352, 353, and notes; J. Chartier, i. 253; Martin, vi. 386; de Beaucourt, iii. 115.

CHAP. III. sent from England with ships to watch the mouth of the
 1440. Seine (July); while further reinforcements were brought by Lord Scales from Poole¹. It will be seen that altogether the English made considerable efforts. The French Counts having got all things in order left Abbeville, and, pressing through Caux, reached Montivilliers without opposition. A double attack on the English position was arranged. The Count of Eu took charge of a flotilla, while Dunois and La Hire led infantry and cavalry to an attack on the besiegers' lines. Both attempts failed; the boats found the river blocked, and the English in their entrenchments beat off the assaults made upon them both from within and without. The French army retired, and both Harfleur and Montivilliers surrendered to the English². The French, on the other hand, succeeded once more in establishing themselves at Conches and Louviers in Upper Normandy, the King advancing with an army to Chartres and remaining there till the end of the year to render help if necessary³. During the autumn Saint-Germain-en-Laye also was recovered by the French⁴.

Harfleur
recovered
by the
English.

The war
against the
Lollards.
John
Gardiner.
Since Gloucester's campaign of 1432 Lollardism had seemed to smoulder. In 1438 one John Gardiner suffered for an alleged insult offered to the Host "at Synt Mary at the Axe in London, for he was an herytyke; for whenne shulde have benne houselyd (*he should have communicated*) he wpyyd hys mouthe whithe a foule clothe and layde the oste there yn"⁵.

Richard
Wyche.
An execution in 1440 caused considerable commotion. The sufferer was one Richard Wyche, sometime vicar of Deptford, a popular preacher, and apparently a man of

¹ Stevenson, i. 442; Issue Roll, Easter 18 Henry VI, *sub fine*.

² J. Wavrin, iv. 277-285; E. Monstrelet, 796; J. Chartier, i. 259; Bourgeois, 354. Both places were put into Lord Talbot's hands; Stevenson, ii. 317. The news had just reached London on the 1st November; Paston, Letters, i. 40. Harfleur had not yet surrendered on the 17th October; Stevenson, Letters, ii. 310.

³ G. Bouvier, 412; J. Chartier, ii. 7.

⁴ 16th October, Cosneau, 312; December, de Beaucourt, iii. 22.

⁵ W. Gregory, 180.

extensive reading, a true Wycliffite. Some years before he had been examined, and had recanted. Being again found sinning he was finally condemned as "relapse" by Bishop Robert Gilbert of London¹. On the 17th June he was burnt at Tower Hill with his servant. "For whooz deth was gret murmur and troubil among the peple, for some said he was a good man and an holy, and put to deth be malice; and some saiden the contrary".

CHAP. III.
1440.

Pilgrimages were made to the spot where he suffered and prayers and oblations offered there, till a royal prohibition was issued, and regular watch and ward kept at the place².

From proceedings in heresy we have to turn to proceedings in sorcery. The weapon which had been used by Henry V against his step-mother, and by Bedford against the *Pucelle*, was now to be drawn against Gloucester: the seed of the dragon were beginning to devour each other. Humphrey had "loste his great avauntage", when the Regency, and with it his Protectorate, were allowed to expire³. But his recent attack on the two Cardinals showed the mischief of which he was still capable; and his enemies resolved to forestall him⁴. An attack was made upon him through his wife Eleanor Cobham, who was probably still an unpopular person; and who had some influence over the young King⁵. What further handle she may have given to her adversaries it is impossible to say, but their acts betray an unrelenting purpose. It may be that the Duchess had merely endeavoured to interest

Proceed-
ings against
the Duchess
of Glou-
cester.

¹ Two documents relating to a 'Richard Wyche' are given in the Fascic. Ziz.; one a full recantation made to Walter (wrongly given as William) Bishop of Durham; i.e. Walter Skirlaw, 1386-1406, p. 501. Wyche is made to describe himself as 'presbyter Herfordensis', i.e. of Herts. The second document is an elaborate exposition of anti-sacerdotal, anti-mendicant views; p. 370. The chroniclers describe the victim as an assailant of the Friars.

² See Chron. Davies, 56; R. Fabian, 613; Chron. London, 123; W. Gregory, 183; J. Fox, British Martyrs, i. 796.

³ J. Hardyng, 400.

⁴ So R. Fabian, 614; E. Hall, 202; J. Fox, i. 197.

⁵ So at least Chron. Giles, 30.

CHAP. III. the King in natural science, as the Duke had certainly interested him in general literature.

1441.

Arrest of
Roger
Boling-
broke

and
Thomas
Southwell.

The tragedy began with the arrest of one Roger Bolingbroke, otherwise Only¹, an Oxford priest connected with the Duke and Duchess; he is described as "a great astronomer", and again as a great 'nygromancer'²; perhaps we should say an astrologer. It would seem that Roger had cast the Duchess' horoscope, with a view to ascertaining her chances of succeeding to the throne. Thomas Southwell³, another clergyman, and two minor individuals were also arrested. On Sunday, 23rd July⁴, Bolingbroke was set on high among the people in St. Paul's churchyard. He was placed on a stage, sitting in a painted chair, arrayed in a fantastic garb, and surrounded by the instruments of "his craft". After the sermon he was made to abjure all "articles" of necromancy or other tenets "mys sownyng to (*mis-sounding to, inconsistent with*) the Cristen feith"⁵. Cardinal Beaufort, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Salisbury were present. This elaborate function was obviously arranged to stir up popular feeling with a view to ulterior proceedings.

The real aim of the movement having begun to transpire, the Duchess of Gloucester fled by night to the Sanctuary at Westminster⁶. But Sanctuary gave no protection against spiritual authority, or charges of heresy, or the like⁷.

¹ So Hardyng and Fox, sup.

² Chron. Davies, 57; J. Stow, 381; "clericus famosissimus unus illorum in toto mundo in astronomia et arte Nigromantica"; W. Worcest, 161. It is remarkable that "he wrote a book, 'De Innocentia suâ'; also another 'Contra vulgi superstitiones', recorded in Centur. 8. Bale, v. cap. 4"; J. Fox, i. 798. The titles of these books raise a strong presumption in the writer's favour. Duke Humphrey also wrote on Astrology, and in particular one treatise "Tabula Directionum"; Holinshed, iii. 274 from Bâle.

³ Gregory describes him as incumbent of St. Stephen's, Walbrook; the Chron. Davies as Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster.

⁴ Chron. Davies; J. Stow (given as Sunday, 25th July); cf. Chron. London, 128.

⁵ Chron. Davies; W. Gregory, 183; Chron. London.

⁶ Chron. Davies; J. Stow.

⁷ See Pegge, Archæol. viii. 32. 35, citing Constitutions of Linwood, 257.

Bolingbroke having been examined, and having confessed that he had attempted to peep into futurity on Eleanor's behalf, she was brought before "the spiritualité" in St. Stephen's Chapel (25th July). Both the Cardinals were present, with Archbishop Chicheley. Twenty-eight articles were exhibited, charging Eleanor with witchcraft, heresy, and treason; and Bolingbroke gave evidence against her. The court ordered her to be taken to Leeds Castle on remand till the 21st October¹. The King, however, with his usual kindness, insisted that her life should be spared².

CHAP. III.
1441.

The
Duchess
accused of
heresy and
witchcraft.

Her adversaries then, apparently, thinking it desirable to extend the scope of their proceedings, obtained a commission directing the Earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, and the Lords Cromwell, Fanhope, and Hungerford, "to enquire of al maner of tresons, sorcery, and alle othir thynges that myghte in eny wise . . . concerne harmfulli the Kyngis persone"³. As the result of their investigations Bolingbroke and Southwell were indicted of treason, with Dame Eleanor as an accessory. A fresh accomplice was now found in the person of one Margery Jourdain, well known to her age as the Witch of Eye⁴. She was probably a dealer in drugs and cosmetics, as the Duchess was said to have had recourse to her specifics in order to enhance her charms in the eyes of the Duke.

The Witch
of Eye.

¹ Foed. x. 851; Chron. Davies, 58; J. Stow, sup.

² W. Gregory; J. Stow; Foed. sup.; Pol. Poems, ii. 207—

" . . . to his grace he took me ay
Though I had done so gret offence;
The lawe wolde I hade bene slayn,
And sum men dyde there delygence.
That worthy prynce of high prudence
Of my sorow hade gret petye".

For an older and better version of the ballad, with three stanzas not given in Mr. Wright's version, see the MS. in the Cambridge University Library, H.h.; iv. 12 s. 15.

³ Chron. Davies, 58; cf. Devon Issues, 440. The above Lords with the Cardinals constituted the Privy Council of the time; Proceedings.

⁴ She had been arrested in 1432 on a charge of sorcery, but was set free on her husband's recognizance; Foed. x. 505.

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D

CHAP. III.
1441-1442. On the 21st October Eleanor was re-examined by the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Norwich, as commissaries of Archbishop Chicheley, who excused himself from taking a personal part in the proceedings on the plea of ill-health. His retirement, however, is a noteworthy circumstance. Eleanor was now charged with having sought to compass the King's death by magic. The *modus operandi* alleged was exactly that described by the classical writers. A waxen image of the intended victim was placed before a fire, and allowed to waste away by slow degrees; the effect upon the image would be carried by sympathetic action to the original¹. The Duchess appears to have denied the principal charge, admitting however dealings with Jourdain.

Magical
arts.

Penance
of the
Duchess of
Gloucester.

On the 23rd October she was condemned as guilty. Her female accomplice was then burnt at Smithfield as a relapsed witch (27th October). On the 3rd November Eleanor finally abjured all the articles exhibited against her; submitting herself 'to the correction of the bishops'². They did not spare her. On Monday, 13th November, she was taken by water from Westminster to "the Temple Brigge"³—that is to say the landing-stage between the Inner and Middle Temples—and then made to walk bare-foot and hoodless from "Templebarre" up Fleet Street to Saint Paul's, there to offer a wax taper of one pound weight⁴. On the Wednesday she was landed at the Swan Pier in Thames Street, to walk in like fashion by Bridge Street, Grace Church Street, and Leaden Hall, to Christ Church, Aldgate. On the Friday she went from Queenhithe through "Chepe" (*Cheapside*) to Saint Michael's, Cornhill, "in forme aforesaid. At all which times the Maior, Sherifes, and Crafts of London recieved her and accom-

¹ Chron. Davies, 59; R. Fabian, 614; E. Hall, 202; compare Theocritus, ii. 28; Verg. Ecl. viii. 80; Horace, Epod. xvii. 76; 1 Sat. viii. 30. A case actually occurred in the North of England in the year 1890; the image used may be seen in the Pitt-Rivers Collection. *Ex relatione*, F. York Powell.

² Chron. Davies, sup.; W. Gregory, 184; Chron. London, 129.

³ See Wheatley and Cunningham's London, iii. 360 (ed. 1891).

⁴ Chron. London; Chron. Davies; Pol. Poems, sup.

panied her". "The whiche penaunce she fulfillid and dede righte mekely, so that the more part of the peple hadde on hir gret compassioun" ¹.

CHAP. III.

1441.

She is imprisoned for life.

'Eleanor Cobham, lately called Duchess of Gloucester', was then consigned to custody for the remainder of her days². The week closed with the trial and execution of Bolingbroke as a traitor; a timely death in prison had saved Southwell from the same fate.

Helpless and cowed Gloucester looked on in craven silence³.

While the government of England was thus falling to pieces that of France was consolidating its resources. On the last day of 1440 Charles VII left Chartres for an armed progress through Champagne to suppress robber bands and re-assert the supremacy of law, "*et valloit mieulx le faire alors, quoy que tard, que jamais; car par deffault de justice a esté le royaulme de France et est destruit*"⁴. (*Better to do it then, though late, than never; for through lack of justice the realm of France has been and is being destroyed.*) The Count of Maine (Charles of Anjou) and the Constable de Richemont were with the King, and to them the credit of his actions must be given⁵: the Constable had been untiring in his efforts to suppress marauding⁶. The opportune death of the great patron of the

France becoming more orderly.

¹ Chron. London, 129; J. Stow, 382; Chron. Davies, 59, 60.

² Ellis, Letters, 2 Ser. ii. 107; Devon Issues, 440. She was sent first to Chester Castle, afterwards to Kennilworth (October 1443); Foed. xi. 45; and in July, 1446, to the Isle of Man; Proceedings, vi. 51. A liberal allowance was given her; Devon Issues, 447.

³ E. Hall, sup. In the absence of documentary evidence the details of this episode must be given with some reserve. Just a year before (October 1440) Marshal de Rais or Retz (Gilles de Laval), an old brother in arms, but not a friend, of the *Pucelle*, was executed at Nantes for sorcery. See J. Wavrin, iv. 285; J. Chartier, ii. 5 and notes; Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, ii. 412.

⁴ J. Chartier, ii. 12. The Bastard of Bourbon, a notorious *Écorcheur*, was put to death by drowning at Bar-sur-Aube.

⁵ J. Chartier, 16; Bourgeois, 360. See J. Wavrin, p. 305, "les gouverneurs quy pour lors dominoient en l'hostel du roy", also p. 306 and Monstrelet, 809; above all see Bourgeois, 352, "ilz le tenoient comme on ffit ung enfant en tutelle". The testimony on this point is really unanimous.

⁶ So Gruel, *passim*.

CHAP. III. *Écorcheurs*, John of Luxemburg¹, facilitated their task.
 1441. Since the Treaty of Arras he had held a position equally independent of England, France, or Burgundy. His widow and his nephew, Louis the Count of St. Pol, came to Laon at Easter and did formal homage to the King of France². The Duchess of Burgundy also came thither; probably in support of the Duke of Orleans' mission. But Charles' advisers were alarmed at the sudden intimacy of the two Dukes, and began to suspect mischief. The overtures of the Duchess were rejected; and Orleans forbidden to come to Court³.

Creil
 captured
 by the
 French.

The borders of Barrois and Lorraine having been reduced to order Charles advanced to Senlis, while his troops laid siege to Creil. On the 19th May the bombardment began. Jean Bureau the *bourgeois* Treasurer and Master of the Artillery laid his guns so well that on the 25th Sir William Peyto and his 160 men marched out⁴.

Siege of
 Pontoise.

The French then drew their forces round Pontoise, isolated by the fall of Creil. On Whit-Tuesday (6th June) the siege was formally opened, Charles and the Dauphin showing themselves for some hours at the Abbey of Maubuisson, on the left bank of the Oise; and then retiring to safer quarters at Saint-Denis⁵. Within an hour of their departure the English made a vigorous attempt to seize the French train of artillery, which had been brought too far along the causeway: the attack, however, was repulsed so vigorously that the English tried no more sallies⁶.

They had enough to do to maintain their footing in the

¹ 5th January, 1441; E. Monstrelet, 809.

² G. Bouvier, 412; E. Monstrelet, 810-814; J. Chartier, ii. 12.

³ E. Monstrelet, 808, 809, and 814-816; J. Wavrin, iv. 304-307; G. Bouvier, 413; Martin, France, vi. 399; G. Gruel, 777.

⁴ Bourgeois, 359, 360; J. Chartier, ii. 15-17; G. Bouvier, sup.; cf. J. Wavrin, iv. 312. See also Cosneau, de Richemont, 319.

⁵ So Gruel, who was present; also G. Bouvier, 413. According to an Itinerary cited by Vallet de Viriville, the king was not at Saint-Denis between the 4th and the 11th June; Chartier, ii. 17, note: see also p. 26. Pontoise stands on the right bank of the Oise, the side farthest from Paris.

⁶ Gruel, sup.; J. Chartier, ii. 21. The French followed the English almost to the chains of the drawbridge.

Bridge-End on the left bank. The French opened regular siege works against this *tête-de-pont*. On the 13th June the English were driven out of it, three arches of the bridge having been battered down by cannon. The French Court was then allowed to return to Maubuisson ¹.

CHAP. III.
1441.

The next step on the French part was to establish a bridge of boats for their own use, below the town, with protecting earthworks at either end. On the right bank the bridge was connected with St. Martin's Abbey, which became the French head-quarters on that side of the Oise ².

Two days after the French had established themselves at St. Martin's Lord Talbot came up and offered battle. But the French were quite agreed not to risk an action; so Talbot relieved the garrison, leaving Lords Scales and Fauconberge to take a turn of duty, and then retired to Mantes ³.

The place
relieved
by Lord
Talbot.

The Duke of York, though appointed Lieutenant-General a year before, was only now on his way out. He was to draw the large sum of £20,000 a year from the Home Exchequer ⁴: he had sent out 800 men for six months in July 1440 ⁵: the same number had again been mustered on his account at Portsdown in April 1441 ⁶. But in spite of all the pressure of the home and Norman Councils he did not get away till late in June (25th June?), when he sailed from Portsmouth with the Earls of Oxford and Ormonde, Lords Bouchier ⁷ and Clinton, and Sir Richard Wydeville ⁸. Having landed at Harfleur the Duke went to Rouen to take up his authority, and then without loss of

Duke of
York
Lieutenant
General.

¹ Gruel, 777, 778; G. Bouvier, 413, 414.

² Id.; J. Chartier, sup.; J. Wavrin, iv. 316, 317.

³ 24th June; G. Bouvier, sup.; J. Wavrin, 321, 322; J. Chartier, 22; cf. Gruel, sup.

⁴ Stevenson, ii. [586].

⁵ Issues, Easter 18 Henry VI, 22nd July.

⁶ Proceedings, v. 142.

⁷ Henry Bouchier, eldest son of William, Earl of Eu, by Anne, Countess of Stafford, eldest daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester. See Table.

⁸ See Stevenson, i. 193 (given as A. D. 1447); Issue Roll, Easter 20 Henry VI, *sub fine*; Chron. London, 127; W. Gregory, 183.

CHAP. III. time pushed on to Pontoise, which meanwhile had been
 1441. 'refreshed' for the second time by Talbot's energy¹.

Pontoise
 relieved for
 the third
 time. About the 17th or 18th July² York entered Pontoise, the
 French retiring across the river at his approach. His first
 care was to establish a sufficient garrison under Lord
 Clinton³, Sir Nicholas Burdet, and Sir Henry Standish to
 carry on the defence. But he naturally wished to signalise
 Operations. his entry on office by some decided action. A curious
 campaign ensued, in which the English hunted the French
 backwards and forwards across the waters of the Oise and
 Seine.

Crossings
 and re-
 crossings
 of the Oise
 and Seine. The French keeping aloof, a message was forwarded
 to their head-quarters at Maubuisson, on the other side, to
 intimate that the Duke intended to cross the Oise with or
 without the leave of the King of France⁴. On receipt of
 this warning orders were hastily issued to guard the left
 bank of the Oise, from its junction with the Seine at
 Conflans, upwards as far as Creil. But the English
 advancing quickly on Thursday 20th(?) July to Chambly,
 made a feigned attack on Beaumont-sur-Oise, as if they
 meant to cross there, while a pontoon bridge was being
 thrown across the river by night at Royaumont, still higher
 up⁵. By the morning communications with the left bank
 were secured, and the Duke crossed with horse, foot, and
 artillery. The French Constable galloped up in time to
 find that all was done; returning to Maubuisson he took
 the King across the river to St. Martin's, while the bulk of

¹ G. Gruel, 778; J. Wavrin, iv. 324; T. Basin, i. 140 (Paris, 1855, Société de l'Histoire de France).

² "Environ le my Juliet"; Wavrin; 'three weeks after the 24th June'; Bouvier. The only fixed point is the 1st August, on which day York returned to Rouen; Beaurepaire, États, 76; the other dates must be calculated back from this datum, as only the days of the week are given by the Chroniclers.

³ So MS. cited Cosneau, De Richemont, 323. Hall and Fabian give Sir Gervaise Clifton.

⁴ G. Gruel, sup.; J. Wavrin, 327.

⁵ J. Wavrin, 327-329; G. Bouvier, 414; Gruel, sup.; J. Chartier, ii. 22. For leather boats and 'a bridge of barrels', as part of the equipment of an English army, see Proceedings, v. 257; "petits bateaulx de cuir bouilly", Wavrin.

the army was sent back to Saint-Denis to guard against an attack in that direction. The Duke of York, however, descending the Oise, took up his quarters at Maubuisson on the night of the 22nd (?) July, Charles retiring down the Oise below its junction with the Seine, and then crossing the latter to Poissy. On the 25th the English recrossed the Oise by a bridge of boats at a point near its junction with the Seine; and next day came up to the bridge at Poissy, to offer battle. But the French kept behind their bridge; so York, perforce, once more crossing the Seine with his boats¹, retired to Mantes and Rouen. Charles, as if still fearing to have his flank turned, again went over the Seine to Conflans and Saint-Denis; and, sure enough, within two days Talbot came up the left bank of the Seine from Mantes and pillaged Poissy².

The English having finally disappeared, the French again gathered round Pontoise. In three weeks' time the indefatigable Talbot was reported as being at Vigny, some nine miles to the North-West of Pontoise. This time the French captains, as if for very shame, resolved to meet him; but he gave them the slip by a night march; and then, having relieved Pontoise for the fourth time, disappeared³.

Pontoise
again be-
sieged and
again re-
lieved.

The discouragement in the French camp was now great. The Counts of St. Pol and Vaudemont, the King's new vassals, took their leave. In Paris, where heavy taxes had been imposed, discontent became loud and derisive. Charles of Anjou and the Constable saw that the crisis of

¹ Meulan was in the hands of the French; so also apparently were Conches-en-Ouche and Louviers.

² See G. Gruel, 778, 779; G. Bouvier, 415; J. Wavrin, iv. 331-338; J. Chartier, ii. 22-25. Charles came to Saint-Denis in the last week of July; Bourgeois, 362; and York, as already stated, entered Rouen 1st August. For the operations compare the independent narratives of Cosneau, sup. 321-324; and de Beaucourt, Charles VII, iii. 177-187.

³ G. Gruel; G. Bouvier; J. Wavrin. According to the French records cited Cosneau, 324, and de Beaucourt, 187, Talbot mustered his men at Pont-de-l'Arche, 20th and 22nd (21st ?) August. On the 23rd he was in Pontoise, 50 miles off. He relieved the place for the fifth time on the 6th September. A receipt signed by him there on that day is extant; de Beaucourt, 189.

CHAP. III. their administration was come, and that they must either
 1441. take Pontoise or fall. Jean Bureau was directed to press
 Final effort the bombardment to the utmost. Through his efforts the
 of the church of *Notre Dame*, outside the walls, which had been
 French. held as an outwork by the English, was carried (16th
 September). From the top of the tower the besiegers
 could now command the interior of the town. Resolved
 to lose no time they arranged for a final assault on the
 Storm of 19th September. The town was attacked on three sides
 Pontoise. at once, the King and Dauphin commanding two of the
 parties: after an obstinate struggle of two hours' duration
 Pontoise was carried. The first man to enter was of
 peasant birth, a fact noted with surprise by the French
 writers. Some 400 or 500 English were put to the sword,
 among them Sir Nicholas Burdet. Lord Clinton¹, and
 perhaps 300 or 400 more were taken prisoners².

Further
English
reverses

With Pontoise the English lost their last footing in the
 Isle of France. Even their position in Normandy was
 being eaten into. A few days before Pontoise fell Evreux
 had been recovered by "Floquet", the French Captain of
 Conches³. Earlier in the year he had captured Beaumesnil
 and Beaumont-le-Roger⁴, thus establishing a little Quadri-
 lateral in the heart of the province. The discomfiture of
 a foraging party sent by Sir John Fastolf from Maine into
 Anjou completes the sum of the reverses of the year⁵.

Gascony.
English
siege of
Tartas.

In Gascony close siege had been laid to the castle of
 Tartas in the Landes, still held by the Sire d'Albret, the
 one outstanding acquisition of the invasion of 1438⁶.

¹ John Lord Clinton, though of age when his father William died in 1432, was not summoned to Parliament till 1450. He was still a prisoner in May 1443; *Proceedings*, v. 278; *Historic Peerage*.

² G. Bouvier, 415, 416; Cruel, *sup.*; J. Wavrin, iv. 341-348; Bourgeois, 362, 363; J. Chartier, ii. 25-27, q.v. for an interchange of ballads between the two parties. For fuller details see Cosneau, 325; de Beaucourt, 189, &c.

³ 15th September; Bouvier, 417; J. Chartier, ii. 32; 14th September, Bourgeois, 362. "Floquet" was the pet name for Robert de Floques, a Norman gentleman.

⁴ Chartier, 17. All four places are in the department of the Eure, and quite near each other. Louviers, too, in the same district, was French.

⁵ *Id.* 19.

⁶ See above.

After holding out for some months he signed articles agreeing to surrender on the 1st May, 1442, if not previously relieved. The 'day' was subsequently adjourned to the Eve of St. John ¹.

CHAP. III.
1441.
A 'Day' taken.

On the 25th January, 1442, Parliament was opened at Westminster. The Chancellor, Bishop Stafford, did not venture on the most distant allusion to public affairs, confining himself strictly to rhetorical common-places of the approved sort. The Commons in return gave little more than they could help. They gave one Subsidy for the two years 1442 and 1443; they continued the wool duties and Tonnage and Poundage for two years at existing rates; and they renewed the Poll-tax on foreigners, also for two years ².

Parliament at Westminster.

Money Grants.

The proceeds of these taxes were declared applicable in the first instance to the "saf keypyng of the see". This proviso in itself might have passed as a common form, but the Commons propounded a definite scheme which the Government were forced to accept. Eight 'great ships' of 150 men each, with eight attendant barges of eighty men, eight balingers of forty men, and four pinnaces of twenty-five men each would be kept afloat for six months in 1442, and for eight months in 1443. The cost of the armament for the six months was estimated at £4568, and for the eight months at £6090 ³. Of the ships to be employed in this service only one apparently was a King's ship; the rest were to be provided by private individuals; for their encouragement a scheme for the distribution of prize money was framed, and the act of Henry V against truce breaking was again suspended ⁴.

The sea to be 'kept.'

Privateering encouraged.

¹ J. Chartier, ii. 10; J. Wavrin, iv. 354; G. Bouvier, 419; Sismondi, citing Vic et Vaissette, book xxxiv. p. 496; Proceedings, v. 121, 161; Foed. x. 850.

² Rot. Parl. v. 35-39; power was given to borrow up to the preposterous amount of £200,000.

³ Id. 59, 90. The 'great ships' were to be stationed off Bristol, Dartmouth, London, Hull, and Newcastle; 2260 men were sent to sea at the end of August for three months; Issue Roll, Easter 20 Henry VI; Proceedings, *passim*.

⁴ Stat. 20 Henry VI. c. 11. In the same spirit letters of naval safe-conduct were declared invalid until enrolled in Chancery, c. 1.

CHAP. III. Thus the whole plan assumed a good deal of the aspect of an organized system of privateering.

1442.

Trials of
Peeresses.

One constitutional point settled in this Session must have been raised by the trial of the Duchess of Gloucester. To what tribunal were peeresses charged with treason or felony amenable? Magna Charta was silent as to the

Statute.

rights of women. It was enacted that a peeress should be tried in the same manner as a peer indicted of the same offence would be¹. Acts of brigandage committed by Welshmen in England were declared high treason; and Collectors of Customs were prohibited from owning ships or trading on their own account². Among the miscellaneous transactions of the Session we may notice the confirmation of the foundation of Eton College³, the second in date of our great Public Schools, and the winding up of the trusts of Henry V's will⁴.

Founda-
tion of
Eton.

The war.

The general records of the year indicate no relaxation of purpose in the matter of the war. A relief of 200 spears, 300 horse archers, and 2000 foot archers was sent out to the Duke of York; over £13,000 were paid for the wages of these men for six months, the payment being treated as irrespective of £15,000 due to the Duke on his existing engagement⁵. But Crown jewels had to be sold to raise the amount⁶. Lord Talbot came over to superintend the raising of this force. He went back in June, having received a fit-

¹ Stat. 20 Henry VI, c. 9.

² Id. 3, 5; cf. 14 Ric. II. c. 10.

³ Rot. Parl. v. 45-52. The King's original charter for Eton is dated 11th October, 1440, and the Papal Bull, 28th January, 1441, as already mentioned; Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 285, 293. The foundation charter of St. Mary and St. Nicholas (King's College) is dated 12th February, 1441; Foed. xi. 36. The first stone of the latter college was laid by Henry on the 2nd April, 1441, that of Eton having been previously laid by him. See the distich, Capgrave, Illus. Henr. 133. At Eton itself the 3rd July has been held the Foundation Day, but the work was clearly going on before that time. See Maxwell Lyte, Hist. Eton College, 13. 446 (ed. 1889); Excerpta Hist. 45. On the 14th March, 1442, £1200 were paid to the Bishop of Salisbury on account of the buildings; Issues, Michaelmas, 20 Henry VI. William of Waynflete was brought from Winchester to organise Eton as its first Head Master. See also above, p. 25.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 57, 58.

⁵ Issues, Michaelmas and Easter, 20 Henry VI, *passim*.

⁶ Stevenson, i. 431.

ting recognition of his great services by his promotion to the Earldom of Shrewsbury¹. But the recovery of Conches² was the only success of the year; a French attack on Gallardon, near Chartres, was repulsed for a time; but eventually the English commanders accepted 11,000 "*saluts d'or*" to dismantle the place and retire³.

CHAP. III.
1442.

This lack of enterprise was the more remarkable as all the time Charles was far away in the South.

¹ Issues, Easter 20 Henry VI. The Earl's patent is dated 20th May; H. Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*. His muster was to be taken 20-27th May; *Proceedings*, v. 186; W. Gregory, 184. It may be noted that though in English the title has always been "Earl of Shrewsbury"—the town; in the patent he is made "*comes Salopiae*", i. e. of the county of Shropshire.

² Department Eure, between Evreux and Verneuil.

³ G. Bouvier, 419; Stevenson, ii. 332, 360; J. Wavrin, iv. 368.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

French invasion of Gascony.—Proposal for Henry's marriage to a daughter of the Count of Armagnac.—Expedition of John Duke of Somerset to France.
—Proposal for Henry's marriage to Margaret of Anjou.

CHAP. IV.

1442.

Meeting
of French
Magnates
at Nevers.

THE Duke of Orleans had not forgotten the engagements under which he had been set free.

In concert with the Duke of Burgundy he got up a grand gathering of malcontent princes at Nevers in March 1442. The Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon¹, and the Counts of Angoulême and Vendôme were there. Charles sent his Chancellor to watch the proceedings. A demand for fresh conferences with England was forwarded to the King, with a paper of Magnates' grievances, the whole amounting to a threat of a new "*Praguerie*". Charles answered that he could attend to nothing till after the 'day' of Tartas; but that he was open to a conference with the English in October; only he warned the princes first that he would cede nothing to England except subject to homage; and secondly that he would require the people of Normandy to be represented, 'as the matter touches them more than any others'. The King's advisers were evidently beginning to reckon on the speedy expulsion of the English².

¹ For confidential communications held in 1441 between the English and the Dukes of Orléans, Alençon, Brittany, and Burgundy, see the intercepted letter, Stevenson, i. 189 (wrongly given under 1447, rightly Vallet de Viriville, ii. 432).

² See E. Monstrelet, 823-829; G. Bouvier, 418.

Charles devoted the first months of the year to re-establishing his authority in Poitou, where we hear that force had to be employed to reduce Saintes, Verteuil, and Angoulême. But the Duke of Orleans was invited to court at Limoges, and received a grant towards the unpaid balance of his ransom¹.

CHAP. IV.
1442.
Campaign
of Charles
VII in Poi-
tou and
Gascony.

On the 8th June Charles entered Toulouse, where he received the homage of the Counts of Foix and Comminges. The Count of Armagnac did not appear, for reasons to be presently stated; but he sent his eldest son, the Vicomte de Lomagne. From Toulouse Charles advanced to Tartas with an overwhelming force. On the 23rd June the keys of the place were delivered to him, the English having failed to appear. Following up his advantage on the following Wednesday he stormed St. Sever, capturing Sir Thomas Rempston, the Seneschal of Guienne².

The Archbishop of Bordeaux, Pey Berland, hurried to England to report the state of affairs; both Bayonne and Bordeaux were in danger; not a place could be considered safe³.

The Council were driven to their wits' end by this new alarm. All available means had been exhausted by the efforts made for the defence of Normandy, and the 'keeping of the sea'. Even Cardinal Beaufort had no cash to spare; 'he could lend £4000 worth of plate', he said, 'but if the "vessel" was to be melted down he would expect the cost of the "farceon" (*fashion*) to be repaid as well as that of the metal'⁴.

This attack on Aquitaine was the more provoking as the Council had been looking forward to an extension of English influence in those parts. The malcontent princes, wishing to enlist the Count of Armagnac, John IV, as

¹ Bouvier, 417, 418; cf. Gruel, 780.

² Id.; G. Bouvier, 419, 420; J. Wavrin, iv. 358-363; E. Monstrelet, 831; Cosneau, de Richemont, 335.

³ Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 186-190.

⁴ Proceedings, v. 199. "Vessel" is simply the French "*vaisselle*".

CHAP. IV. a confederate, had suggested that he might offer the hand of
 1442. one of his daughters to Henry VI¹. The Count took the hint and sent to London, where his proposals met with

A marriage
 proposal
 for Henry
 VI. a very flattering reception. Envoys were immediately instructed to negotiate a marriage²; all that Henry stipulated was that he should be allowed his choice of the three young ladies, and that their portraits should be submitted for his inspection. He even took the trouble to dictate and sign private instructions on the subject: "the whiche as ye wote wel we be not mucche accustomed for to do in other caas"³.

Vicissitudes of the war in Gascony. The envoys sailed to Bordeaux in July, only to witness the continued successes of the French. On the 3rd August Dax was captured, the Dauphin taking an active part in the operations. The Landes having been reduced Charles moved to Agen. Tonneins and Marmande surrendered at his call. On the 8th October the town of La Réole was carried by assault after five days' siege. The reduction of the castle proved a lengthy affair, extending over two months, during which time sundry more places on the Garonne were captured by the French, and some of them recaptured by the English, among these being Langon, Dax, and St. Sever. The latter place, however, changed hands for the third time before the year was out, being again reduced by the Count of Foix (November). But such was ever the character of Gascon warfare and Gascon politics⁴. Within a limited area England had a real hold on the people. During this campaign the people so far as they could sided with them⁵.

Severe winter. The French suffered severely at the siege of La Réole, the winter having set in with most unusual severity. In

¹ So the Count; Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 206.

² May; Foed. xi. 6, 7. The agents were Sir Robert Roos and Thomas Bekyngton, now the King's private Secretary.

³ Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 181. One Hans, presumably a Dutch or Flemish artist, was sent out to take the portraits; id. 220, &c.

⁴ Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 185, 196, 201, 205, 206, 213, 215, 228, 246; G. Bouvier, 421, 422; J. Wavrin, iv. 363-367; E. Monstrelet.

⁵ J. Wavrin, 366; E. Monstrelet.

fact all through the autumn they had found great difficulty in procuring the most ordinary necessities. Among those who succumbed to the hardships of the campaign was Etienne de Vignolles, better known as "La Hire", an utter Free Lance, but endeared to his countrymen by his untiring activity against the English. His name is still enshrined on every French pack of playing cards: he died eventually at Montmorillon in the following spring¹.

The war in Gascony 'dashed' the proposed marriage with the daughter of Armagnac. Count John evinced every disposition to go on with the affair, but with a royal army on the borders of his territory he was obliged to be extremely circumspect. The English envoys on the other hand made no allowance for his situation, pressing for a personal interview which was impossible at the time². In January 1443, they threw up their mission and returned to England³. It was understood that the rupture was the work of the Earl of Suffolk⁴, who was beginning to take a great lead in the Beaufort party, the marriage having been favoured by Gloucester. At any rate the rupture "kyndelyd a newe brande of burnyng" between the two factions, and became the turning point in the fortunes of Henry VI⁵.

The home Government had appealed to the country for help for Guienne; but England did not respond. The prospective appointment of Somerset to the chief command in Guienne as successor to Huntingdon was the only measure that could be announced. Sir Philip Chetwynd, the Mayor of Bayonne, had raised some 500 archers in the summer, and these apparently went out. Sir William Bonville, who had been fighting with the Earl of Devon for the Stewardship of the Duchy of Cornwall⁶, was persuaded to take over some men from Plymouth early in

¹ G. Bouvier, *sup.*; G. Gruel, 780; J. Wavrin, iv. 367; cf. Bourgeois, 367.

² See Bekyngton, *Letters*, *passim*, and esp. 225, 229, 242.

³ *Id.*

⁴ William de la Pole, brother of the man killed at Agincourt, and son of the man who died before Harfleur.

⁵ R. Fabian, 616; E. Hall, 204.

⁶ See *Proceedings*, v. 158, 165, &c.

CHAP. IV.
1442-1443.
French
losses.

The Earl
of Suffolk.

CHAP. IV. 1443. The only other relief was a permission to the Municipalities of Bayonne and Bordeaux to ship wheat duty free from England¹.

Normandy. The inactivity of the Duke of York in Normandy did not escape comment in England. It was perhaps to disarm criticism that on the 1st November (1442) the Earl of Shrewsbury had laid siege to Dieppe. With only 600² men at his disposal he could not blockade the town, but he established a garrison in a strong wooden *bastille* on the height of the Polet, commanding the harbour; and left them there to bombard and harass Dieppe³.

English
siege of
Dieppe.

The Duke of York and the Beauforts. The critical question for the Government now was Normandy or Guienne? which stood most in need of relief? which was easier to relieve? But the King was not altogether free to choose. The Duke of York's commission covered the whole of France; the mere appointment therefore of the Earl of Somerset to be Captain-General of Guienne was an infringement of his rights; the infringement would become very material if the money promised to the Duke were to be diverted to his rival.

The question which involved the germ of the so-called "Wars of the Roses"⁴ was formally debated in Council on the 6th February. The Beaufort party was all-powerful, and the Cardinal settled the question by pronouncing emphatically that both must be relieved. But as two "armees" were confessedly impossible, relief to Guienne meant breach of faith with York⁵.

¹ Stevenson, Letters, ii. 465; Ellis, Letters, 2nd Series, i. 76; Proceedings, v. 193, 203, 206, 207, 217, 220, 221, 418; Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 239, 240.

² See B. M. Add. Charters, Nos. 144, 471, for the muster held; also Q. R. Miscell. Army §4.

³ J. Chartier, i. 36; G. Bouvier, 422; Chron. London, 131; Beaurepaire, États.

⁴ The reader may be warned at once that the term "Wars of the Roses" is a misnomer. During the Civil War there was but one rose, the white rose of York. There was no Lancastrian rose: the red rose of the House of Tudor first appeared on Bosworth Field.

⁵ Proceedings, v. 223, 224, 229. Sir John Stourton alone said that the King should attend first to that which was "next hande". Kemp and Gloucester answered that he should do "that he may".

"Henry was perhaps the most unfortunate King who ever reigned". Many have suffered for the sins of others, but probably no King ever lost his throne who was personally so popular. Truthful and just; conscientious, simple-minded, and pure; for unaffected devotion he might be compared to the *Pucelle*. By rights he ought to have been canonised as a saint, for such he was. To give and to forgive was his delight. "He left a mark on the hearts of Englishmen that was not soon erased"¹. But he had not manhood enough to rule a convent, much less to rule feudal England. His slender faculties broke down under the strain of over-training and premature responsibility. As to his weakness all authorities are agreed. Hardyng, at one time a retainer of the House of Percy, writes as if Henry could hardly distinguish between good and evil.

CHAP. IV.

1443.

Henry VI:
his charming character,

and incapacity to govern.

"Of his symplehead

He could litle within his brest conceyve,

The good from eivill he could uneth (*hardly*) perceyve"².

If the writer meant *political* good or evil we might agree with him. Dr. Thomas Gascoigne, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, having had to wait on the King on business, Henry asked him why he was not a Bishop, as if the matter did not rest with himself³.

"It is touching to read the letters written under his eye, in which he petitions for the canonisation of S. Osmund and King Alfred". The reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches; books and grammar schools; the education of his half-brothers, Edmund and Jasper Tudor; these were the matters in which he took a living interest⁴.

His interest
in Church
affairs
and Education.

¹ Stubbs, iii. 130, citing the panegyric of John Blakman, printed by Hearne with his Otterbourne, i. 267. See also E. Hall, 208.

² p. 394. "So Wavrin, "la simplesse du roy que nestoit mye ydonee . . . ou assez sensible", &c., iv. 350.

³ Liber Veritatis, 176. The incident apparently took place between 1442 and 1445, p. xix. The question was a cruel one, as it was Gascoigne's grievance that he was not a Bishop. But he was a follower of the House of March.

⁴ Stubbs, sup. 129, and Blakman, 290, 298; Bekyngton, Letters, i. 117, 118;

CHAP. IV.

1443.
Somerset
Captain-
General of
France and
Guienne.

On the 30th March Somerset's articles were settled. He was appointed Captain-General of all 'France and Guienne' for seven years. But his authority was expressly limited to those parts not actually under the control of the Duke of York. On the same day he was created Duke¹. On the 6th April he drew his first quarter in advance, £13,515, for 800 spears and 3400 bows, £10,000 of the amount being advanced by the Cardinal. But his confidence in himself was so slight that, while taking the money, he had it entered on the Roll that he was retained for a year 'to do his honest best' (*ad faciendum usque posse suum non fictum*)².

Dorset
created a
Marquis.

To keep a fair balance between the brothers, Dorset was raised to a Marquisate³.

The Earl
of Suffolk,

a follower
of the
Beauforts.

The despatch apprising York of the concurrent appointment of his rival was drawn up by the Chancellor Stafford and the Earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole. The Earl had been engaged in all the wars from 1415 to 1429: he had fought against the *Pucelle*, and had been taken prisoner by her. Since 1431 he had been, next to the Chancellor, the most regular attendant at the Council-table⁴. But he was understood to take his cue entirely from the Beauforts⁵, with whom he was connected through his wife, Alice Chaucer, the granddaughter of the poet. The 'Lord Chancellor,' a cautious, experienced official, belonged to

ii. 49, 51. Henry's word to the Eton boys always was 'Be good boys' ("sitis boni pueri"); Blakman, 296. For gifts of books to All Souls' College, Oxford, see Proceedings, v. 109, 117, 140. For the reform of grammar schools in London, see Excerpt. Hist. 4 A. D. 1446.

¹ Proceedings, v. 251, 281, 298, 409. Somerset's formal commission was not sealed till the 14th June; Carte, General History of England, ii. 309.

² See the entry, Issue Roll, Michaelmas 21 Henry VI, also Michaelmas 22 Henry VI, m. 1.

³ Edmund Beaufort appears as Marquis by the 6th July; Proceedings, v. 298. He did not receive the grant of his pension till the 1st December; Lords' Report, v. 247. The reader will remember that both Edmund and his brother John, the Duke, were the sons of John Beaufort (the elder brother of the Cardinal), who had been Earl of Somerset and Marquis of Dorset. See Genealogical Table.

⁴ See Proceedings, *passim*.

⁵ J. Wavrin, iv. 352.

the same party: so necessary was he found that he was not allowed to resign the Great Seal when promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury at this very time¹. The despatch informed the Duke of York that, the King understanding that "his adversarie" was intending to invade Normandy after subduing Guienne, had "withholden" (*retained*) "his cousin the Duc of Somerset to use moost cruel and mortel werre that he can and may. For it is semed (*thought*) ful behoveful and necessarie that the maner and the conduit (*conduct*) of the werre be chaunged". The document then proceeded to point out that Somerset would in fact serve as a "shelde" (*shield*) to the Duke of York, "betwix him and thadversarie"; the limited scope of Somerset's commission was also dwelt upon. Lastly, with reference to the £20,000 already due to York, the King begged him to "take patiens for a tyme", considering the "grete charge" that Somerset's outfit would "drawe unto"; and that the King always had been and would be disposed to keep his "convenants" with York "as ferre as reson woll"².

CHAP. IV.

1443.

His instructions.

The language of this document makes it impossible for us to suppose that Suffolk personally had compunctions as to continuing the war. He hints that the Duke of York has been too merciful, and announces that Somerset will show him an example by waging "cruel and mortel werre".

But while Cardinal Beaufort, for the sake of a nephew, was thus risking a deadly quarrel with the Duke of York, the control of England seemed to be slipping from his hands. The country was exhibiting all the premonitory symptoms of civil war; not apparently from any special cause of political discontent, but simply from the inability of the Government to keep order.

Anarchic state of England.

We have already referred to the private war waged in 1441 between Sir William Borville and the Earl of Devon.

Disturbances in Devon,

¹ See Foss, *Judges*, iv. 357; Hook, *Archbishops*, v. 130. Henry Chicheley died on the 12th April, 1443. The Bull translating Stafford is dated 13th May. Stafford had vacated the Treasury in 1426, when Cardinal Beaufort resigned the Seal. For Chicheley and All Souls College, see below, p. 56.

² *Proceedings*, 258-263.

CHAP. IV. Each claimed to be Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall ;
 1443. each could produce a Royal Patent in his favour. This feature of the case is most characteristic of the times. Doubtless one of them had approached the King through one channel, and the other had approached him through another channel ; and each had obtained what he asked for. We are assured that in the hostilities 'many men were hurt and many slain'¹.

Wales, In the autumn of 1442 riots were reported in Wales : appeal was made to the Duke of York to concert measures with the other Lords Marchers. A monk had been 'telling chronicles' and stirring the people². That savoured of

York, politics. In February (1443) disturbances broke out at York between the citizens and the Abbot of St. Mary's³.

Norwich, At Norwich the people rose against a decision obtained against them by the Abbot of St. Benet's Holm in a suit relating to some mills. The civic franchises, which had been suspended for rioting in 1437, had again to be suspended⁴. We hear of Sir John Neville being bound down to keep the peace with the Abbot of Fountains⁵ ; we hear of Lord Grey of Ruthyn being bound down to keep the peace towards the men of Northampton⁶ ; we hear of riots suppressed with difficulty at Salisbury ; of riots in Derbyshire ; of seditious language and resistance to the collection of civic dues (*skewage*) in London⁷.

Northampton, Salisbury, and Derbyshire.
 Local War against Arch-bishop Kemp. Perhaps the most serious disturbances occurred in the northern Province. Cardinal Kemp was non-resident and unpopular. For some time systematic resistance had been offered by the tenants of the Forest of Knaresborough to the collection of the Archbishop's dues on goods exhibited at the fairs of Ripon and Otley. In 1441 he had to

¹ Proceedings, v. 158-175, 408. Somerset had sided with Devon.

² Id. 211-215, 233.

³ Id. 225.

⁴ Id. 321, 243 ; Blomefield, Norfolk, iii. 146-149 ; cf. Chren. London, 131.

⁵ Proceedings, 241.

⁶ Id. 290-305. Disturbances had occurred there in 1442 ; the town bell was rung, p. 191.

⁷ Id. 247, 278, 290, 294. *Skewage* or *scavage* is explained as a toll on 'showing' goods for sale ; H. T. Riley.

garrison Ripon during the fair with 200 "marchmen" from Hexham and Tynedale. On their way home they were attacked by the men of Boroughbridge: two of the Archbishops "carles" were killed and some twenty wounded ¹.

CHAP. IV.
1443.

In May 1443, the disturbances in the North reached a climax through the action of the Earl of Northumberland, who stirred up general resistance to the authority of the Archbishop's spiritual courts. Riots took place at Ripon and Bishopthorpe; parks were broken into, and wind-mills and water-mills destroyed. The Earl was called to account for a circular issued by him to his officers. The matter was referred to arbitration, and eventually Northumberland was ordered to make good the damages ².

The Earl of Northumberland attacks the Archbishop.

However amiable and popular the King might be, it is clear that such a state of things as this could not fail to breed political discontent.

To raise money for Guienne all the usual expedients were called into requisition. Commissioners, provided with Letters of Privy Seal "with blank tailles" ³, were sent down to the counties. Even Ireland was appealed to. An attempt was made to bring all English freeholders to a Grand Council in London after Easter ⁴. What came of it does not appear. Thus the Cardinal had to advance another £10,000 for his nephew's expedition; and even so the Treasurer was £8000 short ⁵.

Financial difficulties.

The Duke of York did not acquiesce tamely in Somerset's

¹ See Plumpton, *Correspondence* (Camden Society, 1839), p. liv, &c.

² Proceedings, 269-275, 309; Foed. xi. 27. On the 11th May Sir William Normanville, Sir John Salwayn, Sir Alexander and William Neville, and three other Yorkshire squires were summoned to appear before the Privy Council; Rymer, Coll. vi. No. 49.

³ I. e. requests from the King for money, with blank spaces left for the actual sums to be demanded from each individual.

⁴ Proceedings, 237-258, 414.

⁵ Id. 276-280. The money was advanced on the 6th June, with another £1000 on the 6th July. The whole £21,000 was repaid by the 22nd February, 1445, the first £10,000 having been cleared off by the 24th April, 1444; Issue and Receipt Rolls, *ad loca*. On the 21st February, 1444, £11,666 13s. 4d. due to York for wages were paid up, but only with money borrowed shortly before from himself. For the repayment of the loan he received deferred drafts which were not cleared off for ten years; Issue and Receipt Rolls.

CHAP. IV. appointment. A formal embassy, headed by the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Treasurer of Normandy, John Stanlowe, came over to England to remonstrate: a renewed assurance that the appointment of Somerset involved no "disworship" to the Duke of York was all the comfort they got. A paltry 1000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.), however, were doled out for the operations at Dieppe, with a promise of 2000 marks (£1333 6s. 8d.) more from the fines to be exacted from the rioters at Norwich¹.

The siege
of Dieppe,

The forlorn band on the heights of the Polet had held their ground for nearly ten months with wonderful tenacity. Thrice the French sent help to Dieppe. The first reinforcement was brought by the Count of Dunois, within a month of the beginning of the attack (December 1442). Another relief was sent in March 1443, under a Breton. The English still persevering, the Dauphin in person was finally sent to the rescue, with Dunois as coadjutor. Passing through Paris in July, they rallied the gentry of Picardy at Abbeville. On the 11th August they entered Dieppe: the same afternoon the English *bastille* was invested. On the 14th it was carried by assault; some 300 English were put to the sword; the commanders, Sir William Peyto, Sir John Ripley, and Henry Talbot, a natural son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, were saved alive².

raised by
the French.

Failure of
Somerset's
expedition.

Somerset's expedition, engendered of nepotism and party feeling, ended in fitting shame. In fairness to him it should be stated that he was in bad health, and that he showed decided reluctance to undertake the task³. His idea of generalship was secrecy; he would take no one into his confidence. He used to say that if his shirt knew his plans he would burn it. 'In fact', says the writer, 'it

¹ June; Proceedings, v. 288-290, 306. £4627 were due to Shrewsbury for actual wages, besides £8000 promised to him for his ransom in 1433. He released half his wages and received security for £10,426, of which sum £6797 remained due in 1453; Stevenson, Letters i. 434; Rot. Parl. v. 263.

² J. Chartier, ii. 36-41; G. Bouvier, 424; J. Wavrin, iv. 372-383; Bourgeois, 368.

³ See Proceedings, v. 226. Somerset died in the following month of May, 1444. See next page.

remained a secret at the end of the campaign, whether he himself had found out his own intentions'¹.

CHAP. IV.

1443.

After infinite delays he sailed in August². He had drawn his second quarter's pay for 600 spears and 3949 bows³; but the Council complained that the numbers were made up by fraud and personation. Men of rank refused to join⁴. The one ostensible object of his expedition was the relief of Guienne. But instead of sailing to Bordeaux he landed at Cherbourg, from whence he marched southwards, along the March of Brittany, to La Guerche, which he seized and pillaged, although belonging to the friendly Duke of Brittany⁵; from thence he advanced to the neighbourhood of Pouancé (Maine-et-Loire), where he remained some time, ravaging Anjou and Touraine, but afraid to advance, because Charles was established on the Loire, while the Constable was at Château Gonthier (Mayenne). Falling backwards, Somerset captured Beaumont-le-Vicomte (Sarthe) in December, and then threw himself upon the hospitality of the Duke of York at Rouen. A petty skirmish at Pouancé, in which a night attack by the French was defeated, is the only recorded engagement of the campaign⁶. In the course of the following spring he came home to die⁷.

As already mentioned, Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 12th April, 1443. His death made way for the promotion of a Beaufort partisan, John Stafford; Chicheley was too quiet a man to take any decided part in politics. He had resisted the promotion of

¹ T. Basin, i. 150; J. Gairdner. Basin was in Normandy at the time.

² The force had cleared out before the 15th August; Issues, Easter 21 Henry VI, m. 14.

³ Devon Issues, 446. Large sums were also paid for his ordnance; Issues, Easter 21 Henry VI.

⁴ Proceedings, 292, 410-412.

⁵ Duke Francis I of Brittany bought Somerset out of La Guerche for 20,000 "saluts"; see his complaints and the remonstrances of the Council to Somerset; Proceedings, vi. 12, 18, 22. Francis succeeded his father, John VI, in 1442; 28th August; Cosneau.

⁶ G. Bouvier, 424; Gruel, 781; J. Wavrin, 375-377; T. Basin, i. 149.

⁷ He died 27th May, 1444; H. Nicolas; Chron. London.

CHAP. IV. Henry Beaufort to the Cardinalate, fearing to see his own
 1443. legitimate authority overruled by that of a legate *a latere*.
 Beaufort's tact in avoiding interference in Church matters
 reconciled Chicheley to the new state of things; and he
 offered no opposition to the promotion of Cardinal Kemp.
 As Bishop of St. David's, Chicheley had assisted at the
 Council of Pisa; but he will be best remembered in con-
 nexion with his foundation of All Souls College, Oxford¹.

After the collapse of Somerset's expedition, the most
 thorough-going advocates of war must have felt that some
 breathing time was necessary. The French, on the other
 hand, were disposed to rest awhile on their successes.
 The proposed marriage of Henry to a daughter of the
 Count of Armagnac having fallen to the ground, the King's
 The King's hand was still free. With a man of Henry's character it
 marriage. was morally certain that the Queen would become a most
 important factor in English politics; and the Beauforts
 were doubtless resolved to have a Queen of their own
 making, one who would be bound to them by ties of grati-
 tude and self-interest. The Duke of Orleans was able
 to suggest another consort whose hand might serve as
 Margaret a bond of peace. The lady named was Margaret of Anjou,
 of Anjou. daughter of René, Duke of Bar and Lorraine, Count of
 Provence, and titular King of Sicily and Jerusalem; a
 landless man of no influence, but brother to the Queen of
 France and to Charles of Anjou, the King's chief adviser;
 a personal friend of the Constable de Richemont, and so
 altogether one of the innermost court circle². Margaret
 was young and fair to see; and her tragic career proved her
 to be endowed with a spirit and ability of no common
 The Duke order. In suggesting the Armagnac alliance Orleans
 of Orleans. undoubtedly had wished to promote the coalition of French
 Magnates mooted at Nevers in 1442. But since then his
 relations to the French Court had been materially changed;

¹ See Hook, *Archbishops*, v. 1-129. The site for All Souls was purchased in
 December 1437: the Statutes were not finally sealed till the 2nd April, 1443,
 just ten days before the Archbishop's death; *Id.* 112, 127.

² Sismondi, *France*, xiii. 168, 196, 203.

and it may be doubted whether in proposing the hand of Margaret he had any other purpose than that of bringing about a friendly understanding between the dominant parties of the two Courts in the interests of peace.

But in whatever way he put the matter the Beauforts were taken with the scheme; though it involved an abandonment of the Burgundian policy they had previously held to, and they resolved to reopen negotiations for peace at the point which they had reached in 1439 when Gloucester interfered. They would offer to renounce the Crown of France on condition of receiving Normandy, and an extended Guienne, in absolute dominion¹. Suffolk was named the chief Ambassador, it would seem at the suggestion of the Duke of Orleans, who had lived under Suffolk's roof in England². To facilitate the conclusion of the marriage, he was empowered to waive all question of the dowry usually expected from a Royal bride.

It would seem that the Beauforts also hoped to conclude a private truce and league of amity with the House of Anjou to assure to them the retention of Maine³, which had been granted to Dorset for his life⁴. If so they were signally disappointed in the result.

¹ See Stevenson, i. 129. René of course owed the Burgundians a grudge for the day of Bulgnéville; above, A. D. 1431.

² See Suffolk's own statement; Proceedings, vi. 33. The Duke of Brittany (Francis I) had heard of Suffolk's intended mission in the autumn of 1443, and sent to London to enquire as to the part he ought to take; Id. 11, 12. His brother Giles received a retaining pension of 1000 marks a year for service in war; Id. 10; Foed. xi. 48. Garter-King-at-Arms, had been on a mission to the Duke of Orleans; Foed. 52.

³ See Stevenson, ii. [641]. It seems pretty clear that some such league was actually formed.

⁴ See Proceedings, v. 263; Stevenson, ii. [692], [696]. Dorset is styled Count of Maine by his subordinates; Id. [704], (September, 1447).

CHAP. IV.

1443.

The Beau-
forts.The Earl
of Suffolk.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Suffolk's mission to France.—Betrothal of Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI.—
Secret promise of cession of Maine.—Margaret brought to England.—The
Royal marriage.—Parliament.—French Embassy to London.

CHAP. V.

1444.

Suffolk's
instruc-
tions.

Delicate
nature of
his mission.

ON the 11th February, 1444, Suffolk, Adam Moleyns, Keeper of the Privy Seal¹, and Sir Robert Roos were authorised to conclude peace or a truce with 'our uncle in France', a civil phrase that, without involving any actual renunciation, implied a disposition to make concessions in that direction². But Suffolk appreciated, to some extent at least, the perilous nature of the mission he had undertaken. He refused to go except on condition of receiving an absolute indemnity against any charge or demand that might be brought by or on behalf of the King or his heirs against him for or on account of anything that might be done in the matter of the "ambassade". In fact, he said, "langaige" had already been "sowen" (*language sown*, i. e. *aspersions cast*) upon him in London since his going had been "opened among the people"³. This implies that the purport of his mission was already known and condemned in England. It will be borne in

¹ Moleyns received the Privy Seal that same day, vice T. Bekyngton, now Bishop of Bath; Foed. xi. 58.

² "Cum serenissimo principe Carolo avunculo nostro in regno Franciae." So it runs in the authority to make peace. In the instructions concerning a truce we have "avunculo nostro nobis adversante"; "dictum adversarium"; Foed. 60, 62, also 53. The Duke of Orleans was to act as mediator; p. 49.

³ Proceedings, vi. 32, given under the year 1445. Lingard thought that the indemnity had reference to the Parliamentary ratification of the treaty of Troyes, which forbade any modification of that treaty except with consent of Parliament. That consent was subsequently given.

mind that during the minority the Council had always insisted that no man could undertake the responsibility of surrendering any of the King's rights. Suffolk's petition was received and granted by the King in full Council. Gloucester sat there in sullen silence: he had not forgiven the rupture of the Armagnac match, nor was he prepared to accept Margaret¹; but since 1440 he had given up open opposition, contenting himself with underhand agitation, for which he was better suited. The "langaige" of which Suffolk complained was doubtless traceable to his agency, and the scene in the Privy Council may have been partly intended to overawe him. The indemnity, which was dated on the 20th February, guaranteed Suffolk against liability for anything done *bonâ fide* in execution of the King's orders in the matter either of the peace or of the marriage².

Within two days the embassy left London, the affair being pushed on with almost nervous haste. On the 15th March Suffolk landed at Harfleur; from whence he moved on to Rouen and Le Mans³. On the 8th April conferences were opened at Vendôme. From Vendôme the English Commissioners were taken on to Blois, where they were received by the Duke of Orleans. From Blois they sailed down the Loire to Tours, to join the Royal family (16th April); at the gates of the city they were received by the King of Sicily and the Dukes of Brittany and Alençon. On the following day they were presented to Charles VII at his castle of Montils-lès-Tours. Early in May they were joined by the Duke of Burgundy, the Queen of Sicily (Isabella of Lorraine), and her daughter⁴.

¹ For his opposition see E. Hall. 204, and esp. Stevenson, Letters, i. 123; for his hostility even to a truce, see T. Basin, i. 189.

² 20th February; Foed. 53. On the next day assignments were issued to the Duke of York for £11,666 13s. 4d. due for the wages of the men who had served in the *bastille* at Dieppe. This must have been done to conciliate him, but the drafts were not fully honoured for ten years, as already mentioned; Issues, Michaelmas 22 Henry VI, &c.

³ Issues, Michaelmas 23 Henry VI, m. 1: Stevenson, i. 69-71.

⁴ Stevenson, ii. xxxvi, from the contemporary account, Bodley MS. Digby 196, f. 151; Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, ii. 451.

CHAP. V. As the Constable de Richemont had come with his nephew,
 1444. the young Duke Francis, both the Royal Court party, and the Magnates who were to have formed the Duke of Burgundy's Nevers coalition, were represented in equal strength.

Betrothal
of Mar-
garet to
Henry VI.
Truce of
Tours.

When business was entered on it was found that the French were not prepared to cede anything in absolute dominion¹; peace therefore being impossible, the French Commissioners received authority to sign a truce². On the 24th May Margaret was formally betrothed³ to Suffolk as Henry's proxy in the church of St. Martin of Tours: a Papal Legate (Peter de Monte) gave the blessing⁴. Four days after the betrothal a general truce was signed, to last to the 24th April, 1446. On the very next day Suffolk started homewards to report progress. On his entry to Rouen, early in June, he was hailed with cries of "*Noel!*" "*Noel!*"⁵ To the unfortunate people of France a truce, even for two years, would be an unspeakable blessing⁶.

Suffolk
trium-
phant.

Suffolk returned to England to reap the fruits of his successful diplomacy⁷. He was immediately raised to a Marquisate⁸. During his absence a valuable piece of patronage had been placed in his hands: the Duke of

¹ See Stevenson, Letters, i. 131-135.

² 20th May; Foed. xi. 61.

³ "per verba de praesenti"; Foed. 74.

⁴ Chron. Davies, 61; Chron. London, 133; Stevenson, sup.; Vallet de Viriville, ii. 453.

⁵ Foed. xi. 59-67; E. Monstrelet, 841; Stevenson, sup.; Beaurepaire, États de Normandie, 83. We may note that the Dukes of Gloucester, York, Exeter, and Somerset are all specially named as parties and allies, a novel and significant circumstance: neither party would be left out. John Holland, previously Earl of Huntingdon, was created Duke of Exeter (his father's title), 6th January, 1444; Foed. xi. 49.

⁶ See the eloquent passage from the *Jouvencel* of Jean de Bueil, given de Beaucourt, Charles VII, iv. 1.

⁷ The ratification of the truce was dated Westminster, 27th June (Foed. xi. 70), the day of the envoy's return; but the bearer, Chester Herald, apparently did not leave London till the 20th July; Issue Roll, Easter 22 Henry VI. On the 23rd July Sir Robert Roos was under orders to go back to France with a complimentary message to 'our dearest consort Margaret'; Id. He left London 22nd August, returning with Margaret in April, 1445; Issues, Easter 23 Henry VI, m. 10.

⁸ He is styled such on the Issue Roll on the 17th August: the formal patent

Somerset having died in May, within four days, both the wardship and the marriage of his infant heiress, the Lady Margaret, were given to Suffolk, without one penny of rent or fine to pay¹. This most unusual concession was supposed to foreshadow a marriage between Suffolk's son John and the future mother of Henry VII². Whether well or ill-founded, the supposition in itself shows how closely linked Suffolk and the Beauforts were understood to be.

On the 28th October the Marquis was instructed to fetch home Queen Margaret. For her suite five 'barons and baronesses', seventeen knights, sixty-five esquires, and 174 "valets" were retained, with allowances for ninety-one days. Among the ladies selected were Alice, Marchioness of Suffolk; Alice, Countess of Salisbury; and Beatrice, Countess of Shrewsbury³. For the Marchioness and himself Suffolk received the magnificent allowance of £9 a day⁴.

The party crossed the Channel in November⁵, and made their way to Nancy, where the French Court had been established during the autumn. He returns to France.

Since Suffolk's departure from Tours in May, two wars had been undertaken. One army was engaged in the name of King René, and his wife Isabella, in an attempt to reduce the contumacious city of Metz, which, rejecting all allegiance to Lorraine, claimed to hold only of the Empire⁶. The Dauphin again had been finding occupation for the *Écorcheurs* in hostilities against the poor Swiss in Alsace⁷.

was dated 14th September. On that day Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, was raised to the Dukedom of Buckingham; H. Nicolas.

¹ 31st May, 1444 (given as 1443), *Excerpta Historica*, p. 4. The Duke died 27th May; above, p. 55.

² Stubbs, citing Cooper's *Lady Margaret*, p. 5; *Rot. Parl.* v. 177.

³ *Foed.* xi. 74; *Stevenson*, i. 444, 458; *Devon Issues*, 449; *M. d'Escouchy*, i. 87 (ed. de Beaucourt, Paris, 1863).

⁴ *Issue Roll*, Michaelmas 24 Henry VI, m. 1.

⁵ 13th November; *Chron. Davies*, 61; *Stevenson*, i. 446. Suffolk left London on the 5th November; *Issue Roll*, Easter 23 Henry VI, m. 12.

⁶ For this affair see de Beaucourt, *Charles VII*, iv. 17, 54, &c.

⁷ For this expedition, undertaken at the request of Frederick III, whose

CHAP. V.

1444

An English contingent had taken part in the latter campaign. The Duke of York, not caring to be behind-hand, had sent Matthew Gough with some of his Free Lances to support the Dauphin¹, at the same time making application for the hand of a French Princess for his son Edward of York². Both the English parties were thus bidding for French support: the significance of the step on the part of a man who had to act with such caution as Richard of York is not to be overlooked.

Margaret
not forth-
coming.Cession of
Maine ex-
torted.

Metz had not yet fallen: thus Suffolk found himself in an atmosphere of war, not favourable to free negotiation; moreover, Queen Margaret was not at Nancy, but far away at Angers³. It would seem that the French took advantage of these circumstances to raise fresh demands, and that Suffolk, rather than return home empty handed and befooled, was induced to promise the cession of the English holds in Maine—a sacrifice not at all contemplated in his original mission⁴.

younger son, Sigismund, was engaged to a daughter of France, see de Beaucourt, *sup.*, 9-46; Vallet de Virville, Charles VII, iii. 47-53.

¹ See M. d'Escouchy, i. 11; Vallet de Virville, iii. 47.

² See Stevenson, i. 79-86, 160, 169. Suffolk spoke of the matter at Nancy, apparently at York's request. The French offered the hand of Madame Magdalene, which York eventually accepted, though he would have preferred that of an elder sister, Jeanne; the negotiations extended over the year 1445, but were apparently quashed in London.

³ Vallet de Virville, iii. 50-52, and authorities there cited.

⁴ So T. Gascoigne, *Liber Veritatis*, 190, 204, 219. He tells the story three times over, and his facts seem to bear investigation, e.g. he states that Suffolk was in France for seventeen weeks on the second occasion. That might be either from the middle of November, when he left Calais, to the 18th March, when he returned to Normandy with Margaret; or it might be from the beginning of December, when he may have reached Nancy, to the 9th April, when he landed at Southampton. That the promise of Maine was given at the close of 1444 appears from the chronological preface to Codefroy's *Histoire de Charles VII*, a careful compilation: that Suffolk gave the promise in France appears from his attainder; Rot Parl. v. 178. Georges Chastelain, by far the ablest writer of the age, refers to the fact that Margaret at one time had been placed in confinement at Loches, in Touraine, and that she was liberated partly at the intercession of the Count of Charolais, afterwards Charles the Bold, of Burgundy. As Margaret never returned to France till after Charles had become Duke, it seems natural to place the incident at this period. She might have been detained at Loches on her way from Angers to Nancy. The

This fatal concession, wrung from an unwary diplomatist in a moment of weakness, became at once the turning point of English politics; it armed Gloucester with a fresh weapon, and turned against the House of Lancaster the whole current of war passion so successfully developed by Henry V. As for the hapless young Queen, it foredoomed her career to absolute failure, and singled her out from the first as a mark for national hatred.

The promise having been given, Queen Margaret was brought to Nancy. On the 25th December a marriage settlement was executed. René gave no money, for he had none to give; but he assigned to Henry his eventual claims on the kingdom of Arragon, Majorca, and Minorca, with all necessary powers for reducing them into possession. Suffolk apparently waited at Nancy to see a final concord adjusted with the people of Metz (28th February, 1445). During this time¹ great festivities were held in honour of the three Queens of France, England, and Sicily. In the first days of March Margaret received the blessing of the Bishop of Toul, and took her departure. Charles VII escorted her a couple of leagues; at parting from him she burst into tears. Her father went with her to Bar-le-Duc. On the 16th March she attended a state mass at Notre Dame in Paris. Two days later the Duke of York received her at Pontoise². On the 22nd March a state entry was made into Rouen; but it would seem from the account of one who must have been present, that the Queen was not visible, her part being played for her by the Countess of Salisbury, dressed up in the robes the Queen had worn at her betrothal at Tours³. Margaret was probably ill, as more than three weeks elapsed before she was taken across the Channel: and when

CHAP. V.

1444.

Margaret's
journey to
England.

part of Chastelair's work relating to 1444 and 1445 is lost, or we should probably know all about it. See the passage, iv. 316 (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove).

¹ Perhaps during the Carnival, 14th-16th February, 1445; de Beaucourt, iv. 93.

² See Vallet de Viriville, sup.; G. Bouvier, 426; Stevenson, Letters, i. 448; ii. 468.

³ So M. d'Esconchy, i. 87-89, and notes.

CHAP. V. she did land at Portsmouth on the 9th April, she was
 1445. suffering, not only from sea-sickness, but from an illness
 that was pronounced to be small-pox¹.

"Mala ducis avi domum".

Unfortu-
 nate au-
 spices.

Born on the 23rd March, 1429², Margaret of Anjou was in all the freshness of youth and beauty. She was brought from the seclusion of a country home to be the prop of a husband whose slender wits were fast deserting him; she came in the eyes of the English as "another Helen to a new Troy"; she came dowered with England's shame, the harbinger of a peace to be purchased by humiliation and surrender; she came almost bound by the force of circumstances to identify her interests with those of a party, and she clung to that party till she had ruined both her husband and herself.

Marriage of
 Henry and
 Margaret.

By the 23rd April Margaret was sufficiently recovered to be quietly married to Henry in Titchfield Abbey. William Aiscough, the Bishop of Salisbury, performed the service. On the 28th May she made her state entry into London from Blackheath; next day she drove to Westminster; on Sunday, 30th May, she was crowned in the Abbey³.

Corona-
 tion of
 Margaret.

Parliament
 at West-
 minster.

In anticipation of the Queen's advent a Parliament had been opened at Westminster on the 25th February. Under existing circumstances the Chancellor was quite justified in taking for his text 'Righteousness and peace have kissed each other'⁴. But peace had suddenly lost its charms in

¹ Stevenson, i. 447, 448. See the King's letter of the 16th April, dated at Southwick. "The Quene is yet seke of the labour and indisposicion of the see, by occasion of which the pokkes been broken out upon her"; Proceedings, vi. p. xvi. She joined the King on the 16th at Southampton; Stevenson, sup.

² Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, iii. 51.

³ Chron. Davies, 61, 62; Chron. London, 134; W. Worcester, 462, 463; W. Gregory, 186; Stevenson, ii. 470. One of the devices set up on London Bridge represented Peace and Plenty; J. Stow, 385. On the Thursday forty-six "Knyghtes of the Bathe" were dubbed by the King at the Tower. Among those who met Margaret at Blackheath was Duke Humphrey, with 500 men all "in one livyrey"; R. Fabian, 617.

⁴ For a poetical effusion by Lydgate on the same theme, doubtless written to order, see Pol. Poems, ii. 209.

the eyes of the nation. The Parliament proved most unmanageable, and when the Session rose for Easter on the 15th March, the usual half Subsidy, to be raised in November, was all that the Commons had to give. Yet the mere transport of the Queen to England had cost £5500¹, and all the expenses of the coronation had to be provided for, while the last Subsidy had been exhausted in November 1443.

CHAP. V.

1445.

Sullen
attitude of
the Com-
mons.

On the 29th April Parliament resumed, the Queen having been married in the interval.

The Summer Session witnessed all the splendour of the coronation festivities; but Parliament was still unmoved. On the 5th June the baffled Government were obliged to find excuses for a further adjournment till October². A clear indication of English opinion at this time may be gathered from a private letter of the 4th February (1445). Agnes Paston, widow of a Puisne Judge at Westminster, writing from Norwich to her son at Clifford's Inn, London, begs for "tydynggs from be yond see, for here thei am aferd (*are afraid*) to telle soche as be reportid"³. Suffolk's influence was great in East Anglia; down there it would not be safe to whisper the belief that he had bought a Queen not worth ten marks a year⁴, at the price of a Province.

Misgivings
in the
country.

But in spite of the indemnity he had received, and with all the vast powers of the Crown at his disposal, Suffolk did not feel at ease. Before the Session rose he challenged a vote of confidence.

Suffolk
demands
a vote of
confidence.

Addressing the Lords on the 2nd June, he recounted his recent services in the matter of the truce and the King's marriage. French ambassadors, he said, were shortly expected in London, to treat of peace; but he begged to

¹ Stevenson, Letters, i. 460.

² Rot. Parl. v. 67. A pestilence was alleged to have broken out. Another excuse was that the King wished to make enquiry as to 'defects' in the government, of which the Commons had complained; then the harvest was coming on, &c.

³ Paston Letters, i. 59.

⁴ T. Gascoigne, Liber Veritatis, 205.

CHAP. V. point out that in his opinion "the more redy way of peas"
 1445. was to prepare for war; and that he was anxious that immediate provision should be made for the defence of "the Kynges obeissance" in France and Normandy, in case of need.

This was a double thrust; partly aimed at the Commons, who had refused the Subsidy he had asked for the coronation expenses¹; partly intended to clear himself from the imputation of being unduly anxious for peace. In conclusion Suffolk reverted to his proceedings abroad; protesting, with considerable audacity, that he personally had "nethir uttered ne communed" one word as to the terms on which peace might be made, reserving everything for the King himself and those he might consult².

This speech was repeated to the Commons on the morrow; but the malcontents were not prepared to take up Suffolk's challenge.

On the 4th June the Speaker, William Burley, moved a vote of thanks, as we would term it, to Suffolk for his "ryght grete and notable werkys" (*works*) at home and abroad; the motion, however, being put in the form of a prayer to the King that he would "take my said Lord of Suffolk to his goode and benynge grace". Gloucester rose to second the motion, which was joyfully accepted by the King through the mouth of the Chancellor³.

French
embassy to
London.

The French embassy which Suffolk had announced entered London in state on the 14th July⁴. The ostensible chiefs were the Count of Vendôme and the new Archbishop of Rheims, Jacques Jouvenel des Ursins⁵. But the really confidential agent was Bertrand de Beauvau,

¹ R. Fabian, 618.

² Rot. Parl. v. 74. For the terms actually propounded by Suffolk at Tours, see Stevenson, Letters, i. 131, 132, 151.

³ Rot. Parl. 73.

⁴ For the details, see Stevenson, Letters, i. 101, 155; de Beaucourt, Charles VII, iv. 145.

⁵ Renaud de Chartres, his predecessor, died 4th April, 1444; Bourgeois, 372 and note. Archbishop Jacques must be distinguished from his brother Jean, the writer, to whom he was allowed to surrender the See in 1449; Nouvelle Biographie Générale.

seigneur de Précigny. The embassy was supported by envoys from Castile and Brittany¹. CHAP. V.
1445.

A prolongation of the truce to the 1st November, 1446, was the only fruit of the mission². Neither party was disposed to recede from the position taken up at Tours. The last word of the French was Saintonge, in addition to Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, and Guienne in the South, with Calais and Guisnes in the North; the whole, however, to be subject to homage; while the English required Normandy in addition to Guienne, and without any render of homage³. French offers and English demands.

The detailed report of the French ambassadors, however, gives us valuable side-lights on various points. Suffolk of course acted as *fac-totum*; the French quite understood that they were to take their cue from him, and he lost no opportunity of impressing them with a sense of his own importance and of Gloucester's insignificance. The French had three interviews with Henry VI; two at Westminster, and one at the Bishop's Palace at Fulham⁴. Gloucester was present at the first, or state reception, standing on one side of the King; while the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, and Suffolk, stood on the other side. Suffolk's demeanour.

Throughout these interviews the King played the part allotted to him with his usual grace and urbanity. He lent an attentive ear to all that was said; he beckoned to Suffolk or the Chancellor to answer at the proper places; he smiled and doffed his hood at the name of the King of France. When Suffolk spoke of his affection for his uncle he exclaimed eagerly "*Saint Jehan! ouy*"; when the French spoke of Charles' affection for his nephew he again exclaimed "*Saint Jehan! grant mercis*"; but beyond these ejaculations, repeated both in French and English, not one Royal utterance could the French find to record. The King's demeanour.

¹ See Stevenson, Letters, i. 83. G. Cousinot de Montreuil, Secretary to Charles VII, and author of the *Puella*, was also attached to the embassy.

² 13th August; Foed. xi. 97.

³ Stevenson, sup. 132-142.

⁴ 15th, 16th, and 30th July; Stevenson, 103, 114, 143.

CHAP. V. Suffolk was so much at his ease that he was not afraid to
 1445. say to the French in the King's presence, that when in France he had heard rumours that Gloucester was intriguing against the marriage, but that he, Suffolk, had disbelieved the rumours, adding, 'And in fact he couldn't do it if he would'¹.

The French concluded with the suggestion of a personal interview between the two Kings².

The truce having been prolonged on the 13th August, as already mentioned, the ambassadors took their departure.

Adjourned Sessions of Parlia- The autumn Session of Parliament yielded no better
 ment. fruits than those of the spring and summer, though the Duke of York had been brought over from Normandy, not improbably to use his influence with the Commons³. On the 15th December the Parliament had to be adjourned for the third time—an unprecedented occurrence. On the 24th January, 1446, it resumed. At last, on the 9th April, the Commons announced the further grant of a Subsidy and a half; but the grant was made under a deduction at the rate of £6000 per Subsidy, whereby the amount of each would be reduced to about £30,000. Moreover, the whole was made payable by three yearly instalments, so as to furnish just the usual half Subsidy for the years 1446, 1447, and 1448. Prolongations of Tonnage and Poundage and the wool duties for four years, at existing rates, were announced at the same time⁴.

Money Grants.

¹ "Et monsieur de Suffork dit tout hault que luy estant en France il fut bruit que monsieur de Glocestre faisoit empeschement au roy ... mais ... qu'il ne le crut point: et que monsieur de Glocestre ne le voudroit faire, et aussi n'avoit-il pas le povoir", &c. p. 123. On another occasion Suffolk boasted that he cared neither for Gloucester nor Dauphin,—only for the two Kings, p. 116. The Dauphin was suspicious of Suffolk's mission, p. 77.

² Stevenson, Letters, i. 145; also Foed. xi. 87.

³ Stevenson, Letters, i. 160, 168. The Duke had been doing excellent work in Normandy, getting rid of distanded Free Lances and masked marauders known as "Faulx visages"; Beaurepaire, États de Norm. 86-88.

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 67-70. The prolongations of the customs duties must have been agreed to at some earlier period, as the grants were to run from the 1st April and the 11th November, 1445. Tenths were granted by York and Canterbury in October 1445, and July 1446; Wilkins, iii. 541, 554.

The Session closed with a significant protest by the Lord Chancellor on behalf of himself and the other Lords, that the peace with France was of the King's own seeking, 'without any suggestion of any of the Lords or other subjects of the realm'. It was at this time apparently that the clause in the Treaty of Troyes, forbidding any treaty with Charles VII, except by the assent of the Estates of both Realms, was repealed¹.

CHAP. V.
1445-1446.
The Ministry disclaim any wish for peace.

During the various sittings of the Parliament a fair amount of business was transacted. The old foundation of St. Thomas' Hospital, London, and the King's new foundations at Eton and Cambridge, received Parliamentary sanction². In connexion with these we may notice a grant of lands to Westminster Abbey for masses for the good of the late King's soul³.

Business in Parliament.
Eton and King's Colleges.

The bulk of the Lancaster estates were vested in trustees, for the support of the King's Household⁴. The Queen's dower or jointure was assigned; £2000 a year in land, and £4666 13s. 4d. a year in money, being given to her; pretty well for a penniless lass⁵. The Act of the fifteenth year, allowing wheat to be exported when not over 6s. 8d. the quarter, was made perpetual⁶. To remedy a dearth of small coin a slight debasement of the silver halfpenny and farthing was authorised for two years⁷. Agricultural labourers were required to give warning, and to find substitutes before leaving their employment. Impossible rates of wages were again scheduled, with *minimum* fines for contraventions of the Statutes of Labourers⁸.

Debasement of small coin.
Labourers.

On the other hand efforts were again made to check

¹ 9th April, 1446; Rot. Parl. v. 102, 103.

² Id. 74-102.

³ 9th July, 1445; Foed. xi. 89.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 70-72.

⁵ Rot. Parl. 118-120.

⁶ 15 Henry VI, c. 2; 23 Henry VI, c. 5.

⁷ Rot. Parl. 108. Thirty-three shillings' worth of halfpence and farthings were to be struck from the pound Tower of silver, while the penny was being struck at thirty shillings to the pound; but the reduced currency was only to be legal tender to the value of one shilling.

⁸ Stat. c. 12. Cf. Rogers, Prices, iii. 516, e.g. 3d. a day only was to be allowed for labourers where 4d. was a common rate.

CHAP. V. the multifarious malpractices of the sheriffs, who in spite
 1445-1446. of all legislation still managed to retain office after the
 False legal year. One special head of complaint points to a
 returns to strained state of party politics. The sheriffs, we are told,
 Parlia- frequently tampered with the returns to Parliament,
 ment. ignoring men duly elected, and substituting nominees of
 their own. The King gave his assent to the desired pro-
 hibition, "so that the Knyghtes of the Shires . . . hereafter to
 be chosen be . . . gentlemen of birth"; not yeomen, nor
 "bynethe"¹.

The sur-
 render of
 Maine de-
 manded.

The peace conferences in London having broken down,
 the French began to press for the delivery of Maine. The
 English, on the other hand, were very anxious for a further
 extension of the truce. The Keeper of the Privy Seal,
 Adam Moleyns, was sent over to beg for this (October
 1445). He was not allowed to see Charles; but the French
 sent back two confidential agents, Guillaume Cousinot and
 Jean Havart, to arrange for the personal meeting in France,
 to which they attached so much importance². Their
 errand was not in vain.

Formal en-
 gagement
 for the
 delivery of
 Maine.

On the 10th December (1445) Suffolk pledged his
 master to cross the Channel before the 1st November,
 1446. On the 19th the truce was extended to the 1st
 April, 1447³. On the 22nd Henry signed with his own
 hand an undertaking to surrender Le Mans, and what-
 ever else he held in Maine, by the 30th April, 1446, the
 surrender to be made to the King of Sicily and Charles of
 Anjou, 'on behalf of' Charles VII⁴. No reference was
 made to any promise given by Suffolk. The undertaking
 is expressed to be given to please the uncle of France; to
 please Queen Margaret; and to show the sincerity of the
 King's own wish for peace⁵. As a kindred transaction we

¹ Stat. cc. 6, 7, 9, 10, 12; Rot. Parl. v. 116.

² Foed. xi. 102, 104, 106.

³ See Id. 106-114.

⁴ "En faveur et en contemplacion de vous principalment".

⁵ Stevenson, Letters, ii. 639. See also the letter of Margaret to King Charles, promising her help towards 'the deliverance of Maine', 17th December; Id. i. 164. Even apart from her letter the word "requis" in Henry's

may notice the emancipation of the last of the French hostages, the brother of the Duke of Orleans, Jean, Count of Angoulême ; he was set free in April 1445, having been in captivity since 1412 ¹.

CHAP. V.
1445.

undertaking implies that the French were in a position to demand the cession. For another letter from Henry to Charles of the same 22nd December, apologising for delay, see M. d'Escouchy, iii. 151, *Pièces Justificatives*.

¹ Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, iii. 64 ; M. d'Escouchy, i. 82. Angoulême had been given as a hostage to Clarence in 1412, for the observance of the Treaty of Buzançais.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Parliament at Bury St. Edmund's.—Arrest of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.—His death.—Negotiations relative to Maine.—Le Mans captured by the French.—Affair of Saint-James-de-Beuvron.

CHAP. VI.
1446.

THE year 1446 witnessed neither personal interview between the Kings, nor surrender of Le Mans. Some vague orders were issued with a view to the King's crossing, but no definite plan was settled, funds being wanted¹. Adam Moleyns and Lord Dudley² were directed to go over to beg for more time³. They were at the French Court in August and September, and brought back a letter for Queen Margaret. French agents (Cousinot and Havart) came to London in December, and obtained from Suffolk in person another concession even more fatal than that of Maine, namely, a promise of the surrender of all ecclesiastical revenues in Normandy claimed by French subjects⁴, a concession which would cut off the chief English hold on the Province.

Gloucester's opposition.

As regards Maine, it is probable that Suffolk and Margaret feared the outcry that Gloucester would be sure

¹ Proceedings, vi. 46, 53.

² Sir John Sutton, called to the House of Lords as Lord Dudley in 1440; Historic Peerage.

³ 20th July; Foed. xi. 138; Proceedings, vi. 51-53. At the same time (20th, 21st July) a settlement of accounts was made with the Duke of York. He claimed £38,666 13s. 4d. as due to him under his engagement; he agreed to forgo £12,666 13s. 4d. of the amount, and received 'assignments' for the balance: a large sum was paid up at once or shortly; but the whole was not cleared off till the second year of Edw. IV; Issue and Receipt Rolls, Easter 24 Henry VI.

⁴ 18th Dec.; Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres de Rois*, ii. 470; Foed. 152; de Beaucourt, Charles VII, iv. 288-290.

to raise. So long as he stood in the way the transaction could not safely be completed, or even avowed¹. His covert intangible opposition threatened to bring matters to a deadlock. Margaret and Suffolk were in a manner forced to take steps to silence or get rid of him. The first thing necessary was to destroy his influence with the King; and Margaret soon succeeded in doing that². Gloucester's opposition to the Royal wishes in the matter of Maine might easily be made to wear a treasonable aspect. But, however the thing may have been arranged, it is beyond doubt that plans were laid for Humphrey's downfall. Articles for his impeachment in Parliament were prepared. It is impossible to suppose that Suffolk would have ventured on such a step unless the King's assent had been in some measure secured. On the 14th December writs were issued for a Parliament to meet on the 10th February, 1447, "the whiche parlement was maad only for to sle the noble duke of Gloucestre"³. The place of meeting ultimately fixed upon was Bury St. Edmund's, "a place where Suffolk was strong and where Gloucester would be far away from his friends the Londoners"⁴. Gloucester made a show of resistance, a crowning act of folly of which his adversaries made the most. The Londoners were called to arms at Christmas time; and when the time for the meeting of Parliament came mass levies were brought to Bury in most inclement weather, "for feare of the duke of Glocestre"⁵.

CHAP. VI.

1446.

Plans to
crush him.An im-
peachment
prepared.

¹ So R. Fabian, 619, and Leland, Col. ii. 494; cf. T. Basin, i. 189.

² So Chron. Giles, 33; J. Whethamstede, i. 179; E. Hall, 208; cf. R. Fabian, sup. In July Duchess Eleanor was taken from Kenilworth and sent to the Isle of Man; Proceedings, vi. 51. In August Humphrey was induced to surrender the Castle of Mauleon to Jean de Foix, who had married Suffolk's niece; Foed. xi. 147, 148; E. Hall, 207. Jean took the first opportunity of betraying Mauleon to the French.

³ Chron. Davies, 62; so, too, Chron. London, 135; cf. Chron. Giles, 33; E. Hall, 209.

⁴ Stubbs. The Parliament was originally summoned to meet at Cambridge; Lords' Report.

⁵ W. Gregory, 187; Chron. Davies, 62, 116; Chron. London, 135; J. Stow, 386; cf. Chron. Giles, 33.

CHAP. VI.

1447.

Parliament
at Bury St.
Edmund's.

The Parliament was duly opened by the King in person in the Refectory of the Abbey. The Chancellor took his text from Proverbs, 'To the counsellors of peace is joy'¹ Referring to the visit of the French Ambassadors in July 1445, and to the agreement for the personal meeting in France, he announced the business of the Session to be to provide means for the King's journey. In expounding his text he drew a significant distinction between good and bad counsellors. 'Blessed was the man that walked not in the counsel of the ungodly, but whose counsel was as that of Achior in the Book of Judith'².

On the 11th February William Tresham, one of the members for Northamptonshire, and a follower of the Duke of York, was chosen Speaker³.

The Duke of York was present at the opening, but Gloucester was not, nor was he chosen a Trier of Petitions, a marked omission. On the 18th February he came to Bury with an uncalled for retinue of some 'four-score horse'. If he had wished to give his enemies a handle he could not have done better. Half a mile from the town he was met by Sir John Stourton and Sir Thomas Stanley, two of the King's Household, who brought a message from the King to the effect that he did not wish to see him, but that, as it was eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and Humphrey had ridden some distance in a 'biting cold weather', he might go straight to his lodgings and dine there. With a heavy heart Gloucester rode through the town to the North Spittal, otherwise St. Salvator's. After dinner, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earl of Salisbury, Viscount Beaumont⁴, and Lord Sudeley⁵, entered his

¹ Proverbs xii. 20.

² Rot. Parl. v. 128; Psalms i. 1; Judith vi: the point of the Archbishop's simile is not clear.

³ Rot. Parl. 129; Stubbs. Tresham had already been Speaker in 1439 and 1442.

⁴ John, Lord Beaumont, was created Viscount, "the first of that dignity in England", 12th February, 1440; Historic Peerage. He was married to Elizabeth Phelip, granddaughter and heiress of Thomas, the last Lord Bardolf; Calendar Patent Roll, 19 Henry VI.

⁵ Ralph Boteler, created Lord Sudeley 10th September, 1441; Historic Peerage.

apartment and placed him under arrest. Beaumont as High Constable performed the act. Gloucester was allowed to remain at his lodgings under the charge of two Crown Yeomen and a Sergeant-at-Arms. During the next three days some forty-two of his armed retainers, being mostly Welshmen, were arrested and sent to different places of confinement¹, but his ordinary household was not interfered with. Humphrey was never distinguished either for moral or physical courage: his conduct had always been that of a spoiled child. More than twenty years before his constitution had been weakened by excesses². The shock of his arrest crushed him: from sheer agony of humiliation and fear he fell into a stupor, apparently a fit of apoplexy or paralysis³, in which he remained for three days; then recovering consciousness enough to receive the last Sacraments, he finally yielded up the ghost on Thursday, 23rd February, "sone appon iiii on the belle at aftrenone"⁴.

CHAP. VI.

1447.

Arrest of
Gloucester.He sickens
and dies.

It must be admitted that Gloucester died under most suspicious circumstances. He died in the hands of enemies

¹ See a list of their names, Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 108; also Chron. Davies, 117; W. Gregory, 188.

² See the paper by his physician, Gilbert Kymer, afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxford, printed by Hearne, Lib. Nig. Seacc. ii. 552-559: "Nervi vestri modicum imbecillitantur . . . quod stupor demonstrat". The paper was drawn up in March 1424.

³ "In tam arta custodia quod prae tristitia decideret in lectum aegritudinis et infra paucos dies posterius secederet in fata"; J. Whethamstede, i. 179. "Unde in tanta doloris angustia undique circumfultus omnium membrorum vires et interiorum spiritus subito evanescunt, &c."; Chron. Giles, 33.

"Where in parlescy (*palsy*?) he dyed incontynent

For hevynesse, and losse of regyment

and oft afore he was in that sykenesse

In poynt of death", &c.—J. Hardyng, 400.

The other chroniclers of the time express doubts. "He deide for sorow, as some men saide, . . . but the certaynte of his deth is not yit openly knowe"; Chron. Davies, 63; so, too, Chron. London, 135; cf. W. Gregory, 188. The Croyland Continuator (Gale, i. 251), no doubt, insinuates that he was murdered, alleging, very inaccurately, that having been 'condemned' unheard one day, he was produced and exhibited dead on the next.

⁴ See the contemporary account printed with Chron. Davies, pp. 116-118; also Chron. Davies, 63. Humphrey must have died in the daytime, as his house at Baynard's Castle, Blackfriars, was given to King's College on the same day; Rot. Parl. v. 132.

CHAP. VI. who were presumably aiming at his life; he died just when
 1447. they wanted to be rid of him; it is impossible to assert
 that his end was not hastened by foul play. Nevertheless
 the view that he died of natural causes seems to represent
 the best English opinion at the time. The testimony of
 his friend Abbot Whethamstede of St. Albans seems con-
 clusive. Writing in 1455, when the Duke of York had
 just gained the first battle of St. Albans, he can only tax
 Gloucester's enemies with having killed him by a baseless
 accusation. The charge of actual murder, with incidents
 borrowed from the cases of Edward II and Thomas of
 Woodstock, seems an embellishment of popular imagina-
 tion¹. No such count was included in Suffolk's impeach-
 ment, nor were Humphrey's three keepers, whose names
 are recorded, ever brought to justice. It is more material
 to point out that two chaplains and twelve gentlemen of
 the household remained with Gloucester through his illness,
 and followed him to his grave².

Gloucester as a man of Letters. Humphrey's name greatly profited by the reputation of
 having died for England's honour: to this, coupled with
 his judicious patronage of literary men, he owed the
 posthumous name of the Good Duke³.

¹ For these versions see Leland, Coll. ii. 494; M. d'Escouchy, i. 117; T. Basin, i. 190; E. Hall, 209; and the ballad in Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 103 (see next page). Both Basin and d'Escouchy were living at the time, and the former was made Bishop of Lisieux by the English this very year; but he did not write till after 1465 at any rate.

² See their names; Chron. Davies, 118.

³ R. Fabian, 619. Humphrey left a natural son Arthur, and a natural daughter, who received the classical name of Antigone. She married Henry Grey, Lord Powys and Count of Tancarville, in Normandy; Sandford, 319. For catalogues of 264 books presented by Gloucester to the University of Oxford, see Muniment Academ. ii. 758-772. Three of these are shown in the Bodleian Library at the present day; while Oriel College possesses a Scriptural commentary written for him by Capgrave (MS. 33). He also subscribed money for the building of the Divinity Schools at Oxford. See Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library. Of the scholars promoted by him the best known were Bishops Bekyngton and Pecock, and Titus Livius. Peter de Monte dedicated to him a work *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*; Bekyngton, Letters, i. 34. Aeneas Sylvius, p. 64, speaks of him as "clarissimo et doctissimo . . . qui poetas mirifice colit"; Stubbs, iii. 95; cf. Chron. Giles, 7, and the letter of Zano, Bishop of Bayeux; Bekyngton, i. 290. The publication of the Life of Henry V by Livius may be said to mark the appearance of the classical revival or *Renaissance* in England.

On the 24th February, being the day after Humphrey's death, the body was exhibited to Lords, Commons, "and whosoever wolde come". Next day again it was sent on its last journey to St. Albans, where it was finally laid to rest in a vault prepared in the Duke's own lifetime¹. CHAP. VI.
1447.
His obsequies.

To follow up the case of Gloucester's followers. On the 8th July Sir Roger Chamberlain and four others, one of them "Arthur", being the natural son of the deceased², were brought to trial at Deptford, before a Special Commission, over which Suffolk presided. They were charged with having conspired to make Gloucester and Eleanor King and Queen of England. With that intent they had mustered at Greenwich, and then marched in arms to Bury. The jury convicted them, and they were sentenced to death. On the 14th July they were drawn through Southwark to "the Tyborne". Apparently a form of hanging them was gone through, and then Suffolk produced a pardon which "was no doubt the King's independant act". The charter, which was dated the same day, was expressed to be granted in honour of the Virgin Mary, and of her approaching feast of the Assumption, on which day special indulgences had been granted by the Pope to all persons visiting Eton College. The rest were pardoned in October, "and fore the more part were restored to ther goodes". Trial of his followers;

they are pardoned by the King.

And thus endet Umffrey the duke of Gloucetre"³.

Whatever part Margaret may have taken in the proceedings against Gloucester, she had no scruples in accepting her share of the spoils. On the day after his death part of his estates were made over to her on account of her jointure⁴. A special Act was also passed to debar

¹ 4th March; Chron. Davies, 117, 118.

² W. Gregory, 188; Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, p. 65 (Camden Society, N. S., 1880; J. Gairdner).

³ Foed. xi. 178; Chron. Davies, 118; W. Gregory, 188; Stubbs, iii. 138.

⁴ 24th February; Foed. xi. 155; Rot. Parl. v. 133. Among other things, Margaret took an annuity of £333 6s. 8d. from the Lancaster estates, previously drawn by Humphrey; Duchy Lancaster Accounts, Class 28, Bundle 4, No. 16. The King ought to have had the benefit of the annuity dropping.

CHAP. VI. Gloucester's widow of any dower or jointure to which she might be entitled ¹.

1447.

Business
of the
Session.

"Such little business as could be done in Parliament was hurried through". The King refused to repeal the Act 2 Henry V against truce breaking, but he agreed to confirm the Welsh Penal Acts, several of Gloucester's followers having come from the Principality ². Short as the Session was, Eton and King's Colleges again received attention ³. No grants were asked: on the 3rd March the Session closed.

Death of
Cardinal
Beaufort.

Cardinal Beaufort was not one of those who could be implicated in the attack on his nephew. He had retired from politics for more than four years ⁴. Six weeks after the death of Gloucester he was gathered to his fathers (11th April). He died in his palace at Wolvesey, by Winchester, surrounded by his household. Cool and clear-headed to the last, he added a second codicil to his will two days before his death ⁵. For eight and forty years he had been one of the pillars of the House of Lancaster: since the death of Henry V he had divided with Bedford the burden of the State ⁶. From the time of his retirement from the Council things had begun to go wrong. "That he was ambitious, secular, little troubled with scruples, apt to make religious persecution a substitute for religious life and conversation; that he was imperious, impatient of control, ostentatious and greedy of honour—these are faults which weigh very lightly against a great politician, if they be all that can be said against him" ⁷.

His states-
manship.

¹ 3rd March; Rot. Parl. v. 135.

² Stat. 25th Henry VI; Rot. Parl. 138, 139.

³ Id. 130-133.

⁴ His last recorded attendances at the Privy Council were in May and June 1443.

⁵ Croyland Cont., Gale, i. 582. For the Cardinal's will and codicils, dated 20th January, 7th April, and 9th April, 1447, see Nichols' Royal Wills, 321. He left very little to his family: the bulk was given in charity to the Church (Winchester, Canterbury, Bekesbourne, Lincoln), the poor debtors in the London gaols, the small tenants on his estates, and for masses.

⁶ Blakman, de Virtutibus Henrici VI, p. 294.

⁷ Stubbs, iii. 138, 139.

The Cardinal, however, had not lost much by his advances to the King; apparently the only loan outstanding at his death was one of £2043, for which he held Crown jewels in pawn, and that was paid up to his executors¹; but fresh emergencies having arisen Beaufort's treasures were again drawn upon.

With respect to the mysterious sources of his wealth, we have already noted a hint that he dealt in wool. It also appears that at his death he was working valuable silver mines in Devon and Cornwall²: probably he had a share in every good thing. Others sought to follow his example. On the 15th May in this year we find the King paying Adam Moleyns £1000 to cancel a patent authorising him to ship wool as he pleased³.

Suffolk now seemed to have reached the zenith of power. He was fairly rid of Gloucester, and the death of the Cardinal left him without a rival. But the ground trembled beneath his feet, and Gloucester's spectre confronted him at every turn. For the third time he had to appeal to the King for protection and support against public opinion; and this time Maine had to be specifically mentioned.

On the 25th May the King sat solemnly in Council to hear Suffolk repel the charge of having betrayed his master's interests—no man, of course, being there to accuse—unless the Duke of York could be regarded as representing that part, all others present being Suffolk's friends. Again the King declared his entire approval of Suffolk's acts, and issued a proclamation threatening 'calumniators' with condign punishment⁴.

It might be urged on Suffolk's behalf that he "saw that England could not retain her hold on France"; and that "he tried by surrendering a part of the conquest to maintain possession of Normandy and Guienne"⁵. This is true of the decision to abandon the style of France, and Suffolk

CHAP. VI.

1447.

His money
dealings.Probable
sources of
his wealth.Suffolk
supreme.Third ap-
peal to the
King.

¹ 28th August, 1449; Issues, Easter 27 Henry VI.

² Devon Issues, 457.

³ Issues, Easter 25 Henry VI.

⁴ Foed. xi, 172. The proclamations were dated 18th June.

⁵ Stubbs, iii. 140.

CHAP. VI. deserves full credit for that ; but for the promise to surren-
 1447. der Maine without obtaining one single stipulation in return
 no excuse can be found.

Diplomatic
intercourse
with
France. Throughout the year 1447 diplomatic intercourse be-
 tween the two Courts was active, and in fact unbroken, a
 fresh convention always becoming necessary by the time
 the details of the last one had been settled. On general
 questions Henry evinced an anxious desire to follow the
 lead of the King of France, as in the recognition of Pope
 Nicholas V, and the efforts to wind up the Council of Bâle,
 and get rid of the quasi-Pope, Felix V¹.

But the burning questions were those of the continuance
 of the truce, and the surrender of Maine.

The French having come to London in December
 1446, as already mentioned, the English went to Tours in
 February 1447, and obtained an extension of the truce
 to the 1st January, 1448, the King of England under-
 taking to cross the Channel by 1st November (1447)². In
 July, Dunois was again in London. On the 27th, Henry
 sealed a confirmation of his undertaking of the 22nd
 December, 1445, for the surrender of Maine, promising
 delivery by the 1st November³. In return, the count
 extended the truce, and the time for Henry's crossing, to
 the 1st May, 1448⁴. Next day, orders were sent to Mat-
 thew Gough and Fulk Eyton to receive Le Mans from the
 hands of Dorset or his lieutenants, and deliver it to King
 Charles. They were directed, if necessary, to use force⁵.
 Again, on the same day, Dunois agreed to modifications
 desired by the English in the terms of the agreement for

Final order
for the sur-
render of
Maine.

¹ See Henry's letter to Charles of 22nd July, 1447; d'Esconchy, iii. 165; J. Chartier, ii. 48-60; Foed. xi. 187, 189; also Creighton, ii. 28c. Eugenius IV died at Rome 23rd February, 1447; on the 6th March Tommaso Parentucelli, Bishop of Bologna, was elected, and took the style of Nicholas V; Id. 268, 274. The Fathers of Bâle had followed up their suspension of Eugenius (above, p. 6) by formally deposing him (25th June, 1439), and then electing as his successor the Duke of Savoy, Amadeus VIII (5th Nov., 1439). Amadeus took the style of Felix V.

² 22nd February; Foed. xi. 149-155, 167.

³ Stevenson, Letters, ii. [638]-[643], [693]; Devon Issues, 459.

⁴ Foed. xi. 182.

⁵ Stevenson, Letters, ii. [696]-[702].

the restitution of the ecclesiastical revenues in Normandy¹: he also agreed to make compensation to the English who might lose by the surrender of Maine². CHAP. VI.
1447.

On the 23rd September, 1447, Gough and Eyton duly presented their demand to Osborne Mundeford, Dorset's Captain of Le Mans, and were refused, on the plea that the King's orders did not amount to a revocation of the grant previously conferred on Dorset; and that no orders were produced from Dorset, of whom Mundeford held his appointment³. These shallow excuses were promptly met by fresh mandates from the King, in which the resistance was treated as emanating from Dorset himself. He was ordered to deliver up all his holds in Maine without excuse or delay, Henry reminding him that he had been present when the last promise was handed to Dunois in July. Mundeford was also personally named in the order⁴. Execution
resisted by
Dorset's
agents.

The reader will notice that the disastrous affair of Maine had brought Suffolk into collision with Dorset, and so caused a split in the innermost circle of the Lancastrian connexion.

On the 31st October and 1st November a conference was held at Le Mans between Cousinot and Havart, the agents appointed to receive the surrender on the one side, and the agents named by Henry to settle the question of compensation on the other side, Gough and Eyton, the men formally charged to make the surrender, having taken care to be absent. Conference
at Le Mans.

The proceedings were attended by the bishop, clergy, nobility, and *bourgeoisie* of the place. Representatives of the Earl of Salisbury, Sir John Fastolf, and other influential persons interested in Maine were also present. The English pleas were utterly technical and frivolous, their best point being that the question of compensation ought to be settled before the surrender. The French answered that they had come to receive the fulfilment of an absolute

¹ Foed. 176, 184.

² Stevenson, Letters, ii. [655].

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³ Id. [704]-[710].

⁴ 23rd and 28th Oct.; Id. [702], [692].

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CHAP. VI. pledge, not to settle the terms of a purchase; compensation had been an afterthought, and might be settled at any time: as for the Marquis of Dorset, he had already been amply compensated by his master¹. After three formal demands for delivery the French withdrew. More than fifty persons signed the English record of the proceedings². Henry's honesty in the matter cannot be doubted, but it is clear that the persons interested in the retention of Maine were too powerful to be controlled by his mere *fiat*. Without a chief and without pay, the English garrisons in France had fallen into a state of utter disorganisation³.

The surrender again evaded.

Conferences at Bourges.

Meanwhile a second set of conferences had been held at Bourges, and the French had granted a fourth extension of the truce to the 1st January, 1449; but only, it would seem, on condition that Le Mans was duly surrendered by the 1st November, 1447⁴.

Dorset, King's Lieutenant of France.

Henry in forwarding his ratification of the truce notified the appointment of the Marquis of Dorset to the Lieutenancy of France⁵. This doubtless was Dorset's compensation for the loss of Maine. The Duke of York's five years had apparently expired in September 1445, when he was ordered home⁶. The appointment to the vacant post became a matter of keen personal struggle between himself and Dorset, every interest they could enlist being brought to bear on the King's Council. Dorset's eventual victory was ascribed to Queen Margaret and Suffolk. York at one time had gained the day: we are told that

¹ Stevenson, Letters, ii. [685].

² Id. [634]–[692].

³ See Beaurepaire, États, 95. An order of the 27th November, for mustering the retinues of Matthew Gough and Fulk Eyton, provides that no man who had served in Lord Camoys' Free Company should be passed. Roger, Lord Camoys—a man not mentioned in any of our Peerages—was perhaps the younger son of Thomas, the last Lord but one, who died in 1421. Munro, Letters of Margaret of Anjou, p. 109 (Camden Society, 1863). Roger had been a prisoner in France in 1445. Rymer Coll., vi. No. 83.

⁴ Foed. xi. 189, 193, comparing Stevenson, [714]; M. d'Escouchy, iii. 182, 193.

⁵ 11th December; d'Escouchy, iii. 172.

⁶ Stevenson, [585], [586]. After that time the writs in Normandy run in the King's name; Beaurepaire.

his appointment was actually proclaimed at Rouen, and it is certain that in July, 1446, he obtained an order for pay for a retinue of 800 men to serve with him in France ¹. CHAP. VI.
1448.

To be suddenly superseded by his rival was a sufficient mortification; but the pill was embittered by his own appointment for ten years to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, a practical banishment, as it was regarded by his friends ². The Duke
of York
King's
Lieutenant
of Ireland. It was about this time apparently that Richard assumed the surname of "Plantagenet" ³, a name not heard of in English history since the time of Geoffrey of Anjou, and so unconnected with recent politics; but still distinctly suggestive of dynastic claims.

The wretched struggle for the retention of Maine was kept up for another quarter of a year. On the 30th December the Count of Dunois obtained from Matthew Gough a promise for the surrender of Le Mans and Mayenne-la-Juhez by the 15th January, 1448. On that condition the French agreed to allow the truce to stand as if Le Mans had been duly surrendered on the 1st November ⁴. Of course Gough was not ready by the 15th January; and Charles, 'at the request of the people of Le Mans', extended the term to the 2nd February ⁵. But at the same time he called out levies; and he obliged the English authorities at Rouen to agree that if the place was not delivered by the 10th February Gough and Eyton

¹ See T. Basin, i. 191; J. Whethamstede, i. 159, 160; J. Wavrin, iv. 349; Proceedings, vi. 52.

² See W. Gregory, 189; Chron. Giles, 35; J. Whethamstede, sup. The Duke's appointment was dated the 30th July, just at the time when Normandy was probably promised to Dorset; Proceedings, vi. 89.

³ So W. Gregory. The Duke could not venture to bear the arms of Lionel of Clarence, only those of Edmund of Langley; so he tells us himself; Rot. Parl. v. 376. For the revival of the name Plantagenet see the pedigrees in William of Worcester, 527, where the name is applied to no one but Richard and the original Geoffrey; so also Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 170. The distinction again is observed in the lists of *Dramatis Personae* in Shakespeare's historical plays, which were copied from the chroniclers. But he himself had not noticed the distinction, as in the dialogues he applies the name Plantagenet indiscriminately.

⁴ Stevenson, Letters, ii. [710-716].

⁵ D'Escouchy, iii. 175.

CHAP. VI. should be held rebels to their own master¹. On the 30th
 1448. January Adam Moleyns and Sir Robert Roos were once
 more instructed to negotiate for peace, truce, and personal

Le Mans
 besieged
 by the
 French.

meeting; the real object of their mission being to do the
 best they could for Le Mans². On the 13th February
 Dunois appeared at Le Mans with a regular army. Gough
 wanted to wait for further orders from Moleyns and Roos,
 but Dunois would have no more excuses, and operations
 began. Jean Bureau was again in command of the artillery.
 Charles came to Lavardin to watch the siege. On the 11th
 February Moleyns and Roos obtained a last extension of
 the truce to the 1st April, 1450³; with a verbal agreement
 that Gough should be allowed to march out with bag and
 baggage, and something in hand to boot by way of com-
 Final sur-
 render. pensation. On these terms he surrendered Le Mans on
 the 16th March, after a final formal protest⁴.

Final sur-
 render.

Renewal
 of the war
 contem-
 plated.

The siege of Le Mans, though entirely justified, could
 not fail to damage the prospects of peace, already faint
 enough. Not an attempt had been made since the summer
 of 1445 even to discuss terms of peace; and the attempt
 would have been futile had it been made. With every dis-
 position to indulge Henry VI and Margaret, Suffolk must
 have felt that he had already gone too far for his own
 safety. The appointment of Dorset was made with a
 distinct reference to the possibility of a resumption of
 hostilities⁵; it was stipulated that in that event he should
 receive £20,000 a year as pay for 200 spears and 2000
 bows: meanwhile he was only to receive half the amount.
 But on the 6th March, Henry having heard that "a mightye
 seege" was being laid to Le Mans, "and sharpe werre

¹ "Desobeissans a vous", i. e. Henry VI; d'Escouchy, iii. 180-183; Stevenson, Letters, i. 198, 202.

² Foed. xi. 196, 216.

³ Lavardin; See Foed. xi. 198-214. The place is in Loir et Cher, near Montoire.

⁴ See d'Escouchy, i. 128 and iii. 181, 193, 197; G. Bouvier, 430; T. Basin, i. 187; and Stevenson, Letters, i. 102; ii. 361 (wrongly given under 1445); Foed. xi. 204, 216; Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, iii. 138.

⁵ See the notification to Charles; d'Escouchy, iii. 174.

made", ordered the full sum to be allowed¹. If Dorset had been well advised he would have left the coveted post to his rival.

CHAP. VI.
1448.

Dorset was now raised to the Dukedom of Somerset², in honour of his new command, just as he had been created Earl of Dorset on the occasion of his going out in 1438. On the 8th May he was received by the clergy at the cathedral of Rouen. Two days later he obtained from the Estates the moderate grant of 90,000 *Livres Tournois* for garrisons for half a year³.

Dorset
created
Duke of
Somerset.

But clouds soon began to gather. The disbanded garrison of Le Mans, unable to gain admission to the English holds in Normandy, where the Captains did not want them, established themselves at Saint-James-de-Beuvron, a dismantled town on the March of Brittany; thus infringing the articles of the truce by establishing a fresh fortress on the borders⁴. Mortain also, another dismantled town on the English side of the border, was fortified at the same time⁵.

The
English
establish
themselves
at Saint-
James-de-
Beuvron.

The Duke of Brittany called Charles' attention to the fact: being married to a Scotch Princess⁶, Francis I was inclined to forget the old traditional ties with England, to say nothing of the special obligations of the House of Montfort⁷. Charles at once made the matter his own.

During the four years of peace France had wonderfully

¹ Stevenson, Letters, i. 477-482.

² 31st March, Lords' Report, v. 258.

³ Beaurepaire, États, 99. For Dorset's final instructions, drawn up by Sir John Fastolf, see Stevenson, Letters, ii. [592]. The most striking passage is a direction to keep his friends in England "in stedfast feithe and love to the Kyngis wele". The Memorandum, however, may perhaps have been only a composition by Sir John.

⁴ See Foed. xi. 65.

⁵ See de Beaucourt, Charles VII, iv. 311.

⁶ Francis married Elisabeth or Isabella, second daughter of James I, 30th October, 1442. Exchequer Rolls Scotland, v. p. lvii, note Burnet, and p. 118. Cosneau calls her "Isabelle". The Duke's change of policy led to a rupture between him and his younger brother Giles, who held to England. See d'Escouchy, i. 96; Gruel, 780. On the matter generally, see Cosneau, de Richemont, 377, &c.

⁷ For the support given by Edward III to the House of Montfort, the reigning family of Brittany, as against the rival House of Blois, see above, under his reign.

CHAP. VI.

1448.

French
remon-
strances;
English
evasions.

recruited her strength. Charles had just completed the organisation of a national militia¹; all that he now wanted was a good excuse for drawing the sword.

The English, though anxious to avoid a rupture, showed no disposition to redress the new grievance. They asserted that the French had rebuilt border forts in Caux and Maine². Charles having sent envoys to Rouen to complain, Somerset asked to be allowed to refer the matter to Bishop Moleyns and Sir Robert Roos, as men better acquainted than himself with the recent course of diplomacy³. But when Somerset's agent reached the French Court he found that Moleyns and Roos had gone into Brittany, and, having no instructions to that effect, he refused to follow them. Charles then wrote to Henry, complaining that Somerset had addressed him in a 'derogatory style'⁴. But the style complained of, 'King's Uncle in France'⁵, was that which had been used in every single communication addressed to Charles since the truce began. In answer to this appeal, Henry wrote to Somerset ordering him to attend to the matter, and to make amends, if any were due, as it was impossible to enter into such questions at a distance⁶. Confidential instructions sent to the Duke later in the month direct him to spin out negotiations, but by all means to avoid a rupture⁷.

Somerset was able at any rate to comply with the first of these directions. Lengthy discussions were held in November at Vandreuil and other places between Louviers and Pont-de-l'Arche, the only outcome being an agreement for a further meeting by the 15th May, 1449⁸.

¹ For the *Compagnies d'Ordonnance*, *Francs Archers*, and other developments of the Ordinance of the 2nd November, 1439, see Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, iii. 56, 120; Martin, vi. 418, 431; Cosnean, 355, 372; De Beaucourt, Charles VII, iv. 387.

² See Stevenson, Letters, i. 218.

³ 20th May-14th June; d'Escouchy, iii. 200-202.

⁴ 22nd August; Stevenson, 209-220.

⁵ "A très hault et puissant prince l'oncle en France du Roy," &c.; d'Escouchy, 202.

⁶ 3rd October; d'Escouchy, 204. See also the letter to Charles, p. 207.

⁷ Proceedings, vi. 64.

⁸ Foed. xi. 224; d'Escouchy, 210.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Hostilities with Scotland.—Battle of the Sark.—Parliament.—Renewal of the War.—The French invade Normandy and recover Rouen.

THE attitude of the Scots as usual reflected the situation in France. In March 1447, we find the Council warning James II to respect the truce¹.

CHAP. VII.
1447-1448.
Relations
with Scot-
land.
Hostilities.

Provoked, as we may suppose, by some unrecorded acts of aggression, the English Marchers assumed the offensive. In May 1448, young Percy² and Sir Robert Ogle burnt Dunbar, while the Earl of Salisbury burnt Dumfries in June; but on the 3rd of the same month the Earls of Douglas, Orkney, Angus, and Ormond (three of them Douglasses) had fired Alnwick. Returning to the charge in July, Douglas burnt Warkworth on the 18th of that month, again making good his retreat with little loss³. These disturbances cannot have been anticipated by the English Government, as on the 23rd April Henry sealed a safe-conduct for a whole year for Scottish envoys to pass through his dominions on their way to France⁴. Now, however, he was stirred to make a Royal Progress to the North. Leaving Windsor early in September, he rested at St. Albans on the 7th, and at King's College, Cambridge, on

Royal
Progress to
Durham.

¹ Proceedings, vi. 60.

² Henry Percy, eldest son of the second Earl, and himself afterwards third Earl of Northumberland. A royal messenger had been sent to Ogle at Berwick before the 13th July; Issues, Easter 26 Henry VI.

³ Chron. Auchinleck, 27 (Thomson, 1819), given under 1449; Chron. Giles, 35.

⁴ Foed. xi. 213.

CHAP. VII. the 8th; he was at Stamford on the 11th, and at Southwell
 1448. from the 13th to the 15th of the month. On the 9th
 October he signs at Beverley¹. He made his way as far
 as Durham, where the novelty of a Royal visit created
 great enthusiasm². But by the 15th October he had re-
 turned to York³.

Battle of
the Sark.

Young Percy, however, was sent across the Border with
 a substantial force to invade Dumfriesshire; but ill-luck
 seemed to dog the House of Lancaster. Percy was met
 by the Earl of Ormond near Gretna, between the rivers
 Kirtle and Sark, driven backwards towards Lochmaben
 Stone, the old meeting-place by the Solway, and totally
 defeated. Percy and other leaders were taken prisoners;
 many of his men were drowned in the river⁴.

Marriage
of James II
of Scotland
with Mary
of Guelders.

James II was now in his 18th year, and on the look-out
 for a Queen. It seems strange that no attempt was made
 to find him a consort in England; but England at this
 time was utterly without head. The Scottish Chancellor,
 Crichton, made his way to France, with a request to
 Charles VII that he would kindly suggest a fitting spouse
 for his dear brother of Scotland. As there happened to
 be no French Princess available, the disposal of James'
 hand was made over to the Duke of Burgundy, who was
 able to find among his own connexions an eligible bride in
 the person of Mary, daughter of Arnold, Duke of Guelders.
 He was also kind enough to provide the young lady with
 60,000 crowns of dowry. A contract was signed at
 Brussels; Mary was brought to Scotland, and in due course
 became James' wife⁵.

¹ See his letter; M. d'Escouchy, iii. 210.

² Chron. Giles, sup.

³ For the dates see Privy Seals, 27 Henry VI. From York Henry came
 back to Eltham by way of Stamford, Huntingdon, and Royston.

⁴ 23rd October; Chron. Auchinleck, p. 18 (1449); Scotichron. ii. 215
 (1445). The year must be gathered from the course of English events.
 Lochmaben Stone was a primitive circle enclosing a large central stone, of
 which only the latter now remains.

⁵ 3rd July, 1449. See Abercromby, *Martial Achievements*, 333; Stevenson,
Letters, i. 221; Burnet, *Exchequer Rolls*, v. lxxiv, who cites treaties between
 Philip and James; MS. Harl. 4637, iii. f. v.

On the 12th February, 1449, Parliament met at Westminster. The Archbishop-Chancellor (Stafford) delivered no speech, or none that he cared to record, contenting himself with briefly indicating the business of the Session. Suffolk took his seat as Duke, the last creation, but apparently taking precedence of all but Royal Dukes¹.

CHAP. VII.
1449.
Parliament
at West-
minster.

On the 4th April the Houses adjourned for Easter, the Commons having granted one half Subsidy (under deduction of £3000) to be raised by moieties at Martinmas 1449, and Martinmas 1450, thus reducing the Parliamentary dole to one quarter Subsidy for each year. Tonnage and Poundage, however, were renewed for five years at existing rates².

Money
Grants.

Having sat from the 7th to the 30th May, Parliament again adjourned for the Whitsun holidays, the summer Session being appointed to be held at Winchester on account of the unhealthy state of the metropolis³. The third Session lasted from the 16th June to the 16th July. The Commons were induced to grant another half Subsidy, so as to make up the usual half Subsidy for the two years 1449 and 1450. They also renewed the petty poll-tax on foreigners for three years, with a new and heavier poll-tax of 6s. 8d. on merchant strangers, and 1s. 8d. on their clerks. The wool duties also were prolonged to the 3rd April, 1454, at existing rates, except as to the wools of the four northern counties, the 'subsidy' on which was reduced from 33s. 4d. to 13s. 4d. Of the larger duty it was enacted that 20s. a sack should be applied to the defence of Calais⁴. The Convocation of Canterbury sitting at the same time granted a Tenth, with a further tax of 6s. 8d. on stipendiary priests. This was given by arrangement with the Commons, and in consideration of an amnesty granted by the King to the chaplains who had incurred penalties either

Convoca-
tion.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 141; Lords' Report, Appendix, iv. 919. Suffolk was raised to his Dukedom 2nd June, 1448; Id. v. 259, 266.

² Rot. Parl. 142.

³ Id. 143.

⁴ Id. 144-147.

CHAP. VII. by taking salaries in excess of the legal rates, or through other misdemeanours¹.

1449.

The Queen
and Suffolk
dealing in
wool.

The Commons, while imploring the King to grant no more licenses to smuggle wool, felt bound to ask for special exceptions in favour of the Queen and the Duke of Suffolk. It would seem that both had obtained licenses to evade the Staple regulations. Margaret had obtained unlimited leave to export wool and tin, whithersoever she pleased; Suffolk had contented himself with leave to export 2000 sacks of Norfolk wool². Lax as the age was, the knowledge that Margaret and her favourite indulged in such jobbery, could not fail to damage them in public estimation.

The King's
debts.

Private petitions show the straits to which the most favoured class of Royal creditors were reduced. £3449 were due to the gentlemen and yeomen of the Household. These were old arrears "of the tyme of Rogere Fenys Knyght, late Tresorer of the sayd Houshold"³. To the priests and clerks of the Chapel Royal £379 were due from the same time, "for wages and clothing". William Brocas, hereditary Master of the Buckhounds, had not been able to obtain payment of his "wages and fees" for three years⁴.

Yet the King could still lavish houses, and lands, and what not, upon Eton and King's Colleges, the worst of it being that the houses and lands for the most part were not the King's to begin with, he having to acquire them and pay dearly for his purchases⁵.

State of
affairs in
Normandy.

A dismal but not exaggerated picture of the state of things in Normandy was laid before Parliament by Reginald Bowers, Abbot of Gloucester, on behalf of Somerset. His "credence" called special attention to three points, namely,

¹ Wake, *State of the Church*, 371; Rot. Parl. v. 144, 153.

² Rot. Parl. 146, 150.

³ Fenys was Treasurer of the Household 9th April, 1439–15th Nov. 1446. Q. R. Miscell. Wardrobe, 71^o and 74¹.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 157, 158, 167.

⁵ See the string of fresh benefactions, chiefly houses in Eton and Cambridge; Id. 159–165.

the alarming attitude, and still more alarming state of preparation of the enemy; the defenceless state of Normandy, alike wanting in stores, fortifications, and money; and the approaching end of the truce. He implored Parliament to call to mind "the well nygh infinite cost", both in "good and blood", of the conquest, and the "shamefull losse" of ultimate defeat. The appeal was laid before both Lords and Commons, but no answer is recorded¹,—unless the second half Subsidy granted in July be taken to have been elicited by this prayer.

Before Parliament rose, the Hundred Years' War, the most unrighteous ever waged by England, had entered on its last dismal act. Suffolk and Somerset had played Charles' game to perfection. They had tightened the bonds between him and his two great feudatories, and given him exactly the opportunity he wanted. That Charles only wanted a justification for renewing the struggle is unquestionable². Suffolk and Somerset enabled him to advance by safe and honourable steps.

Before the question of Saint-James-de-Beuvron had been at all settled, a more signal act of aggression on the part of the English opened up a new situation. On the 24th March the rich town of Fougères in Brittany, the seat of a considerable woollen manufacture, was seized and sacked by a force drawn from the regular English garrisons of Normandy. Their leader was a man high in the confidence of the English Government, a Crown pensioner, a Knight of the Garter, François de Surienne, the celebrated "Aragonais"³. The plunder was estimated at a very considerable sum. Again Somerset endeavoured to disclaim responsibility, at first disavowing de Surienne's act, but when pressed intimating, not indistinctly, that the act had

¹ *Rect. Parl.* 147.

² See his letter of the 6th September, 1448, to the men of Rheims, announcing his intention of recovering Normandy; *Vallet de Virville*, iii. 144. So, too, *Aeneas Sylvius*, *Opp.* p. 440, cited *Stubbs*, iii. 141.

³ See *G. Bouvier*, 432; *Gruel*, 784; *J. Chartier*, ii. 60; *T. Basin*, i. 193; *Devon Issues*, 460. Fougères is in the department of *Ille et Vilaine*.

CHAP. VII. been done in pursuance of orders from England, and that he was helpless in the matter¹.

1449.

It seems marvellous that Suffolk, with the knowledge he must have had of the defenceless state of Normandy, should venture on such a step; but apparently such was the case. The enterprise would seem to have been planned in London at least as far back as December 1447, when de Surienne was invested of the Garter. He had discussed the matter with Suffolk, and had been promised support².

Giles of
Brittany.

No doubt the English were very bitter against the Duke of Brittany, who had gone completely over to the French, and had imprisoned his brother Giles for adhering to England. Giles' case excited strong sympathy at the English Court, where he had lived for years. Perhaps hopes were entertained of procuring his freedom through reprisals³. At any rate we may believe that no Englishman had yet realised the fact that England could no longer dictate terms to France. National delusions are hard to kill.

As soon as the facts were known, Charles began to demand satisfaction, and Francis began to threaten reprisals. Somerset, without offering any satisfaction, warned Charles to lend no help to Brittany⁴. On the 13th May, Charles wrote to Somerset that the matter of Fougères could not be passed over; that the question in fact did not admit of argument, and that satisfaction must be given⁵.

¹ Stevenson, Letters, i. 259, 260.

² See his statement, Stevenson, 278-298, fully corroborated by the evidence of his subordinates; T. Basin, iv. 291, 293, 321-335, and the admissions of Somerset as reported by the Archbishop of Rouen; Id. 338. According to de Surienne, Suffolk congratulated him on his success, p. 288.

³ For Giles' arrest, see G. Gruel, 782; Vallet de Viriville, iii. 199. For the connexion of his case with the attack on Fougères, see Basin, iv. 295, 320, and especially de Surienne's statement, Stevenson, 281; yet eventually Somerset refused to accept the liberation of Giles and 50,000 écus d'or for the restitution of Fougères, at least without authority from home; d'Escouchy, iii. 249, 250. See also Cosneau, de Richemont, 377-387.

⁴ D'Escouchy, iii. 230-234. The matter was first touched upon by French agents at Rouen 16th April; Id. 216, 231. It was then laid by Charles before English agents at Razillé in the first days of May; Id. 218, 232; Stevenson, 250, 251.

⁵ R. Blondel, *De Reductione Normanniae*, p. 383. (Rolls Series, No. 32, Stevenson.)

On the 27th of the month he instructed the Sire de Culant and G. Cousinot to go to Louviers for a last attempt at a peaceable settlement ¹.

CHAP. VII.

1449.

French
reprisals.

Meanwhile the French commanders at Louviers and Evreux, unfurling the Breton flag, and sounding the Breton war cry, "*Saint Yves Bretagne!*" surprised Pont-de-l'Arche. Lord Fauconberge, who happened to be there, was taken prisoner ². According to one who was with Somerset a few hours later when the news reached him, the blow fell on him like a thunderclap. He vowed that he would recover Pont-de-l'Arche in no time ³. But within a few days Gerberoy and Conches ⁴ were wrested from him. Even in Guienne the Duke of Brittany could stir up people to win Cognac and Saint-Maigrin from the English ⁵.

On the 15th June, Culant and Cousinot opened communications with the Duke of Somerset at Rouen ⁶. On the 20th they had an interview with English agents at Port-Saint-Ouen ⁷: further conferences were held at Venables and Louviers, up to the 2nd July; with a last word at Bonport on the 4th ⁸. The French *ultimatum* was that if the English would restore Fougères by the 25th of the month with all its former contents, or their value, then Charles would, within fifteen days after that, set free Lord Fauconberge and restore Pont-de-l'Arche, Conches, and Gerberoy, with all their former contents, or their value ⁹.

French
ultimatum.

¹ R. Blondel, 379.

² 16th May, Cron. Normend., 103; T. Basin, i. 199, 204; R. Blondel, 23; also for the date the document printed in the same vol. p. 425; G. Gruel, 784.

³ T. Basin, sup. The writer had come to Rouen to attend a meeting of the Estates, the last held by the English; Beaurepaire, États, 101; R. Blondel, 26.

⁴ Gerberoy is in the dept. Oise, close to Songeons: Conches and Pont-de-l'Arche are in Eure.

⁵ G. Bouvier, 434; R. Blondel, 31; T. Basin, 205; d'Escouchy, i. 168. The places are in Charente and Charente Inférieure.

⁶ See the record of the proceedings, printed by Mr. Stevenson, with Blondel, p. 386.

⁷ Morice, Bretagne, Preuves, ii. 1454.

⁸ Blondel, sup. 399, 413, 482, 495.

⁹ Id. 508. Fauconberge was William Neville, son of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, who had married Joan, daughter of Thomas Fauconberge, Lord Fauconberge; Historic Peerage; see Table.

CHAP. VII.

1449.

The English required Lord Fauconberge to be set free before anything further was done; and apparently they refused to discuss the question even of a simultaneous restitution, except under a reference to the home Government; and without prejudice to Henry's alleged claim to the superiority of Brittany, an extravagant if not altogether a novel pretension¹. The French retired with a protest that their master had done his best; he must not be held responsible for the consequences².

Charles declares war.

Co-operation of Brittany and Burgundy.

On the 9th July, the Lieutenant wrote once more to Charles asking to re-open negotiations. On the 31st July, his agents were received by the King in Council at the castle of Roches-Tranchelion³ to receive his formal declaration of war. Ambassadors from Brittany were present, and representatives of Burgundy were not far off. Arrangements had been made with both powers; a formal treaty had been sealed with Brittany; and the Duke of Burgundy had agreed to allow his feudatories to wage unofficial war on their own account. Normandy would thus be attacked from all three sides at once.

The King's declaration of war was prefaced by a succinct summary of the course of negotiations since Somerset's arrival⁴.

War had already begun, and three armies were preparing to act. One was being raised by Duke Francis in Brittany; another was mustering in Picardy under the Burgundian Counts of Eu and St. Pol: the chief French

¹ Blondel, 499, 500.

² Id. 513.

³ In the Forest of Crissay, between Avon and Saint-Espoir, to the West of Chinon: department Indre et Loire.

⁴ See the official records, d'Escouchy, iii. 243-251; Stevenson, Letters, i. 243-264. The treaty with Brittany was signed 17th June; d'Escouchy, 243, from Morice, ii. 1508. Duke Philip wrote in July approving of all that Charles had said and done, and suggesting an immediate advance of troops; Stevenson, Letters, i. 264. His agents were probably at Tranchelion on the 31st, but their presence is not mentioned. See also Vallet de Viriville, iii. 152; d'Escouchy, i. 184, &c. In August Burgundian envoys came to London to urge Henry to make peace with France and join a crusade against the Turks; Stevenson, ii. 471.

army, some 2500 strong, had already entered Normandy under Dunois, as King's Lieutenant-General of the War; while a fourth force was being gathered by the Duke of Alençon for operations in his own district¹. The Bretons naturally were the first to act. On the 29th June they recovered Saint-James-de-Beuvron; and not many days afterwards the other bone of contention, Mortain².

CHAP. VII.

1449.

French
gains;
Saint-
James-de-
Beuvron.
Mortain.

This was on the West side of Normandy; an attack on the East frontier followed, still before war had been declared. At daybreak, on Sunday, 20th July, Pierre de Brézé, Seneschal of Poitou, made his way into Verneuil up a dry watercourse, a patriotic miller guiding him. Another party scaled the walls, and the town was won, care being taken to protect the French inhabitants, a precaution not always observed in the earlier stages of the war. Next day the citadel was stormed, the garrison retreating to a last stronghold, *La Tour Grise*³. Dunois, who was privy to the affair, appeared forthwith to take possession.

Verneuil.

Somerset sent the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had joined him in the autumn (1448), to retrieve the loss. The Earl reached Breteuil, some seven or eight miles to the North of Verneuil, on the 31st July. Having ascertained that nothing could be done, after two days he fell back on Le Neubourg and Harcourt⁴. Dunois dashed after him in hot pursuit, and overtook him in a strong position near Harcourt. Finding in turn that he could do nothing, he sent his men to Evreux, Louviers, and Pont-de-l'Arche to be ready for further operations, while Shrewsbury returned to Rouen⁵.

On the 8th August, Dunois made a fresh start from Evreux in concert with the Burgundians, who, crossing

Pont-de-
l'Arche.

¹ J. Chartier, i. 86, 111; G. Bouvier, 435, 436; d'Escouchy, i. 188; de Beaucourt, iv. 331.

² See Cosneau, de Richemont, 396, and the authorities there cited.

³ R. Blondel, 53-55; Bouvier, sup.; J. Chartier, 80. *La Tour Grise* held out till the 23rd August; Blondel. Verneuil again is in Eure.

⁴ Both in Eure, in the centre of the department.

⁵ R. Blondel, 56-60; G. Bouvier, 435; T. Basin, i. 207.

CHAP. VII. the Seine at Pont-de-l'Arche on the 10th, marched with
 1449. him against Pont-Audemer, a place insufficiently protected
 by wooden palisades. To do Somerset justice, it should be
 stated that he wished to dismantle the place, but that Fulk
 Eyton and Osberne Mundeford declared that they could
 hold it against any force¹. Taken on two sides at once,
 the garrison were overpowered, the town was fired, the
 palisades burnt down: Osberne Mundeford and Fulk
 Eyton retired to the King's House, a fortified dwelling at
 the end of the town, and there surrendered².

Pont-
Audemer;
Lisieux. From Pont-Audemer the allies advanced to Lisieux *viâ*
 Pont-l'Évêque, which offered no resistance. On reaching
 Lisieux it was found that Bishop Basin was at home.
 Intimately acquainted with the state of English affairs, he
 lost no time in arranging terms between his flock and their
 victorious countrymen. Through his mediation a favour-
 Mantes. able convention was signed³. From Lisieux, Dunois
 returned to the Seine; and on the 26th received the
 submission of Mantes, the people forcing the English
 commander to capitulate⁴.

Charles VII
in the field. Meanwhile, King Charles was advancing to the scene of
 action with a strong body-guard⁵ and a brilliant retinue.
 Among his followers were the eldest sons of the Houses of
 Bourbon, Armagnac, Albret, and La Marche, pledges for
 the loyalty of their fathers. Having left Chinon on the
 6th August, he entered Verneuil in triumph on the 27th.
 "Noel!" "Noel!" The Bishops of Lisieux and Avranches
 were there to tender homage⁶.

On the 27th August, Charles moved to Evreux; and

¹ So Blondel, 64.

² 12th August; R. Blondel, 65-70; G. Bouvier, 436; d'Escouchy, i. 190
 and iii. 354 (Mundeford's account of the affair). An attack by Pierre de Brézé
 single-handed on the night of the 10th-11th August had failed.

³ 16th August; G. Bouvier, *sup.*; T. Basin, i. 211-215; d'Escouchy, i.
 193 and notes to the same. The treaty is printed in the *Ordonnances de*
France. See also for the whole campaign the letter of Cousinot to the Court
 of Foix; Martene and D. Thesaurus, i. 1812, &c.

⁴ See J. Chartier, ii. 94-103, and the treaty there; Bouvier, *sup.*

⁵ 200 lances "et les archers".

⁶ G. Bouvier, 435, 437; J. Chartier, 110, 161, 162.

next day to Louviers, where he made a considerable stay, the work of reduction being pushed in all directions. In central Normandy and the basin of the Seine, Vernon, Harcourt, La-Roche-Guyon, and Chambrois, now Broglie, were recovered. In the Vexin and East Normandy, Gournay¹, Neufchâtel, and Gisors² surrendered to the Burgundians. On the sea-coast, Fécamp and Touques were recovered. Fécamp was taken by the garrison of Dieppe acting independently. An English ship, with a relief of ninety-seven men, sailing next day into the harbour, found herself a prisoner.

By this time the Dukes of Alençon and Brittany were in the field. In Upper Normandy and Maine, Loigny³, and Maine-Essay, Alençon, Exmes, and Argentan⁴ were taken in one way or another⁵. The Duke of Brittany crossed the border about the 6th September, with his uncle the Constable; and, attacking the *Cotentin*, by the 11th of the next month had captured Coutances, Saint-Lô, Thorigny, La-Haye-du-Puits, Carentan, Valognes, and Gavray⁶. Wherever they durst the townspeople sided with their countrymen, forcing the garrisons to capitulate. Again some of the captains were Frenchmen; and others had married French wives; many had acquired property in the country, and only asked to be allowed to remain as

CHAP. VII.
1449.

Further
successes
in Nor-
mandy,

Campaign
of the
Duke of
Brittany.

¹ Gournay signed terms on the 2nd September; de Beaucourt, Charles VII, v. 8.

² Gisors was not finally surrendered till the 27th October; J. Chartier, 159.

³ September; M. d'Escouchy, iii. 374; Cron. de Normend., note Hellot. Loigny is near Orgères, in Eure et Loire.

⁴ 4th October; Treaty, M. d'Escouchy, i. 210.

⁵ For details and dates, see G. Bouvier, 437-440; J. Chartier, 101-135; M. d'Escouchy, i. 193-210; T. Basin, i. 220, 221, and notes to the two last; also Vallet de Viriville, iii. 156-157, and the list, Stevenson, Letters, ii. [619-627], probably compiled by Sir John Fastolf. For losses in Perche and Maine, suffered as early as June, see de Beaucourt, v. 5.

⁶ For the Breton campaign, see Chron. Mont-Saint-Michel, i. 49-51; M. d'Escouchy, i. 201, 202 and notes; G. Gruel, 785; R. Blondel, 89; J. Chartier, 122; and Cosneau, 398, &c. Coutances surrendered 12th September; Saint-Lô 15th September; Thorigny and La Haye before 19th September; Carentan 30th September; Gavray 11 October. All these places are in the department of La Manche.

**

II

CHAP. VII. French subjects. On the other hand, liberal terms were
 1449. always given. All who wished were allowed to 'turn French' and remain in peace; those who would not were allowed to depart with all their goods. Satisfied with what he had achieved in the Cotentin, Duke Francis then turned homewards to attack Fougères, which was still held by de Surienne¹.

Advance on Rouen. A fortnight or so earlier Charles had ordered a concentration of troops for an advance on Rouen; Rouen, so long the aim of French aspirations, and the subject of so many plots. On the 6th October the two Kings advanced from Louviers to Pont-de-l'Arche, and heralds were sent to summon Rouen to surrender. The town was known to be disaffected to the English, and in fact overtures from the citizens had been received at Louviers. But the English were fully on their guard; the heralds were not allowed to deliver their message, and the troops that had followed them to take possession, after bivouacing for three days in downpours of rain, had to retire in quest of shelter².

Fresh overtures followed them to Pont-de-l'Arche, with a definite offer to betray a part of the wall near the Porte Saint-Hilaire. Two forces were sent out to take advantage of this offer. One, mainly consisting of cavalry, rode ostentatiously up to the Porte Beauvoisine; while Dunois, with foot soldiers, crept up behind the Carthusian monastery. At a given signal a scaling party was pushed forward: the French had gained the parapets when Shrewsbury came to the rescue, and saved the town. So confident were the French, that they had brought Charles and René to Darnétal, not two miles from the walls of Rouen³.

Negotiations for a surrender. Popular feeling, however, was rising so high within the walls, that next day Somerset was obliged to allow the

¹ 16th October; Cosneau, de Richemont, 403.

² 6th-9th October; G. Bouvier, 441; J. Chartier, II. 137, 138; T. Basin, i. 222; M. d'Escouchy, i. 213; Vallet de Viriville, iii. 159. According to the letter of G. Cousinot, (Martene and D. Thesaurus, i. 1818), Charles VII himself advanced to Rouen on the 9th October, and the affair would be dated 9th-11th October.

³ Thursday, 16th October; G. Bouvier, 442; Cron. de Normend. 125, 126; M. d'Escouchy, i. 214.

Archbishop to open negotiations for a surrender. Roussel met the Royal envoys at Port-Saint-Ouen on the Seine. Charles promised to respect all the old customs of Rouen and Normandy; and to allow all who might wish to do so to depart in peace. A treaty, seemingly, was drawn up¹. But when the terms were submitted to Somerset in the *Hôtel de Ville* he refused his sanction.

This was more than the *Rouennais* could stand. On Sunday, 19th October, the city rose. During mass time a cry was raised that the English were massacring the people, an alarm for which Shrewsbury's severity towards those implicated in the affair of the 16th gave some foundation². The town bell was rung, barricades were thrown up in all directions, and the English had to fly to the Palace, the Castle, and the Bridge³. That same evening Charles took up his quarters in the monastery of St. Catherine, on a height overlooking the city; while Basin, the Bishop of Lisieux, and a detachment of troops, entered the walls⁴. Somerset now endeavoured to fall back on the abortive convention of Port-Saint-Ouen. But the French very naturally thought themselves entitled to raise their terms.

On the 23rd October Somerset came under safe-conduct to St. Catherine's to argue the point with Dunois; but the Count held firm. On the 29th October a treaty was signed, by which the English were allowed to march out of Rouen with their wives and their little ones, their goods and their chattels, on condition of promising to surrender Caudebec, Tancarville, Honfleur, Arques, and Montivilliers, and to pay a ransom of 50,000 *saluts d'or*. Eight hostages were taken, among whom were the Earl of

¹ 17th October. The original is preserved at Chartres; de Beaucourt *op. M. d'Esouchy*, i. 218 note; R. Blondel, 128-132; G. Bouvier, 442.

² W. Worcester, 465; T. Basin, 226; R. Blondel, 127.

³ These were Henry V's palace on the Seine, at the lower end of the town; the castle built by Philippe Auguste on the north side of the city; and the barbican on the left bank of the Seine; T. Basin, i. 227 note Quicherat.

⁴ T. Basin, i. 224-229; Bourgeois, 392. The other authorities seem to mix up somewhat the events of Saturday and Sunday.

CHAP. VII. Shrewsbury, Sir John Butler, son of the Earl of Ormond,
 1449. Thomas de Roos, younger son of the Duchess of Somerset
 by her first husband, an Abergavenny Neville, and a Dacre¹.
 On the 4th November Somerset marched out of Rouen,
 retiring to Harfleur, and from thence again by sea to
 Caen².

On the 10th Charles entered Rouen in triumphal state.

Further
 English
 losses.

In Paris joy-bells had rung and bonfires sparkled at the
 first news of the recovery of Rouen³. But the work of con-
 quest was not allowed to slacken. On the 20th November
 Matthew Gough yielded Bellême to the Duke of Alençon⁴.
 On the 23rd November the 'impregnable rock' of Château
 Gaillard admitted the French⁵. Before that the Breton
 campaign had been brought to a close by the recovery of
 Fougères. De Surienne, after a soldierly resistance of
 just three weeks, took 10,000 *écus* to march out⁶. Indignant
 at being disavowed by the English in the matter of Fou-
 gères, he renounced their service and sent back his Garter⁷.

On the 8th December Charles laid siege to Harfleur in
 very bad weather ; but the guns and the engineering science
 of Jean Bureau and his brother Gaspard brought the
 matter to a speedy close ; on Christmas day the garrison
 capitulated⁸. Thus at the close of 1449 the English
 dominion in Normandy had been cut down to Fresnay,
 Domfront, Vire, and Falaise ; Honfleur, Caen, and Bayeux ;
 Saint-Sauveur, and Cherbourg.

Nor had they been left unmolested in the South.

¹ For the negotiations see *Reduction de Rouen*, *Revue Normande* (A. Potier, Rouen, 1842), cited de Beaucourt, notes to d'Escouchy, i. 223-225. For the treaty, see Id. iii. 358 ; Stevenson, *Letters*, ii. [607] ; for the hostages, cf. Id. [628].

² J. Chartier, ii. 158, 161 ; M. d'Escouchy, i. 228, 229 and notes ; G. Bouvier, 445.

³ Bourgeois, 392.

⁴ Department Orne ; J. Chartier, ii. 174, 175 (given as 20th December).

⁵ The siege had lasted from the 29th September ; J. Chartier, 134, 172. The place, now Les Andelys is in Eure.

⁶ 16th October-5th November. See Cosneau, 403.

⁷ Stevenson, *Letters*, i. 278.

⁸ See J. Chartier, 176-179. The writer was present ; he mentions sunk approaches so skilfully planned that even the King could come up to the walls in safety.

In August the Count of Foix (Gaston IV) came down from Béarn and recovered the town and castle of Mauléon¹. The place at one time had formed part of the appanage of the Duke of Gloucester, but had been taken from him and given to Louis de Beaumont, "Alferes" of Navarre, in the hope of securing the protection of the King of Navarre. The King, in fact, did come to Mauléon during the siege, and endeavoured to negotiate, but Count Gaston refused to recognise his pretensions, and clung to his prize².

Further losses followed, the fall of Guiche³, on the left bank of the Adour, above Bayonne, entailing the defection of some fifteen other Gascon towns.

¹ Mauléon-Licharre, otherwise Mauléon-Soule, Basses Pyrénées. Apart from the town of Mauléon the *enclave* of Soule belonged to France. See Map, A. D. 1428.

² J. Chartier, ii. 127; G. Bouvier, 439; M. d'Escouchy, i. 206 and notes; Foed. xi. 243. For the date, see de Beaucourt, v. 9. The King of Navarre was John II of the Arragonese line, who had married Blanche, heiress of Charles III, and granddaughter of Charles II, 'The Bad'.

³ "Jacentium", "Guisent"; R. Blondel, 152; G. Bouvier, 448; de Beaucourt, v. 43.

CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

The War.—Defeat of the English at Formigny.—Loss of Normandy.

CHAP. VIII.

1449.

The home Government unprepared for war.

English piracy in the Channel.

THE renewal of hostilities appears to have been no more anticipated by the home Government than by Somerset. That was only natural, because of course they would look to him for information; and his defenceless state again was the reflex of their unpopularity and weakness. Not a man or a pennyworth of supplies had been sent to Normandy for a twelvemonth¹. The only traceable war expenditure of the spring was for naval operations, and they took a curious turn. In April Robert Winnington, a Devon man, was commissioned to 'cleanse the sea of pirates'². In the fulfilment of this duty he had the good fortune to fall in with the salt fleet from the Bay of Bourgneuf, numbering a hundred sail; some Hanseatic, some Dutch, some Flemish, all friendly flags. The whole were safely brought into the Isle of Wight³. After

¹ So Issue Rolls, Mich. and Easter 27 Hen. VI.

² Stevenson, Letters, i. 489. Gervaise Clifton and Alexander Eden received money for similar work in May; Devon Issues, 463.

³ 23rd May. See the report sent two days later by Winnington himself to Thomas Daniel, Esquire of the King's Body, bespeaking his good offices at Court. Paston Letters, i. 84; also R. Fabian, 621. For the existing truces with Flanders, Burgundy, and the Hanse towns, see Foed. xi. 140, 171, 217. In May, 1451, Henry paid £4666 to the Duke of Burgundy for damage done to Dutch and Flemish shipping by English subjects, but the name of the chief offender is given as Robert Caen; Issues, Easter 29 Hen. VI.

that the English could hardly complain of the Duke of Burgundy for supporting the French. We may assume that the Government were not directly responsible for the outrage, but the mere fact that they could not prevent it speaks for their impotence. They were impotent because they had not the confidence of the nation.

The first warning that Normandy might be attacked, was apparently brought to London by 'Bonaventure Pursuivant', who came over at the end of July, and was sent back again in hot haste to Somerset¹. The Government, waking up, scraped together some £5000 or £6000, partly in cash, partly in jewels, both borrowed, and sent them to Somerset². In August there was some talk of a force to be taken over by Lord Powys and Sir Robert Vere³. What came of it does not appear, unless these were the men who sailed unsuspectingly into the harbour of Fécamp to be captured by the French.

Early in October arrangements were made with Sir Thomas Kyrielle and others to take over 425 spears and 2080 bows to Normandy. Sir Thomas was an experienced commander, but no men of rank joined the force, and the soldiers proved very unruly. In November gunpowder and other stores were sent to Caen and Cherbourg; and in December another £5000 was sent to Somerset, the money being borrowed from the executors of the late Cardinal Beaufort⁴.

Somerset had not left the home authorities in ignorance of his position. When the French began their advance he sent over the Chancellor of Normandy, Lord Hoo; he was followed by a deputation from Rouen; the burghers were in London when Rouen fell⁵. Kyrielle's men, as so commonly happened, were detained a length of time on the south coast. They are said to have behaved very

CHAP. VIII.

1449.

Last relief
for Nor-
mandy.Sir
Thomas
Kyrielle's
men.

¹ 29th July; Issues, Easter 27 Hen. VI.

² Id.

³ Proceedings, vi. 86.

⁴ 1st October-11th December; Issues, Mich. 28 Hen. VI; also Devon Issues, 465; Stevenson, Letters, i. 501-508.

⁵ Chron. Giles, 37; W. Worcester, 465; cf. Stevenson, i. 500.

CHAP. VIII. badly, pillaging and committing other outrages¹; in fact, their insubordination precipitated a domestic crisis, as we shall see. Bishop Moleyns, late Keeper of the Privy Seal, having been sent down to Portsmouth to pay their wages, a disputed account led to a wrangle; a cry was raised against 'the traitor who had sold Normandy', and the Bishop was so roughly handled that he died almost immediately².

Further English losses: Harfleur, Meanwhile the French had not been idle. The 1st January, 1450, was signalised by their entry into Harfleur, the garrison taking ship for England³. On the 5th of the month Charles left Montivilliers for more comfortable quarters in the Abbey of Jumièges, while Dunois moved his forces across the Seine for an attack on Honfleur. At Jumièges Charles lost Agnes Sorel, the lady whose name is so intimately associated with his own. Her position at Court gave great offence at the time; but her connexion with the Angevin party, which did such wonders for the land of France, has endeared her memory to Frenchmen of later days⁴.

Honfleur, On the 17th January Dunois invested Honfleur. Pounded assiduously by the French artillery, the Governor, Richard Curzon, surrendered the place on the 18th February, retiring with his little band to England⁵. On the 22nd March Fresnay-le-Vicomte was given up by Andrew Trollope, by way of exchange for Osberne Mundeford, captured, as above stated, at Pont-Audemer⁶. The loss

¹ Chron. Giles, 37.

² 9th January, 1450; Chron. Davies, 64; W. Worcester, 467; W. Gregory, 189.

³ J. Chartier, ii. 179.

⁴ Agnes died at Mesnil-sous-Jumièges, apparently on Monday, 9th (given as 11th) February, 1450; J. Chartier, 186, q. v. for an official attempt to deny her relations with the King; for modern views and researches, see Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, iii. 177, and his *Recherches Historiques sur Agnès Sorel*; Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 1850, p. 313; Martin, France, vi. 321, 442. For contemporary views of La Belle Agnès, see *Bourgeois de Paris*, 387. She left three daughters by Charles.

⁵ J. Chartier, 188; G. Bouvier, 488; R. Blondel, 154.

⁶ G. Bouvier, 449; J. Chartier, 190; R. Blondel, 156, 157; Stevenson, Letters, ii [627].

of this place completed the English expulsion from Maine. CHAP. VIII.

About the 15th March Kyrielle landed at Cherbourg ¹ 1450.
Kyrielle
lands at
Cherbourg. with his 2500 men, a substantial army as things went. His instructions were to join Somerset at once; but the authorities at Cherbourg urged the reduction of the places that commanded their line of communications with Caen; and Kyrielle's "pety capteyns", who were doubtless on the look out for 'good towns', supported that view ². Thus Kyrielle sat down to the siege of Valognes (27th March). Somerset, finding that Kyrielle would not come to him, sent as many men as he could spare from the garrisons of Caen, Bayeux, and Vire to join Kyrielle. Sir Robert Vere, Matthew Gough, and Sir Henry Norbury commanded these detachments, which may have made up 1000 men ³. Advancing from Bayeux, they entered the "*Clos du Cotentin*" by the sea-coast, crossing the estuaries of the Vire and Douve below Carentan, by a passage practicable at low water, and known as the Fords of St. Clement ⁴.

Thus pressed, Valognes fell (*circa* 10 April). After this success, as the French were fast closing round him, Kyrielle Recovery of
Valognes. resolved to make for Caen ⁵. Leaving Valognes on the 12th April, he reached the sands of St. Clement on the 14th. The Count of Clermont, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon, who had the chief command in Lower Normandy, was at Carentan at the time. To the great indignation of the people he refused to dispute the passage of the fords, fearing to engage his cavalry in quicksands. But when the

¹ Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, iii. 192. A messenger with the news was sent from Coutances on the 16th March; M. d'Escouchy, i. 277, note. The last payment to Kyrielle at home was made on the 9th March.

² Stevenson, [595]; R. Blondel, 157.

³ The French writers give these reinforcements as 1800 or 2000 men, but as they estimate Kyrielle's force at twice its real strength, I make a corresponding reduction in this estimate.

⁴ "Les vez Saint Clément"; Gruel, 786; Chartier, 192. The passage is described as being two leagues or five miles in length; it seems to be quite four miles long; see map.

⁵ R. Blondel, 157-162; J. Chartier, 191; G. Bouvier, 446; M. d'Escouchy, i. 276-278.

CHAP. VIII. 1450. watchman on the church tower proclaimed the fact that the English were passing Carentan unmolested, the people broke out of bounds, and, crossing the bridge of Douve, made a tumultuous attack on the English rear, the men in places fighting with the water up to their waists. The rise of the tide cut short the French pursuit: the English, holding on their way, reached Formigny without further molestation¹.

Battle of
Formigny.

During the night the Count of Clermont sent word of the situation to the Constable de Richemont, who was at Saint-Lô, on the look out for Kyrielle². Early on the morning of the 15th April the two forces started in pursuit. Clermont, following the highway through Isigny, was the first on the field. At his approach the English took up a defensive but rather cramped position in front of Formigny, not across the road from Isigny, but alongside of it; their right³ resting on a bridge by which the road crossed a little stream, an affluent of the Aure. Their rear was effectually protected by this stream, with gardens and orchards on either bank, and the village of Formigny beyond. Their front they hastened to protect against cavalry with such earthworks as they could extemporise⁴.

The army was apparently drawn up much as at Agincourt, namely, in five contiguous bodies, three of archers and two of dismounted men-at-arms. The archers, with their stakes before them, were doubtless massed in wedges, as we are told that the lines of men-at-arms extended between them 'as a wall between towers'. The men stood three deep, but the slender number of actual men-at-arms only sufficed for one rank out of three, namely, the rear rank. The front rank had to be made up of archers, and the middle rank of billmen⁵.

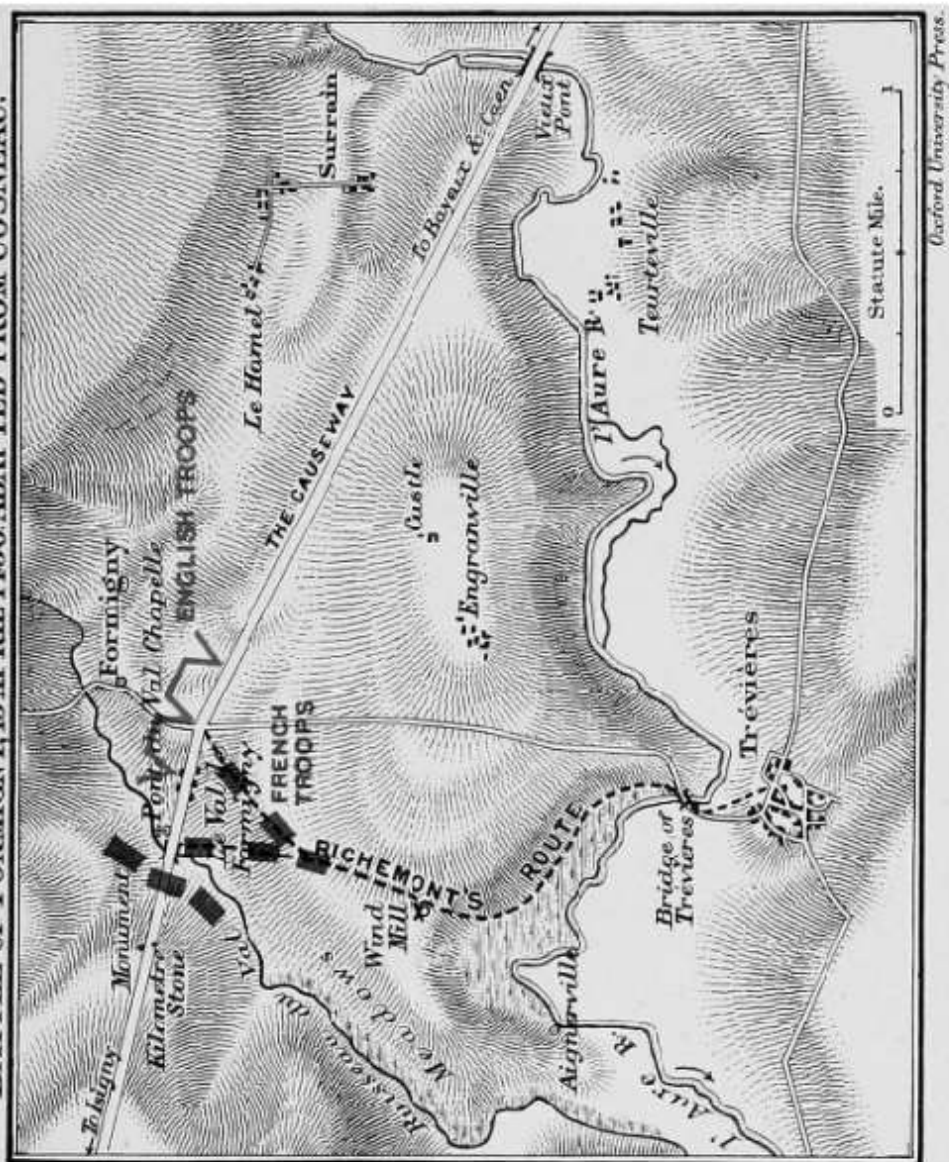
¹ Department Calvados; R. Blondel, 163-169; M. d'Escouchy, i. 280.

² G. Gruel, 786; R. Blondel, 170.

³ "L'aisle d'embas", *the down-stream wing*, that would be the right wing; J. Chartier, ii. 196.

⁴ J. Chartier, 194; R. Blondel, 171, 173.

⁵ "Acies Anglorum perpulchre construantur. Triplices enim ordines, ut solidi civitatis muri, hostium invasionem detrudunt. Tres vero turmae sagit-



To guard the extreme left of the position a party was detached to hold another bridge, 'the Old Bridge', "*Le Vieux Pont*", rather more than two miles off, on the road to Bayeux.

For three hours a skirmishing kind of attack across the stream was kept up by the French, who only wanted to detain the English till the Constable could come up. Two culverins¹ were brought to bear on the English position: a body of archers crossed the bridge, captured the guns, and brought them in. Matters were beginning to look ill for the French². Had Kyrielle followed up his advantage, and attacked Clermont before he was reinforced, he would probably have remained master of the day. But the golden moment was lost, and the Constable de Richemont, who had marched from Saint-Lô *viâ* Trévières, suddenly appeared on a height in front of the English position, at a distance of about a mile. Having reconnoitred the situation from a wind-mill—tradition still points out the spot³—he sent a detachment forward on his left to effect a junction with de Clermont, while he himself advanced against the English centre. Thus pressed, the English fell back from the bridge; the French pushed across it, and, joining hands with the Constable, overwhelmed their adversaries. Gough and de Vere with the left wing fought their way to the Old Bridge, and so escaped to Bayeux. Kyrielle was taken prisoner: the bulk of the force were slaughtered in position. No such reverse had befallen the English since the day of Beaujé.

Defeat
of the
English.

The last relief sent by England to Normandy was thus disposed of⁴.

tariorum . . . duae bellorum extrema et altera medium tenentes, veluti tres turres firmæ, hostium aggressionem ne frangat præliorum ordines . . . arcent"; Blondel, 173. The "triplices ordines" refers to the three ranks in each battalion, as more fully explained by the writer at p. 171.

¹ "Colubrinæ", "couleuvrines". These were long guns of small calibre.

² So all the writers, and especially the letter given by Morice, Bretagne, Preuves, &c., ii. 1521, cited Cosneau, de Richemont, 408.

³ So Cosneau, 410.

⁴ R. Blondel, 171-176; G. Gruel, sup.; M. d'Escouchy, 282-285; J. Chartier, 194-197. A piece of ground by the bridge is still known as *Le Champ des*

CHAP. VIII. From Formigny the French moved by Saint-Lô to Vire; after a six days' siege the place was surrendered in exchange for its Captain, Sir Henry Norbury, taken prisoner at Formigny. The Count of Clermont then proceeded to attack Bayeux, while the Constable went to assist his nephew, Duke Francis, at the siege of Avranches. There the honours of the defence fell to a woman, the wife of the commander, John Lampet. Having donned male attire to inspire the garrison as long as resistance was possible; when all hope was gone she resumed her kirtle to negotiate the surrender. Her charms so captivated the Duke of Brittany, that when he sickened and died, as he did not long after, she gained the credit of having poisoned or bewitched him¹. The Duke returned to Brittany, being out of health, but on his way he succeeded in reducing another 'impregnable rock,' Tombelaine, near Mont-Saint-Michel². The Constable betook himself to Bayeux; but the place had already fallen, having capitulated on the 16th May. The French, however, kindly supplied the English with transport to take the women and children to Cherbourg³. Meanwhile detached parties had recovered Briquebec, Valognes, and Saint-Sauveur⁴.

Siege of
Caen.

By the 5th June the French had again combined their forces for the siege of Caen, now the chief English hold in Normandy, where the bulk of their soldiery had gathered round Somerset⁵. Dunois blockaded the suburb of Vaucelles on the right bank of the Orne, towards Lisieux and the South-East; the Constable and the Count of Clermont guarded the west side, with their headquarters

Anglais; de Beaucourt. Even in England the loss was reckoned at 3000 men, but that must have been an exaggeration; Paston Letters, i. 125.

¹ R. Blondel, 206-208. The Constable reached Avranches on the 30th April; G. Gruel, 787; the place surrendered on the 12th May, Chron. Mont-Saint-Michel, ii. 57, where the month is wrongly given as June; see notes there.

² R. Blondel, 209; J. Chartier, ii. 203; G. Gruel, sup.; 16th May (given as June), Chron. Mont-Saint-Michel, sup.

³ See the treaty; J. Chartier, 207; R. Blondel, 211, &c.

⁴ G. Bouvier, 451; R. Blondel, 213.

⁵ For munitions sent from England, see Stevenson, Letters, i. 501, 513.

at St. Stephen's Abbey, on the Bayeux road ; while the Count of Eu, on the north side, held the 'Ladies' Abbey' of the Trinity¹. CHAP. VIII.
1450.

The construction of a wooden bridge below the town, and the expulsion of the English from the *faubourg St. Étienne*, were the first operations of the French². Charles VII then appeared on the scene, advancing by way of Argentan and Lisieux, with the King of Sicily and the Count of Maine ; and, crossing the Orne by the wooden bridge, took up his quarters on the north side, at a respectable distance³, at the Abbey of Ardaine, behind the Trinity. After much hard fighting Dunois carried the suburb of Vaucelles. From the north and west sides an active bombardment was kept up, while sap and mine were pushed up to the very walls ; at last a piece of the wall and a flanking tower were undermined and brought down⁴.

The town was now open to assault ; but Charles was anxious to avoid this consummation. The English, on the other hand, might have held out indefinitely in the Castle, an inner fortification of the size of a moderate town, while inside that again a huge donjon, four square, with flanking towers, sprang up from a rock⁵. The end was said to have been hastened by a round shot, which penetrated the nursery of the Duchess of Somerset in the Keep⁶.

On the 24th June⁷ articles were signed by which the English agreed to march out at the end of a week. The French were to receive 300,000 *écus d'or* by way of Capitulation.

¹ "Une abbaye de dames nommée de la Trinité" ; Cron. Normendie.

² 13th-14th June ? ; G. Gruel.

³ "À demy-lieu" ; G. Bouvier.

⁴ "Columnis flamma apposita", &c. ; R. Blondel, 217. The old system was still in vogue by which the undermined building was supported by pit-props till all was ready, when the props were fired. Gunpowder had not yet been brought into use for mining operations.

⁵ J. Chartier, ii. 214-219 ; G. Bouvier, 452, 453 ; R. Blondel, 213-220 ; Stevenson, Letters, ii. [631].

⁶ So E. Hall, 215 ; cf. T. Basin, i. 240 ; R. Blondel, 223.

⁷ Cosneau, de Richemont, 419, and notes to Chron. Mont-Saint-Michel.

CHAP. VIII. ransom ; in consideration whereof the English were allowed
 1450. to remove their arms and effects, including hand-guns¹, but not siege or field artillery². On the 1st July the Constable de Richemont escorted Somerset and his host to the little harbour of Ouistreham, at the mouth of the Orne, while Dunois took possession of Caen. On the 6th of the month Charles entered in state³. Doubtful of his reception in England, Somerset retired for a while to Calais⁴.

The last three holds: The French pressed on their work to its conclusion, three noted strongholds still remaining in the hands of the English. On the day that Charles entered Caen, Pothon de Xaintrailles was sent against Falaise, the King following in two days: about the same time the Constable and Clermont marched on Cherbourg. On the 11th July
 Falaise, Falaise agreed to surrender in exchange for its Captain, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was in confinement at Dreux.
 Domfront, The disposable forces were then sent against Domfront, which signed a capitulation on the 2nd August⁵.

Cherbourg. The siege of Cherbourg proved a stiff business, lasting a month. Thomas Gower, the Captain, closed the English dominion in Normandy with an honourable resistance. The French lost heavily by sickness and casualties. The Admiral of France, Prigent de Coëtivy, and the chief engineer, Tugdual de Kermoysan, surnamed *le Bourgeois*, were killed in the trenches. Firing was kept up so continuously that many of the French guns burst⁶. The most novel incident perhaps was the establishment of a battery of four guns on

¹ "Coulevrines a main", G. Bouvier; "colubrinæ quæ dextera deferri possunt"; R. Blondel.

² G. Bouvier, sup.; J. Chartier, 220; R. Blondel, 222; de Beaucourt, v. 37; Ordonnances de France, xiv. 97; Hellot.

³ G. Bouvier, 454, &c.

⁴ M. d'Escouchy, i. 314. He went to Calais by sea.

⁵ R. Blondel, 227-230; G. Bouvier, 454, 455; J. Chartier, ii. 224-228; Stevenson, Letters, ii. [633]; J. Du Clerc, 23. Falaise apparently changed hands on the 21st July, and Domfront on the 15th August; Cosneau, de Richemont, however, places the capitulation of Falaise on the 21st July; p. 421.

⁶ "Neuf ou dix bombardes"; G. Gruel; "un canon rompu et quatre bombardes"; G. Bouvier.

the foreshore, between high and low-water mark. When the tide rose the guns were carefully loaded; the muzzles and vents were closed with hides and tallow; and there they were left ready to be fired when the water ebbed. On the 12th August the French entered Cherbourg, and the English rule in northern France was at an end¹. "And we have not now a foote of londe in Normandie"².

CHAP. VIII.

1450.

End of
English
Dominion
in Nor-
mandy.

We must now return to England (1449). "The public mind had been sufficiently exasperated by the cession of Maine; but when that cession was followed by the invasion of Normandy, when each messenger brought fresh accounts of that rapid progress of the enemy, every tongue was employed in bewailing the fallen glory of England, and every place resounded with cries of vengeance on the head of the minister"³.

The country was only waiting for a leader to rise in rebellion. Suffolk, however, ought not to be judged too harshly. He was not equal to the situation; but the situation was a hopeless one. He had certainly made a mistake in promising the cession of Maine; having found out his mistake, he endeavoured to retrieve himself by bluster. The attack on Fougères was not only a crime but a blunder; and the evidence, both positive and negative, of Suffolk's complicity is very strong. Even if we disbelieve all the statements of Somerset and de Surienne, the fact remains that no order for the restitution of the place was ever sent out from home. But if the results had been fortunate all England would have applauded. In Suffolk's domestic administration we seem to trace a desire to do

Suffolk's
position.

¹ See G. Gruel (who was present), p. 788; G. Bouvier, 455; Stevenson, Letters, i. 307. The capitulation is printed in the second volume of the Chron. Mont-Saint-Michel, p. 238. It is dated 12th August; the French apparently were to enter on the same day.

² Paston Letters, i. 139; 17th August.

³ Lingard, Hist. of England, iv. 44. For a lament over the fallen state of England, see Pol. Poems, ii. 221; also printed with more accurate notes by Mr. Gairdner; Paston Letters, i. xlix; also in Excerpta Historica, 161. The ballad must have been written after the fall of Rouen and before Suffolk's impeachment. The last two lines suggest the Duke of York as the hope of the nation.

CHAP. VIII. the right thing worthy of Henry VI himself. In connexion with this we may recall the payments to the Duke of York, by which the Treasury had been utterly drained. Towards Gloucester, Suffolk had really acted with moderation.

1449. The last Session of Parliament, the Winchester Session, had risen on the 16th July (1449), a fortnight before the formal declaration of war. Three weeks later the Government, yielding to dismal necessity, issued writs for another Parliament¹.

Parliament at Westminster. On the 6th November the Session was opened at Westminster. By that time the fall of Rouen must have been generally known. Again the Chancellor (Archbishop Stafford) refrained from delivering an address, merely intimating that next day Parliament would sit at Blackfriars, in consequence of the unhealthy state of Westminster. On the 5th December the Houses returned to the usual place of sitting, adjourning for Christmas on the 22nd of the month².

Ministers retiring from office. "Little is known of the proceedings during these weeks, but they were probably stormy"; and Suffolk's subordinates were endeavouring to flee from the wrath to come. In September, Bishop Lumley, of Carlisle, who had been Treasurer since 1446, left office to make way for the Lord Say and Sele³, "who immediately became unpopular". On the 9th December Bishop Moleyns, "who, next to the Duke of Suffolk, was regarded as responsible for the surrender of Maine", resigned the Privy Seal⁴.

The Commons having prayed that measures might be taken for the defence of Calais, the Chancellor, on the 4th

¹ 23rd September; Lords' Report.

² Rot. Parl. v. 171, 172. William Tresham was again Speaker; he was a follower of the Duke of York.

³ Sir James Fenys, created Lord Say and Sele during the Bury Parliament. Lumley vacated the Treasury on the 16th September, and Lord Say entered on the 22nd September; Issues, Easter 27th Henry VI. Lumley was translated to Lincoln on the death of William Alwick in December; Reg. Sacr. The promotion was due to Suffolk; W. Worcester, 466; Bekyngton, Letters. Andrew Holes, who had been King's Proctor at Rome for many years, became Privy Seal.

⁴ Foed. xi. 255; Stubbs, iii. 143.

December announced that that matter had been attended to ; Kyrielle's force was being raised. It is needless to point out that his destination was not Calais but Cherbourg. Then came the report of the murder of Bishop Moleyns by the mutinous soldiery, and with it rumours that the Bishop in his dying moments had disclosed facts very damaging to Suffolk. It would seem that this report was taken up by Lord Cromwell, who was assuming the lead in the opposition to Suffolk.

CHAP. VIII.
1450.

Bishop
Moleyns.

Already the two had come into angry collision. On the 28th November, as Cromwell was making his way to the Star Chamber to attend a Council, he was hustled and assaulted in Westminster Hall by one William Tailboys, of South Kyme, with a party of armed retainers, Tailboys being a Lincolnshire squire of Suffolk's party.

Lord
Cromwell
and
Suffolk.

Cromwell charged Suffolk with having instigated Tailboys to assassinate him. Tailboys and Suffolk denied the charge, but the Council, at the Commons' request, sent Tailboys to the Tower ; and eventually a jury condemned him to pay a fine of £3000 to Lord Cromwell¹.

Cromwell could show a considerable record of official services. He had been Chamberlain for some time up to March 1432, when he was dismissed by Gloucester. He had earned Bedford's approbation in France, and in August 1434, had been appointed Treasurer, through Bedford's influence. He had remained at the Treasury till July 1443, the time when the late Somerset (John Beaufort) was being sent to France in opposition to the Duke of York. Suffolk took the leading part in Beaufort's appointment, and Cromwell's retirement may have been due to his opposition to that measure².

When Parliament resumed on the 23rd January, 1450, Suffolk once more rose in self-defence: he "besought the

Suffolk
again
challenges
a vote of
confidence.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 200 ; W. Worcester, 465, 467. Tailboys had a feud with the Lords Willoughby, Cromwell, and Welles ; the assault may have been simply connected with this matter, but he was under the protection of Suffolk and Viscount Beaumont. See Paston Letters, i. 96, 97 ; Rot. Parl. 181.

² See above. Cromwell's conduct as Chamberlain is praised by J. Hardyng, 395.

**

I

CHAP. VIII. Kynges Highes" that he might be allowed to clear himself
 1450. of "the grete infamie and defamation" that was laid upon him, on the strength of "a certain confession" which the late Keeper of the Privy Seal "shuld have made at his deth, as it is seid". He appealed with reasonable pride to the services of the de la Poles. His father had lost his life at Harfleur, his elder brother at Agincourt; he had lost two brothers in one day at Jargeau, where he himself had been taken prisoner; a fourth brother had died in the "Ennemyes handes". For seventeen years he had served in France. He asked if it was to be credited that he, with all he had to loose in England, should "for a French mannes promise", be "untrue" to his King or 'to the land that he was born of'¹.

From this we may infer that Moleyns' supposed "confession" implied some gross corruption on Suffolk's part. The only personal motive that we have seen any ground for imputing to him in the matter of the promise of Maine was the natural desire to bring the Angevin match to a successful termination. But to the "rough and undisciplined politicians of the country" the facts on the face of them admitted of no interpretation but treason². The challenge so often thrown down by Suffolk was at last accepted.

Petition for
his im-
peachment.

On the 26th of January, the Commons petitioned the King that as Suffolk had admitted that "there was an hevy . . . noyse of . . . Infamie uppon hym" he might be committed to ward, "after the cours of the lawe". Next day the Lords, after consultation with the Judges, resolved that as no particulars had been assigned, the Duke need not be committed.

Pre-
liminary
charges.

A more definite charge having thus been declared necessary, the Commons at once produced one.

England had been "sold" to the King's adversary by Suffolk, "as it was seid". The French were about to invade England. "In profe hereof", Wallingford Castle, which

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 176.

² See the popular songs quoted below.

had been committed by the King to Suffolk's keeping, was being armed and victualled to serve as a rallying point for the French invaders. CHAP. VIII.
1450.

On this weighty indictment the favourite who had ruled England for five years was sent to the Tower¹.

Suffolk's committal was followed by the resignation of Archbishop Stafford, who had been 'Lord Chancellor' for eighteen years. "If he had done little good he had done no harm"². The Great Seal was given to Archbishop Kemp, "the faithful coadjutor" of Cardinal Beaufort. Kemp, however, had not been able to act so cordially with Suffolk. On a recent occasion the two had come into collision in a manner entirely characteristic of the government of Henry VI. In the spring of 1448, a vacancy in the See of London being anticipated, the Cardinal procured from Henry a recommendation to Pope Nicholas V in favour of his nephew Thomas Kemp. In June (1448) the See became vacant, through the death of Bishop Robert Gilbert; and Nicholas 'provided' Thomas Kemp as requested. But Suffolk wanted the appointment for his Treasurer, Bishop Lumley of Carlisle; and he obtained from Henry a second recommendation to the Pope, declaring the first recommendation 'surreptitious'. The Pope, however, refused to cancel his appointment of Kemp, expressing astonishment at a system of government which admitted of contradictory orders on important matters being issued in the King's name³. Arch-
bishop
Stafford
resigns the
Seal.
Cardinal
Kemp
Chancellor.

His rela-
tions with
Suffolk.

On the 7th of February the Speaker, William Tresham, presented the Commons' formal indictment against Suffolk, comprising eight counts. The charges, with one exception, were utterly preposterous. The first count averred that Suffolk had urged the Count of Dunois to arrange for an Formal
indictment
of Suffolk.

¹ 28th January; Rot. Parl. v. 176, 177.

² 31 January; Stafford had held the office since 26 February, 1432; when he took the Seal from Kemp, who now in turn relieved him; Foed. x. 501; Foss. He was the first to use the style of 'Lord' Chancellor; Stubbs.

³ See the Pope's letters to Henry and Suffolk; Bekyngton, Letters, i. 155-159. The Pope promised to remember Lumley at the first opportunity, and accordingly translated him to Lincoln at the close of 1449, as above noticed.

CHAP. VIII. invasion of England, in order to depose Henry and make
 1450. Suffolk's son John king, the son getting his title through a marriage with the Lady Margaret of Somerset, the heiress of the Crown, failing issue of the King.

The date assigned to this bold act of treason was the 20th of July, 1447, when, no doubt, Dunois was in London pressing for the delivery of Maine¹.

The second count charged that on the 20th January, "the xvii yere", Suffolk, "of hym self only", corruptly and treacherously induced the King to liberate the Duke of Orleans; and that on the 1st of May in the same 17th year he counselled the French Duke to urge the "adversarie" to invade Normandy. In the 17th year of Henry's reign nothing was done in the matter of liberating Orleans; but if for "xvii yere" we read "xviii yere" we may admit that the liberation of Orleans was proposed in January, and finally resolved upon about May 1440; only the act was that of Cardinal Beaufort supported by a majority of the Council².

The third count was the only one that had any foundation whatever; and that accused Suffolk of the unauthorized promise³ of the evacuation of Maine, given in France to René and Charles of Anjou; and this no doubt was the head and front of Suffolk's offending. The remaining counts taxed him with having disclosed State secrets, and "letted the passage of armees"; of allowing the Duke of Brittany to be numbered among Charles' allies, and boasting of his private influence at the French Court. This charge perhaps rested on Suffolk's rash vaunt that he cared neither for Gloucester nor Dauphin; only for Henry and Charles⁴.

Futile
character
of the
charges.

Not a word was said of the death of the Duke of Gloucester; not a complaint was made of the affair of Fougères. Yet Somerset's enemies in the Council had not

¹ Henry's second promise was given on the 27th July, 1447; above.

² Both copies of the Bill, however, read "xvii yere", and in two places each.

³ "Above his Instruction".

⁴ Stevenson, Letters, i. 116, and above, July 1445. For the Bill see Rot. Parl. v. 177, and Paston Letters, i. 99.

hesitated to ask him how much he had received for his share of the spoil, and what he had done with the compensation money received for Maine¹. CHAP. VIII.
1450.

The articles prove that nothing tangible could be adduced against Suffolk.

On the 12th February the articles were formally laid before the King in Council. The Lords thought that the Judges ought to be asked to advise as to further proceedings; but the King, who was resolved not to sacrifice his Minister, ordered the whole matter to be "respited" at his will.

This was regarded as equivalent to a pardon; in the country it was reported that Suffolk was "in the Kyngs gode grase . . . wel at ease and mery"².

The Commons being thus again forced to take a step in advance, produced on the 9th March a supplemental Bill of "misprisions" committed by Suffolk. The Bill attacked his general administration of affairs at home and abroad. He had alienated Crown property; had created private franchises, interfering with the 'due execution of the law'; he had made improper appointments in Normandy, and dissipated £60,000 (!) left in the Treasury by Lord Sudeley³. The operations with the Dauphin in Alsace were not unfairly complained of as "werre without cause" waged upon the King's "frendes of Almayne"⁴. Supple-
mental
Bill of
Attainder.

On the same day Suffolk was brought from the Tower, the majority of the Lords having previously resolved, in opposition to the King, that Suffolk ought to "come to his answer"⁵.

Both sets of articles were read out to him. He asked for copies, a request which the King granted; he also directed Suffolk to be kept at Westminster, doubtless to have him under his own immediate protection. Arraign-
ment of
Suffolk.

¹ Stevenson, ii. [718].

² Rot. Parl. 179; Paston Letters, i. 115.

³ The actual balance left in the Treasury by Sudeley on the 7th December, 1446, when he went out of office, was £10,721 10s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., a very creditable sum, probably obtained by borrowing; Issues, Michaelmas 25 Henry VI, *ad diem*.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 179-182.

⁵ Id. 179.

CHAP. VIII.

1450.

On the 13th March Suffolk was brought before the King and Lords to answer the major articles. Kneeling before the King he repelled them with scorn. The first article was not only "untrue", but "ympossible"; he referred to the proceedings in Parliament and the Privy Council by which his acts had been sanctioned. As for the matter of Maine, "other lordes were as privy therto as he". The responsibility for the actual delivery he laid, rather shabbily, on the murdered Bishop of Chichester.

Next day (Saturday, 14th March) the Chief Justice asked the Lords what "advise" they would give the King on the matter. Unable to agree, the Lords adjourned the matter till the Monday, and even then they could come to no conclusion. Between the King and the country the Peers were afraid to declare themselves.

His
defence.

On the 17th March the King summoned all the Lords "thenne beyng in towne" to his "innest chambre". The number comprised the two archbishops, sixteen other prelates, and twenty-seven lay peers. Of these last, twelve had been created by Suffolk since 1444. Of the older peers at least six were his partizans; of the churchmen ten were held such by the people¹.

The King's
decision.

Suffolk, again kneeling, repeated in the most solemn manner his denial of all the greater charges. They were "to horrible to speke more of . . . utterly fals and untrue, and in manere impossible". He knew no more of them than the child unborn, and therewith submitted himself wholly to the King's pleasure. The Chancellor (Cardinal Kemp) then addressing him in the King's name, said that as he had not 'put himself upon his peerage', i.e. claimed trial by his Peers, but submitted himself to the King's "rule", the King, as touching the matters in the first Bill, held the Duke "neither declared nor charged"; an "obscure expression", which might mean either that the King held the charges "not proven"², as in Scottish law, or that

¹ Pol. Poems, ii. 231-234.

² So Mr. Gairdner, Paston Letters, Introd.

he rejected them *in toto*¹. As touching the "misprisions" of the second Bill, the Chancellor went on to say that the King, by virtue of the Duke's submission, "by his (the King's) owne advis, and not reportyng hym to th' advis of his lordes, nor by wey of Jugement, for he is not in place of Jugement", put Suffolk "to his rule and governance"; that is to say, assumed jurisdiction in the case; and, as his final decision, banished him from all his dominions for five years from the 1st May, ordering him in the meantime to be set at liberty.

CHAP. VIII.
1450.

Suffolk
banished
for five
years.

Banishment seemed to offer the only hope of saving Suffolk's life; but the King had to take upon himself the undivided responsibility of the act.

Lord Beaumont stepped forward on behalf of the Peers, to protest that they were no parties to the King's act; and that Suffolk's waiver of his right of trial must not be made a precedent against their Order in times to come. As Beaumont was one of the Court circle his protest implied nothing more than appeared on the face of it².

As a mode of solving an awkward dilemma, Suffolk's banishment may be compared with that of Hereford and Mowbray in 1397. The extravagant character of the Commons' allegations shows how dependent for guidance the country still was upon the King and the small circle of leading magnates. Outside that group there was no real knowledge of the state of public affairs. Again, Suffolk's case illustrates once more the impossibility of obtaining justice for or against an accused Minister. "So long as a man in Suffolk's position was upheld by the power of the Crown, it was to the last degree dangerous to say anything against him; but when the voice of complaint could no longer be restrained, the protection he had before ceased to be of any use to him. It became then quite as dangerous to say anything in his favour as it had been formerly to accuse him"³.

Difficulty
of obtain-
ing justice
for or
against a
Minister.

¹ So Stubbs, iii. 148. This seems the more likely interpretation.

² Rot. Parl. v. 182-183; Stubbs.

³ Gairdner, Paston Letters, i. xliii.

CHAP. VIII.

1450.

Mutinous
state of
England.

As soon as he was free, Suffolk hastened to escape from Town¹. The news that he was at large created immense excitement. The Londoners beset the streets round his house in St. Giles', hoping to intercept him. They actually seized the horse that was standing ready for him to mount, and ill-treated his servants².

Armed
risings.

The turbulent spirit evinced in the assault on Bishop Moleyns seemed to have infected the population of the southern counties. On the 9th February we hear of a band of armed rioters near Canterbury, under the lead of one Thomas Cheyny, a fuller, "feyning him self an heremite, cleped Blew berd"³. The movement would seem to have had extensive ramifications, as a few days later proclamations against riotous meetings, professedly held for "comune weel" of the land, were issued in Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Oxford, Colchester, and Sudbury⁴. In London seditious handbills were disseminated or attached to church doors⁵, and the state of public feeling became such that the Government on the 30th March adjourned the Parliamentary Session to the 29th of April, to meet at Leicester, an old Lancastrian stronghold⁶.

Parliament
adjourned
to
Leicester.

Bowing to the King's friendly decree, Suffolk prepared to leave England. His last act was to write a charming letter of parental admonition to his son⁷; but as the son was not eight years old at the time⁸, the letter must have been intended for other eyes as well.

On the 30th April he sailed from Ipswich, with two ships

¹ The order for his discharge is dated 19th March; Stevenson, *Letters*, i. 515.

² W. Worcester, 468.

³ J. Stow, 387; R. Fabian, 622; Ellis, *Letters*, Second Series, i. 114.

⁴ 17th, 20th February; *Proceedings*, vi. 50; *Foed.* xi. 262.

⁵ 14th April; *Foed.* 268.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.* v. 172.

⁷ Paston Letters, i. 121. He urges his son to love and dread God; to be true to the King, to obey his mother, avoid bad company, and distrust his "owne witte"; "and last of alle, as hertily and as lovyngly as ever fader blessed his child in erthe, I yeve you the blessing of oure Lord and of me", &c.

⁸ He was born 27th September, 1442; *Inquis. Post Mortem*, cited Gairdner, Paston Letters, sup.

and a pinnace, steering for Calais. The Duke of Buckingham, one of his friends, was Captain of Calais at the time¹. Next day he was intercepted off the Kentish coast by the Nicholas of the Tower and other vessels that were lying in wait for him, the Nicholas being one of the King's great ships. Suffolk's men refused to stand by him; he was taken on board the Nicholas. On the 2nd May his head was struck off on the gunwale of a boat; his body was taken to land, and thrown on the sands at Dover².

CHAP. VIII.

1450.

Suffolk sails from England; is intercepted by an armed squadron, and put to death.

The guilty parties have never been traced, nor apparently was any attempt ever made to trace them. It is obvious on the face of it that an armed squadron, partly drawn from the Royal Navy, and fully informed of Suffolk's movements, could not have been sent to sea without very influential support. The Nicholas would be under the control of the High Admiral, Henry Holland, the young Duke of Exeter, who about this time was contracted to the Lady Anne, eldest daughter of the Duke of York³. William of Worcester, in his account of Suffolk's death, mentions one "Robertus", but the sentence is defective, and the family name of the man is wanting⁴. Now the Christian name of Winnington, the Devonshire pirate, was Robert, and he was a very likely man to have been retained for such work. Basin, the French writer, understood that Suffolk had been murdered by an English 'pirate'⁵.

If Margaret regarded the friends of the Duke of York as the authors of this deed, a great gulf would now be fixed between her and them⁶.

¹ Rot. Parl. 206.

² W. Worcester, 459; Chron. Giles, 38; Chron. Davies, 69; and especially the letters of the 5th and 6th May; Paston Letters, i. 124, 126. The remains were taken to the family burying place at Wingfield, Suffolk.

³ See W. Gregory, 190, who describes the ship as the "Admyrallle Nycolas", i. e. the Admiral's ship, the Nicholas; also E. Hall, 219; Sandford, Genealogical Hist. 394. Holland succeeded his father John in August 1447; W. Worcester; Chron. Davies; but he was not summoned to Parliament till September in this year.

⁴ "Cujus corpus cum capite Robertus . . ."; p. 469.

⁵ i. 252.

⁶ "Aeneas Sylvius (Op. p. 442), representing perhaps foreign opinion, connects the Duke of York with Suffolk's death". Stubbs, iii. 149.

CHAP. VIII.

The nation, almost to a man, shouted applause,

1450.

Delight of
the nation.

"His interfectours blessed might thei be,
And graunte them for ther dede to regne with angelis".

"O rex, si rex es, rege te, vel eris sine re rex;
Nomen habes sine re, nisi te recte regas"¹.

Position
of the
Dynasty.

It would seem that the pulpit had sided with the people so decidedly in this matter that Archbishop Stafford put restrictions upon preaching². Sermons to be preached before the King had to be previously submitted for approval, lest any breath of outside opinion should reach the poor King's ears³. On the other hand, the reader may form his own estimate of the position of a Government which could not prevent the King's own ships being openly used for the destruction of a man whom he was most anxious to protect. A change of dynasty would naturally suggest itself as the most effectual remedy for the evils to which such deplorable weakness could not fail to give rise.

The
Leicester
Session of
Parlia-
ment.
The King's
debts.

Under these circumstances, when Parliament resumed at Leicester (29th April), the Ministry had to carry on its struggle with the Commons at a great disadvantage. The King's debts were said to amount to £372,000; his 'livelihood' to £5000 a year. The latter estimate was ridiculous, the private estates alone amounting to twice as much⁴. But as the King had owed £167,000 as far back as 1433, sixteen

¹ Pol. Poems, ii. 231, 232. For a yell of exultation at Suffolk's arrest, see p. 224. "Now is the Fox drevin to hole; hoo to hym hoo". For murmurs at the delay in bringing him to his answer, see 230, 231. "... For favour of eny fals mane, Loose not the love of alle the commynalte" ... "Hong up such menne", &c. For views of hostile churchmen, see Croyland, Cont. 525, cited Gairdner. A fuller version of the "dyrge" is given in Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, p. 99.

² "The chauncelere that last was . . . wolle not suffre the clerkes preche . . . He is the devels sheparde"; Pol. Poems, ii. 231; cf. Liber Veritatis, 188, 189. Reginald Pecock, Bishop, late of St. Asaph, and now of Chichester, would seem to have been active in defence of the Court party.

³ Liber Veritatis, 191.

⁴ Rot. Parl. iv. 463. For the following year, Michaelmas 1450-1451, the payments to the Household from the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall alone amounted to nearly £8500; Q. R. Wardrobe and Household. 47.

years of war would easily have brought up the figure to the larger sum.

CHAP. VIII.

1450.

The Treasurer pressed for a Subsidy; the Commons clung to a resumption of Crown grants as the simplest mode of filling the Exchequer. The measure had often before been suggested in Parliament, and the Commons had apparently been pressing for it since the beginning of the Session¹. While the matter was still under discussion the news of Kyrielle's defeat at Formigny came in². The King then gave way, and agreed to revoke all grants of lands, rents, franchises, pensions, or hereditary offices made since the first day of his reign; but on the condition that he should be at liberty to grant exceptions, and that all exceptions "putte in wrytting" during the Session should be allowed³. The result was a schedule of 186 clauses of exemption, which included all persons who could command any interest; that is to say, all the Magnates of both parties, from York and Somerset downwards; all persons connected with the Court and Household; and all the King's charitable foundations⁴.

Resump-
tion of
Crown
grants.

Exemp-
tions to be
allowed.

The Commons then announced a grant, not of a Subsidy, after the usual form, but of a graduated income-tax, to include the Lords, whom, as a body, they associated with the Court party. Incomes running from £1 a year to £20 a year were required to pay 6*d.* on the £1; incomes running from £20 to £200 would pay 12*d.* on the £1; and those above £200 a year 2*s.* on the £1; the proceeds of all to be paid to special war treasurers for the 'defence of the realm'⁵.

¹ See Pol. Poems, ii. 229; and the account of the proceedings in the Parliament given by Gascoigne; *Liber Veritatis*, 188-190.

² 5th May; Paston Letters, i. 125.

³ The King had consented on the 6th May; *Id.* 127.

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 183-199. For a draft, differing in some particulars, see Arnold's Chronicle, 179.

⁵ Rot. Parl. 172-174. Special words were used to include the Peers, "eny exemptions immunities or franchises notwithstanding". Lands situate in Wales were also to contribute. The people understood that Fifteenths and Tenthms were to be abolished; J. Hardyng.

CHAP. VIII. For the benefit of the creditors of the Household special
 1450. assignments of the Lancaster Revenues and the Customs to the amount of £5677 a year were made for seven years; the unappropriated balance of the Lancaster revenues to be applied to the current expenses of the Household¹.

Statute. Little other business was transacted. An Act, however, was passed, which, among other things, renewed a threat expressed in the last year, that goods from Holland, Zealand, and Brabant would be prohibited, unless the prohibition of English cloth in those countries should be recalled by Michaelmas². Viscount Beaumont was appointed Chamberlain, *vice* Suffolk³; the Constable's staff, previously held by Beaumont, was given to the Earl of Northumberland⁴: thus Suffolk's friends were carefully kept in office.

Rising in Kent. But the business of the Session was cut short by the alarming intelligence that the elements of popular discontent had at last found a leader and a war-cry, and that the insurgents were marching on London. Parliament was dissolved, and the Court hastened to return to Town⁵.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 174.

² Statute 28 Henry VI, c. 1. For negotiations with the Duchess of Burgundy for the recall of the prohibition on English cloth (March-May 1449) see Proceedings, vi. 69-77, &c.; Rot. Parl. v. 150; Foed. xi. 229-236.

³ 13th May; Paston Letters, i. 128. Thomas Daniel, one of Suffolk's underlings, was reported to have received the Stewardship of the Duchy of Lancaster.

⁴ 25th May; Foed. xi. 270.

⁵ The King signs at Leicester up to the 6th June; Stevenson, Letters, i. 520.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Rising of Jack Cade.—The Duke of York in opposition to the Government.—
Parliament.

THE upstart leader who styled himself 'The Captain of Kent', was certainly a man of respectable position, but his personal history is involved in doubt. He was said to have been born in Ireland: according to one authority he was a physician by profession, by name John Aylmer, and married to a squire's daughter¹. The Government alleged that a year or two before, while living in Sussex with Sir Thomas Dacre, of Bailey Park, Heathfield, he had caused a woman's death, and had been forced to abjure the realm². He had probably seen service in France, as he showed himself quite competent to command. To enlist the sympathy of Yorkists he took the name of Mortimer, alleging a distant cousinship to the Duke. To others he was known as "John Amende-All"; but the familiar name by which he lives in history is Jack Cade. The surname was a known one, and may have been his real name after all³.

CHAP. IX.
1450.
"Jack
Cade" the
Captain of
Kent.

"Mortimer" again
the cry.

¹ MS. Cotton Charter, cited Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 113.

² So the proclamation against him; J. Stow, 391; Sussex Collections, xviii. 18.

³ Chron. Giles, 39; Chron. Davies, 64; R. Fabian, 522. A Thomas Cade of London is found in the legal records of the time; there was a manor in Kent known as Cade's down to the time of Elizabeth, and in a suit arising out of the disturbances reference is made to "John Cade the traitour", as the man's proper designation; Antiquarian Magazine, April 1883; Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 19, m. 256. Perhaps he was John Aylmer of Cade's or Cade.

CHAP. IX.

1450.

Character
of the
movement.

The Captain of Kent was no leader of a second Peasant Rising. Among his followers were many yeomen, and not a few squires. When the movement spread into Surrey and Sussex the Abbot of Battle and the Prior of Lewes found themselves obliged to join it. In Kent and East Sussex the rising assumed the character of a duly authorised levy, the Hundreds being regularly marshalled under their constables¹. Their grievances were not those of mere labourers, but of men of substance. They had risen against the intolerable feebleness of the Government which gave free play to every kind of malversation and tyranny. No man could enter a court of justice with any hope of success, unless he had interest at his back. The "most perfect Title" to land gave no security against eviction by men with interest². With Cade's followers the loss of Normandy was a secondary grievance; they wanted administrative reform and a change of Ministry.

Its connexion with
the Yorkist
party.

Of the weakness of the Government nothing need be said after the flagrant case of Suffolk's murder. With respect to petty corruption in the courts of law, it may be stated that it appears that for years past none of the superior Judges at Westminster had received any salary, except the Barons of the Exchequer; and they only a portion of what was due to them³. Whether the rising was or was not originally instigated by the Duke of York, it is certain that both at the time and afterwards the Yorkists considered Cade's cause their own. The names held up to opprobrium were simply those of the men whom we shall find struggling for the House of Lancaster to the

¹ W. D. Cooper, *Sussex Collections*, sup. Gairdner, *Paston Letters*, i. lii.

² For an instance, see the account of the violent ejection of Margaret Paston from Gresham, by Lord de Moleyns, one of Suffolk's peers; *Paston Letters*, i. xxx. 106. Richard, Earl of Warwick, had battled with the Nevilles for the lordship of Abergavenny. His eldest daughter, the Countess of Shrewsbury, was now fighting with the Berkeleys for the Berkeley and de l'Isle estates. *Lives of the Berkeleys*, Smyth, ii. 57-75.

³ See *Rot. Parl.* v. 14, 214 (1437-1450). The allegation is fully borne out by the Issue Rolls. The only names that are found there are those of the magnates of the two parties.

last. On the other side the nucleus of the Yorkist party is equally well defined ¹.

CHAP. IX.

1450.

About Trinity Sunday (31st May) the rising began in Kent²: about the second week in June the host encamped on Blackheath, in proper military style, "dykyd and stakyde welle abowte", and keeping good discipline. The King, who had remained at Leicester till the 6th June, apparently took up his quarters at St. John's, Clerkenwell, on Saturday, 13th June³. Lord Scales was commissioned to enlist soldiers returned from Normandy⁴; among these he was able to secure Matthew Gough. In the following week negotiations were opened with the insurgents to ascertain the nature of their demands: they were already in communication with a friendly party in the City of London.

In answer to the King's request they tendered fifteen Articles of Complaint, accompanied by five Articles of Request. They complained of the alienation of Crown property; of the non-payment of the King's debts; of the tyranny and corruption of the underlings of the Court; of the general failure of justice; of interference by "estates" (i. e. *noblemen*) with the free election of Knights of the Shire; of the loss of "the King's lands in France" through "treason". Several of the complaints had special reference to Kent: a report was current, they said, that Kent was to be "destroyed" for the murder of Suffolk⁵.

Demands
of the in-
surgents.

The Requests demanded a resumption of Crown lands, as in fact already granted; the dismissal and punishment of all Suffolk's "false progeny and affinity"; the recall of the Duke of York, "late exiled from our . . . lords presence"; the cessation of sundry "extortions" previously

¹ See the popular ballads already cited, comparing the names with those given Rot. Parl. v. 216, and Ellis, Letters, Second Series, ii. 112.

² Chron. Davies, 68; W. Worcester, 462; W. Gregory, 190. The last-named writer became Mayor of London two years later.

³ W. Worcester, 470; W. Gregory, sup.; Stevenson, Letters, i. 520.

⁴ Devon Issues, 466.

⁵ J. Stow, 388, 389. See also a proclamation dated 4th Jun^y, likewise preserved by Stow, and printed in Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, p. 94.

CHAP. IX. complained of, such as Estreats of the "Green Wax"¹
 1450. and unlicensed Purveyance. They also demanded the
 abolition (apparently) of the Statutes of Labourers², a
 concession to the poorer followers of the party; and, lastly,
 the punishment of four local "trators", "Sleg, Crowmer,
 Isle, and Robert Est"³.

The
 Govern-
 ment re-
 fuses to
 consider
 them.

To many the Captain's bills seemed to contain nothing but
 "that that was rightful and resonable"⁴. But it was not
 to be supposed that Margaret⁵ and the Council could lend
 an ear to such requirements. The people were sternly
 ordered to disperse, and the 18th June appointed for an
 attack on the position at Blackheath.

Repulse of
 the King's
 force.

On the 18th the King and his Lords rode through London
 in battle array, "armyd at alle pecys" (*pieces*)⁶. But the
 insurgents had withdrawn from Blackheath towards the
 "wode cuntre" (*wood country*) round Sevenoaks. Sir
 Humphrey Stafford of Grafton and his cousin William
 Stafford of Somerset, pushing on with the Royal van,
 fell into an ambush in a lane near Bromley, and lost
 their lives, some twenty-four of their followers being also
 killed.

This check had a bad effect on the King's followers, who
 were already more than half inclined to sympathise with
 the Kentish men. Turning mutinous, they demanded the
 heads of the Lords Say and Dudley, and of the subordi-
 nates Thomas Daniel, John Say, John Norris, and John
 Trevilian⁷.

¹ I. e. writs issued to enforce payment of Crown dues, which were sealed with a special green wax.

² The sentence is defective and the sense doubtful.

³ J. Stow, 389, 390.

⁴ Chron. Davies, 65.

⁵ For the Queen's direct intervention in affairs at this time, see the statement of Sir John Fastolf's man, John Pain; Paston Letters, i. 134; also Early Chancery Proceedings, printed by Mr. Greenstreet in Antiquarian Magazine, April 1883, where we hear of one letter from the King (in a lawsuit) "and another from the Queen". See also Appendix to this chapter.

⁶ For the artillery made ready, see Proceedings, vi. 94; the date, however, seems erroneously given as 20th June.

⁷ Chron. Giles, 39, 40; W. Worcester, 470; Chron. Davies, 66; W. Gregory, 191; R. Fabian, 623.

Lord Say was especially unpopular in Kent, and the rising was most strongly supported in the neighbourhood of Knowle, his principal seat. To allay the discontent the King ordered¹ Lord Say and his son-in-law, William Crowmer, the unpopular sheriff of Kent, to be taken to the Tower²; and then retraced his steps to London. The soldiers, however, on entering the city, broke from all control, and pillaged the houses of Lord Dudley and others. The Lords, afraid of their own men, disbanded them; and the King, leaving matters to take their own course, retired towards Kenilworth³. "The mayor and citizens had offered to stand by him, but Henry had no confidence either in them or in himself"⁴.

CHAP. IX.

1450.

The Government having thus thrown up the cards, the Kentish men, now supported by the men of Sussex, returned to Blackheath (29th June). About the same time disturbances broke out in Wiltshire, and Bishop Aiscough, of Salisbury, the King's confessor, the man who had performed the marriage service between him and Margaret, was dragged from the altar of his chapel at Edington to be "stoned to death on a neighbouring hill"⁵. In other quarters demonstrations of an alarming character were made against Bishop Booth, of Lichfield, the Queen's chancellor, and Bishop Lehart, of Norwich, the Queen's confessor⁶.

In London fresh efforts were made to induce the rebel leader to submit, but to no purpose. On Thursday, 2nd July, he entered Southwark⁷. The Mayor called a Common Council at the Guildhall to concert measures of resistance; but the meeting was not of one mind, some being in favour

Cade enters
London.

¹ So W. D. Cooper, *sup.*

² Lord Beauchamp was appointed Say's successor at the Treasury. He entered office on the 22nd June; Issue Roll, Michaelmas 29 Henry VI, m. 3.

³ Issues, Easter 28 Henry VI, m. 10. The King, however, was still at Westminster on the 25th June; Lords' Report, Appendix v. 275.

⁴ Stubbs; *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, 57.

⁵ 29th June; W. Worcester, 470; Chron. Giles, 41. 14th June; W. Gregory, 194; T. Gascoigne, *Liber Veritatis*, 39.

⁶ T. Gascoigne, *Liber Veritatis*, 40, 42; cf. Foed. xi. 160.

⁷ W. Gregory.

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K

CHAP. IX. of admitting the insurgents¹. Favoured by these divided
 1450. counsels the Captain, in the course of the next day, the 3rd, forced his way over London Bridge, cutting the ropes of the "draught brigge" with his sword². He rode through the streets in knight's armour; when he came to London Stone he struck it with his sword and said, 'Now is Mortimer lord of this city'! Order was fairly maintained, but the house of Philip Malpas, an alderman, was pillaged; and the Captain returned to his quarters at the White Hart, Southwark, for the night³.

Lord Say
and others
put to
death.

On the 4th he again entered London; a gathering of Essex men appeared at Mile End, and Lord Scales, who was established in the Tower, was induced by some means or other to surrender Lord Say. The ex-Treasurer was arraigned at the Guildhall before an extemporised commission⁴. He demanded trial by his Peers: the point was settled by his being dragged out into Cheapside and beheaded at the Standard. His son-in-law, Crowmer, was executed at Mile End⁵ without any form of trial; a third man, John Bailey by name, was put to death at "the Whytte Chapylle". He was supposed to have known too much of the Captain's antecedents⁶. All three heads were set up on London Bridge, to replace those of popular agitators recently executed⁷. More pillaging took place and some blackmail was levied⁸.

Throughout Sunday, 5th July, the Captain rested peaceably in his quarters at Southwark. But enough had already been done to alarm all householders and men of substance.

¹ So R. Fabian.

² W. Gregory.

³ Fabian; Chron. Davies; W. Gregory; W. Worcester. Among the articles carried off were jewels belonging to the Duke of York; Devon Issues, 467, 468.

⁴ W. Worcester, 471. He names Robert Danvers as the 'justiciar'.

⁵ "At the mile's ende besyde Chopton ys place"; W. Gregory. The Standard in Cheapside stood nearly opposite Bow churchyard: it was a common place for executions, &c.

⁶ So R. Fabian and W. Worcester.

⁷ Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 114.

⁸ Early Chancery Proceedings, sup. The command of the river was kept by R. Horne.

The party of order recovered their senses. After dark Lord Scales and Matthew Gough sallied from the Tower, cleared the streets of rioters, and then made a grand attack on London Bridge, which was in the hands of 'the Kentish men'. The livelong night the tide of battle surged to and fro between the drawbridge in the middle, which the citizens gained, and the "stulpes" or "brydge-fote" at the Southwark end, which was held by the insurgents. And there "many a man was slayne and cast into the Thames, harnys body and alle". Among the killed were Matthew Gough and Alderman John Sutton. The Kentish men would seem at the last to have had the best of it, as they succeeded in firing the drawbridge.

CHAP. IX.

1450.

Battle on
London
Bridge.

On the morrow betimes, the Bishop of Winchester¹ came forward on behalf of the Government to treat for an armistice. He had an interview with the Captain in St. Margaret's, Southwark; listened to his demands; and offered a free pardon to all who would go home. The offer was accepted.

The
Govern-
ment offer
terms.Amnesty
accepted.

In the course of that day and the next formal charters of pardon for "John Mortimer" and some 1500 or 2000 men from the counties of Sussex, Surrey, Essex, and Kent were sealed and delivered². The adjustment of details connected with the amnesty detained the leader at Southwark till the 8th July, when he retired to Dartford, taking all his plunder with him.

Next day he went on to Rochester³. According to the Government account he demanded a Parliamentary ratification of his charters. Probably he was aware that he had sinned beyond forgiveness, but by remaining in arms he gave the Government a fresh handle against him. Accordingly a proclamation was issued against him, and 1000

¹ William of Waynflete, previously head-master of Eton, and before that of Winchester.

² W. Gregory, 193; W. Worcester, 472; Chron. Giles, 41; J. Stow, 392. The Sussex names are printed from the Patent Roll, 28 Henry VI, by Mr. Cooper, sup.; they number 427. The Kentish names were probably more numerous. We conjecture that the total may have reached 1500-2000.

³ Rot. Parl. v. 224.

CHAP. IX. marks offered for his apprehension "qwyke or dede" (*quick or dead*)¹.

1450.

Apprehension and death of Cade.

On the 11th he fled from Rochester. After an ineffectual attempt to seize Queenborough Castle, he retired to the Wcald of Sussex. Alexander Eden, the new Sheriff of Kent, rode after him and captured him by the roadside at Heathfield, after a scuffle in which Cade was mortally wounded (12th July). He died in the cart as he was being brought to London. His body was exhibited at the White Hart for identification: the remains were quartered, and the head set up on London bridge².

Proceedings against his followers.

Further steps were taken to punish those who had remained with Cade after the 8th July. On the 1st August a commission was issued to the two Archbishops and other dignitaries, directing them to try offenders in the county of Kent. They sat at Canterbury and elsewhere, and condemned eight men to death³. But on the 31st of the month a second "Captain of Kent" arose at Faversham, in the person of one William Parmynter, a smith⁴: and when he vanished from sight yet another imitator came forward to assume the dangerous title. For the capture of this man, by name John Smyth, a reward of £40 was ordered to be paid to the Duke of Somerset⁵.

Fresh Captains of Kent, and further risings.

In Sussex a fresh rising took place under one Thomas Skynner⁶; while in Wilts the whole county rallied round the men who had murdered Bishop Aiscough; and the King was obliged to pardon them, one and all⁷.

¹ 10th July. See the proclamation; J. Stow, 391. Only acts committed after the 8th July are assigned.

² Chron. Davies, 67; W. Gregory, 194. The order for the payment of the reward is dated 15th July; Foed. xi. 275; see also Proceedings, vi. 95-97. A monument marks the spot of Cade's arrest at Heathfield. The road is still known as Cade Street; Lewis, Topographical Dictionary; Sussex Coll., sup. p. 37.

³ Sussex Coll., sup. p. 34, citing Pat. 28 Henry VI, pt. 2, m. 17; R. Fabian, 625; Paston Letters, i. 39. The King apparently went with them; they were at Rochester on the 11th September; Foed. 276.

⁴ Parmynter was not apprehended till the winter. See the Record, Paston Letters, i. cxlvii.

⁵ 3rd October; Proceedings, vi. 101; Paston Letters, i. lvi.

⁶ Early Chancery Proceedings, sup. m. 134; Antiquarian Magazine, sup.

⁷ W. Gregory, 195. Lord de Moleyns declared that he had "laboured

While these events were in progress the Duke of York threw up the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and announced an intention of returning home. To make head against him the Duke of Somerset (Edmund Beaufort) was recalled from Calais ¹.

CHAP. IX.

1450.

The Duke of York.

We are thus brought face to face with the situation from which the so-called "Wars of the Roses" sprang ².

However loveable and popular Henry VI in himself might be, the Government carried on in his name was utterly discredited. It could neither discharge its primary functions at home, nor maintain the national honour abroad. Some radical change of system seemed needful. Again, the King had been married for five years; he was nearly thirty years old, but the Queen had borne no child. Who was to succeed him if he should die childless? Was the succession to be limited to the base-born Beauforts, whom Henry IV himself had excluded; or was the future of the Crown to be placed upon a footing more agreeable to current ideas of legal right by the recognition of the Duke of York? If the Duke were to be recognised as Heir Presumptive, he might be called in to take the immediate direction of affairs. He was about forty years of age, he had been for fifteen years in the public service. He had made himself popular in Ireland ³; while in Normandy his rule, if not marked by any conspicuous ability, shone by comparison with the utter failure of his rival.

Question of the Succession.

But the House of Beaufort was not prepared to surrender either its actual hold on the Government, or its chances of succession. Legitimated by Pope and Parliament, they could insist that the Lady Margaret was the

sore" to keep these people from rising; Paston Letters, i. 138. For this service he was allowed to evade John Paston's demand for an investigation of the title to Gresham Manor; Id. 144-149. The county of Norfolk also was disaffected in August; Id. 142, 143; so still in January, 1453; Id. iii. 475.

¹ He was appointed Constable of England 11th September; Foed. xi. 276. York came over in August; below.

² This expression, as already stated, seems an invention of Tudor times. There was no Red Rose before the accession of Henry VII. Before that there was but one Rose, the White Rose of York.

³ Gilbert, Viceroy, 253, 258.

CHAP. IX.

1450.

Position of
the Beau-
forts.

heir-at-law of John of Gaunt. If objection should be taken to the accession of a female, they could point to Somerset as the heir-male of John of Gaunt, and in fact of Edward III. As for placing the administration in the hands of the Duke of York, it was obvious that his position "was too full of danger to the Crown" to make such a course possible.

The reader may be assured that from a time even anterior to that which we have reached, the dynastic question must have been ever present to men's minds. For York and Somerset it was not merely "a question of succession", but "a question of existence". No State could find room for two such competitors¹.

The Duke
of York's
party.

York's position was one of extreme delicacy. His claim to succeed rested on his descent from Lionel of Clarence², a connexion that could not be named without treason. Richard could not fail to be acquainted with the history of his own family, and he had been careful not to advance any personal claims, unless the assumption of the surname "Plantagenet" could be considered such. But in any action that he might be advised to take he could reckon upon a most powerful following of friends. Besides the domestic retainers of the Houses of Cambridge, York, and Mortimer, he might expect to be supported by the relations and connexions of his wife, Cecille Neville. Among these were her brothers, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lords Fauconberge, Latimer, and Abergavenny; and her nephews, the young Earl of Warwick, the son of Salisbury, and the Duke of Norfolk, son of her sister Catherine³.

But with the country rising at the name of "Mortimer",

¹ For a careful discussion of the situation, see Stubbs, iii. 153-157.

² As this descent came through a female, it may be as well to point out that "male entails" were not much in vogue in those days. The peerages almost always passed in the female line; the descent of the Crown therefore through a female link would be quite in accordance with current ideas; above (p. 116) we saw that the Lady Margaret, not Somerset, was mentioned as Henry's heir.

³ See Table. Another nephew, Ralph, second Earl of Westmorland, belonging to the first family of the first Earl, was Lancastrian, as that family mostly were. The families had quarrelled over the Yorkshire estates (Middleham and Sheriff Hoton) which their father had left to his widow, and through her to Salisbury, his eldest son by his second marriage.

Richard might well think that national as well as family interests required his presence in England. Leaving Ireland in August or September, he landed in Wales.

CHAP. IX.

1450.

He leaves Ireland and comes home.

The Government were not unprepared for his coming, and the steps they took shewed their view of the situation. Treating him as a mere rebel, they issued orders for his arrest. The officers in North Wales were directed to prevent his landing at Beaumaris; Sir Thomas Stanley, Lord de l'Isle, and others were posted to arrest him at various points between Chester and Gloucester. They failed to intercept him; but they probably deterred many from joining him. William Tresham, the Speaker of the Bury Parliament, having left home for that purpose, was waylaid and murdered near Northampton, by retainers of Lord Grey de Ruthyn¹. At St. Albans a collision nearly took place between the Duke's men and those of Lord Hoo²; but Richard, in spite of all their efforts, fairly made his way to London, to the great alarm of the King's Household³.

Efforts of the Government to arrest him.

Here again the weakness of the Government is apparent. They had betrayed their suspicions of the Duke; they had risked an armed collision with him, yet they submitted tamely to defeat.

Richard's first step was to complain to the King of the resistance offered to his journey. Henry apologised on the ground of recent disturbances, and the free use made of the Duke's name since the murder of Bishop Moleyns⁴. York then presented a further Bill, complaining of defects in the administration of justice. This complaint was thoroughly well grounded; but Richard gave it a disagreeable complexion, by asking for the immediate committal of persons accused of treason—a shaft which must have been aimed at Somerset. It would also seem that Lord Dudley and the Abbot of Gloucester had been seized and imprisoned

¹ 23 September; Chron. Giles, 42; W. Worcester, 473; Rot. Parl. v. 211. Tresham was killed at Thorpland Close, near Moulton.

² Paston Letters, i. 151.

³ Id.

⁴ See J. Stow, 394 (wrongly given under the year 1452; Paston Letters, i. 1x).

CHAP. IX. by York on his march to London¹. They too would also
 1450. be included. Henry answered that he had established "a
 sad and a substantiall Councell", from which the Duke had
 not been left out, and that they, and all the Lords, would
 shortly be called together².

Parliament in fact had already been summoned for the
 6th November; pending that event Richard went down to
 Norfolk, while his friends exerted themselves to secure the
 return of friendly members³.

Henry apparently showed no personal feeling against
 Richard; he gave a friendly audience of 'more than two
 hours' to Sir William Oldhall, the Duke's Chamberlain and
 right-hand man⁴.

Parliament On the appointed day Cardinal Kemp opened Parlia-
 at West- ment with a short business-like speech. Omitting all at-
 minster. tempts at rhetoric, he announced the business of the Session
 to be to provide for the keeping of the sea, a safe standing
 topic; to provide succour for Aquitaine, Normandy being
 gone; and to devise measures for the punishment and re-
 pression of the 'riotous disposition' recently exhibited in
 different parts of the realm.

This was a reasonable programme, but the Yorkists were
 strong and aggressive, and through their influence the
 Commons presented Sir William Oldhall as Speaker. The
 King accepted him without demur⁵.

The Duke of York did not come up to Town till about
 the 18th November, when he and his wife's nephew, the
 Duke of Norfolk⁶, appeared with most imposing retinues.

¹ So J. Stow, 392. The Abbot was one of Somerset's confidants; Dudley belonged to the Court circle.

² Paston Letters, i. 150, 153; J. Stow, 395; Chron. London, 136. The King was at Westminster 1st-9th Oct.; Q. R. Wardrobe, 73.

³ Paston Letters, i. 160-162. The Knights to be elected for Norfolk and Suffolk were agreed upon by the Dukes of York and Norfolk in conference at Bury; the Earl of Oxford was given charge of the arrangements for securing their return.

⁴ Id. 150.

⁵ Rot. Parl. v. 210. Oldhall was a Norfolk man; he had been knighted at Verneuil; at one time he had been employed by Duke Humphrey; since 1440 or 1441 he had been a follower of the Duke of York. See Archaeol. xxxvii. 335.

⁶ John Mowbray (grandson of Henry IV's antagonist), confirmed as Duke by

In fact all the lords brought up petty armies, fully equipped, with 'badges and liveries'. The magnates could still attend Parliament in the warlike style of a pristine witenagemote: within fifty years that was all changed ¹.

CHAP. IX.

1450.

Armed
retinues of
the Lords.

Again the country was brought to the verge of civil war. Violent altercations took place between York and Somerset; if in fact Richard did not impeach his rival. The former had the support of the Commons; the latter of the Court and Council.

Attack on
Somerset.

Matters thus being at a deadlock, on the 1st December an attempt was made to 'attach' Somerset at Blackfriars; he got down to the river, and escaped in the barge of the Earl of Devon; but the mob plundered his effects ². Next day similar attacks were made on the 'lodgings' of the Lords Hastings and Hoo, and Sir Thomas Tudenham, the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe. In the afternoon the Duke of York rode through the streets, and issued a proclamation; and one of the rioters was executed at the Standard in Cheapside. On Thursday, 3rd December, the King and Duke of York, with all the Lords, paraded the streets with their forces embattled in three divisions ³. How the deliberations of Parliament went on amid this turmoil does not appear; but on the 18th December the Houses adjourned for Christmas ⁴.

During the recess Somerset was made Captain of Calais ⁵, possibly to provide him with a refuge in case of need. On the other hand, occupation was found for the Duke of York

patent in 1445. His mother was Catherine Neville, sister to the Earl of Salisbury and the Duchess of York. Mowbray speaks of Richard as "oure unkill of York"; Paston Letters, i. 160.

¹ Paston Letters, i. 162, 163; W. Gregory, 195; Chron. Giles, 42; W. Worcester, 474; R. Fabian, 626.

² W. Worcester, 474; Chron. Giles, 42; R. Fabian, sup.; J. Stow, 392 (2nd Dec.; W. Gregory).

³ MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. xvi, cited Gairdner and W. Gregory, sup. (4th December; Stow).

⁴ Rot. Parl. 213.

⁵ W. Worcester, 475. In the previous Parliament the Duke of Buckingham had agreed to resign the post on receiving security for £19,395 alleged to be due to him; Rot. Parl. v. 206.

CHAP. IX. by sending him to attend the King on a Commission of
 1451. *oyer et terminer* to try Cade's latest followers in Kent and Sussex¹. Greater severity was shown than on the former occasion. Nine-and-twenty men were executed in all, eight of them at Canterbury, about the time of Candlemas, when the King was there. The people in Kent called it "the harvyste of hedys" (*harvest of heads*).

On the King's way back to Town, on the 23rd February, he was met at Blackheath by a pitiful band of offenders, who knelt down by the roadside, in their shirts, to beg for mercy. The request was granted; but to grace the Royal entry into the city, nine heads had been sent up from Rochester, to be set up on London Bridge, with "the Captaines" in the midst. The grisly sight must have tried the King's kindly eyes to the utmost².

Demand
for the
banishment
of Court
favourites.

When Parliament resumed on the 20th January, 1451, the struggle was renewed. The Commons tendered a list of thirty names of persons who had been "mysbehaving" about the "Roiale persone and in other places". The misconduct of these people, they averred, had caused the loss of the foreign possessions, and the disturbances of the peace at home. Among the names were those of the Duke of Somerset, Alice Duchess of Suffolk³, William Booth, Bishop of Coventry; the Lords Dudley, Hastings, and Hoo, and the Abbot of Gloucester; also of Daniel, Say, and Trevilian, men specially denounced during Cade's rising. The Commons requested that all these persons should be banished from Court for life, and that they should be deprived of all offices held by them as from the 1st December. This date suggests that perhaps this petition, or one to the same effect, had in fact been presented in the earlier part of the Session; as the Par-

¹ Rot. Pat. 29 Henry VI, cited Paston Letters, i. 186, cxlvii.

² J. Stow, 392; W. Gregory, 196; their dates agree with those in the Wardrobe Account, sup. Chief Justice Prisot and others were in attendance on the King in Kent for twenty-five days. Later in the spring we hear of special Assizes at Ipswich, Northampton, Winchester, Pembroke, &c.; Issues, Michaelmas and Easter 29 Henry VI.

³ Alice Chaucer, widow of the murdered Duke.

liament Rolls give no dates the matter must be left to conjecture.

CHAP. IX.

1451.

The King's answer was dignified, but conciliatory. 'The entent of His Hignes was and should be to be accompanied of vertues persones and noon other'; he was not "sufficiently lerned" of any cause why the persons named should be removed from his presence; nevertheless, he was willing that with the exception of the lords and of a "right fewe others", to whose personal attendance he was accustomed, the persons complained of should absent themselves from his Court for a year¹.

On Monday, the 29th March², Parliament adjourned for Easter, resuming on the 5th May.

The incident of this last part of the Session was the presentation of a petition by Thomas Younge, Member for Bristol, asking that the Duke of York might be recognised as Heir to the Throne. This was indeed alarming. Parliament was immediately dissolved, and the audacious petitioner sent to the Tower³.

Petition for the recognition of York as Heir to the Crown.

With respect to the income-tax voted by the last Parliament, it was stated that up to the 18th December, when the present Parliament rose for Christmas, nothing whatever had been done, equal "lak of diligence" having been shewn by all parties concerned—commissioners, sheriffs, and taxpayers. Fresh orders were issued for raising the tax; but its application was restricted to persons either owning freehold or copyhold lands to the value of 40 shillings a year and upwards, or owning leasehold interests, or holding offices to the value of £3 a year and upwards⁴. The Commons also found it desirable to petition that the Act of Resumption passed in the last

Business of the Session.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 216. "Sed nichil inde venit"; W. Worcester. The Abbot of Gloucester, Reginald Bowers, was consecrated Bishop of Hereford on the 14th February; he had been appointed in December; Stubbs.

² Given as Monday, 29th April; Rot. Parl. 213.

³ *Circa* 11th June? The King was at Westminster till that day; Household Accounts, 29 Henry VI; W. Worcester, 475; Chron. London, 137; cf. Younge's petition for compensation; Rot. Parl. v. 337.

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 211.

CHAP. IX. Parliament should take "good and effectuel conclusion",
 1451. suggesting therewith some fresh provisions of a more stringent character. The King gave a guarded assent, naming the 25th March, 1451, as the day on which the Act should come into operation; but he again stipulated for the right to make exceptions during the sitting of the Parliament, whereby forty-three fresh clauses of exemption were introduced, the original exemptions, as we may suppose, still holding good¹.

Not a word was said of any fresh grant; but as not only the actual but the prospective revenues of the Crown were known to have been drawn upon by 'assignments', it was agreed that the King should, for the space of two years from Christmas, 1450, have a preferential claim on the Customs of London and Southampton to the extent of £20,000 over all other claimants, excepting persons holding drafts for money actually lent to the King; and excepting payments for the garrison of Calais; and excepting a yearly sum of 4000 marks due to the Company of the Merchants of the Calais Staple. The reader may enquire what persons remained to be postponed? Simply the Dukes of York and Buckingham, in respect of the drafts held by them for their arrears of pay. The Act was simply a graceful concession on their part, waiving their claims out of regard for the State².

Judges' salaries.

A petition presented by the Judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, assures us that neither they, nor the Justices of Assize, had received any salary since about the year 1437, an ordinance in their favour made in the 18th year having fallen a dead letter³.

A petition from the widow of William Tresham, praying for justice on the murderers of her husband, was granted⁴: an Act of Attainder was passed against "John Cade", a

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 217-224.

² Id. 214. This provision would seem to have been passed in the first part of the Session, perhaps in return for the King's partial concession in the matter of the proscription list.

³ Id. and p. 14 (A.D. 1439). Above, p. 19. The Issue Rolls entirely confirm the statement.

⁴ Id. 211. Only the actual agents were named.

proof that he had, or might be supposed to have, something to forfeit: and the Act 2 Henry V against truce-breaking was revived, a salutary and much needed measure¹.

CHAP. IX.
1451.

To conciliate the House of Mowbray, the Duke of Norfolk's son, a mere boy, was created Earl of Warrenne and Surrey².

APPENDIX.

LETTERS OF MARGARET OF ANJOU.

(Cecil Monro, Camden Society, 1863.)

IN 1861 copies of some seventy-five letters of Queen Margaret were discovered. The letters do not give a favourable impression of her dealings with her husband's subjects. They represent, no doubt, one special branch of her correspondence, but still as a matter of fact the majority contain requests for favours, involving greater or less interference with private rights. At one time she bespeaks the hand of an eligible damsel—presumably an heiress—for a favoured esquire (pp. 89, 97, 125, &c.); at another time she asks for some preferment for a chaplain (91, 103); or for some office or emolument for an underling (113, 119). Most objectionable, however, are the cases in which she seeks to interfere with pending litigation in order to promote or arrest proceedings by or against favoured parties, by the simple process of ordering their opponents to abandon their 'unconscientious' suits (149, 150, 154).

But the cases specially characteristic of the times are those in which Margaret takes upon herself to back up formal mandates issued by her husband, Patents, Privy Seals, and what not, with private recommendations of her own, directing attention to be paid to the King's commands (118, 128, 147, &c.).

¹ Statute, 29 Henry VI, cc. 1 and 2.

² 24 March; Lords' Report, v. 277.

CHAPTER X.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Subjugation of Aquitain by the French.—Armed demonstration of the Duke of York against the Government.—Shrewsbury sent into Gascony.—His defeat and death.—Final loss of Gascony, and end of Hundred Years' War.

CHAP. X.

1450.
War in
Aquitain.

THE reduction of Normandy having been achieved, Charles VII returned to the Loire. Councils of War were held at Tours in September, 1450, to arrange for future movements. Normandy was placed under the charge of the Constable de Richemont, who would be able to call on the Bretons in case of need. The Count of Penthievre was chosen for an immediate attack on the northern frontier of the English dominion in Guienne, while Amanieu d'Orval, second son of the Lord of Albret, would attack them from a point further south. The Dominion at this time might be described as an irregular triangle, with its base on the sea-board between Bayonne and the mouth of the Gironde, and its apex at Bergerac on the Dordogne¹.

In the spring Aubeterre had surrendered to Jean Bureau². In the campaign of the autumn Bergerac was the first place attacked; after a brief but vigorous bombardment by the brothers Bureau it succumbed (10th October). Sainte-Foy-la-Grande, Gensac, La-Roche-Chalais³ followed

¹ Ribadieu, Guienne, 173.

² Department Charente. 11th May, de Beaucourt, v. 43, citing B. M. Additional Charters, 206.

³ Bergerac and La-Roche-Chalais are in the department of the Dordogne; Gensac and Sainte-Foy in that of the Gironde; so is Bazas.

suit. On the 31st October d'Orval took possession of Bazas, almost without an effort.

On the 1st November the English suffered a severe defeat at Blanquefort, about five miles from Bordeaux. The forces of the city having turned out to repel a marauding band under Amanieu, the French turned on the cavalry of the van, before the infantry could come up, and discomfited them with heavy loss. The slaughter of the foot-men was terrible; the day lives in the annals of Bordeaux as "*La Male Journée*"¹.

In the following summer the work was resumed at the point where it had been left in the autumn, the English this time having retrieved none of their losses. Towards the close of April, 1451, Dunois was appointed Lieutenant-General with 400 lances "*et les archers et guisarmiers*", making some 1600 men, besides 3000 *francs-archers*, not 5000 in all².

Montguyon was the first place attacked; after eight days' siege articles were signed, apparently on the 16th May³. Dunois then advanced against Blaye and Bourg, the ports commanding the navigation of the Garonne; while Jean Bureau laid siege to Fronsac⁴, the main bulwark of Gascony, the only place where a real garrison was kept up by the home Government⁵. A French fleet strong enough to cut off communications with Bordeaux co-operated in the attack on Blaye. The fortifications were so weak that, after a few days' cannonade, the town

¹ G. Bouvier, 458, 459; J. Chartier, ii. 239, 246; Cron. Norm. 171; de Beaucourt, v. 43; Ribadieu, 179-184. Ribadieu thinks that Gadifer Short-hose, the Mayor of Bordeaux, started his infantry in front and his cavalry in the rear; that the cavalry outmarched the infantry, and that the French attacked them when mixed up in utter confusion.

² G. Bouvier, 459; cf. Cron. Norm. 165.

³ G. Bouvier, sup. This treaty is given by Chartier, ii. 250, under the date 6th May. The place is in Charente Inf., south of Barbezieux.

⁴ Department Gironde, near Libourne. The place dates from the time of Karl the Great, having been built by him to keep the Aquitains in check; Ribadieu, citing Eginhart.

⁵ On the 27th of May payment of £1091 to John Strangways, Captain of Fronsac, is entered; Issues, Easter 29. "Le quel (Fronsac) a tousjours esté gardé par des Anglois naturels et du pais d'Angleterre"; J. Chartier.

CHAP. X.

1450.

English
defeat at
Blanque-
fort.Further
French
conquests.

CHAP. X.
1451.

was stormed, apparently by an unpremeditated assault, delivered about sunset¹. The Mayor of Bordeaux and other leaders retired to the citadel; on the 24th they were obliged to surrender their lives, and their lives only, being guaranteed, unless they were prepared to 'turn French'². Among the men found there was the Captain of Bourg, Pierre de Montferrant, "*Souldic de La Trau*"³. This capture augured ill for the resistance of Bourg; accordingly on the 29th May a capitulation was signed on very easy terms⁴.

Attitude
of Houses
of Armag-
nac, Foix
and Albret.

But the most serious circumstance was this, that the three great Houses of Armagnac, Foix and Albret had finally adopted the national cause. The Count of Foix and the Sire d'Albret attacked Dax, each from his own side of the Adour; while the Count of Armagnac led an imposing force against Duras, Sauveterre, Saint-Macaire, and Rions⁵.

Thus the French were acting in four places at once. On the 5th June Fronsac agreed to surrender if not relieved by the 15th of the month⁶. Libourne, with Castillon and Saint-Emilion, being on the same side of the Dordogne, had done likewise⁷.

Capitula-
tion of
Bordeaux.

The Estates of Bordeaux, feeling all hope gone, now asked to treat. The Captal de Buch, Gaston of Foix, uncle of Count Gaston of Foix, opened negotiations through his nephew⁸. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, Peyre Berland⁹, also took a leading part. On the 12th June a treaty was sealed; to save appearances eleven days of grace were granted to the King of England, the term

¹ Saturday, 22nd May (?); M. d'Escouchy, i. 331. 21st May; Chartier.

² See the treaty; J. Chartier, ii. 254-259; G. Bouvier, 460.

³ He was married to Mary, a natural daughter of the Duke of Bedford, and had a pension on her account; Foed. xi. 275.

⁴ See the treaty; J. Chartier, 259-264; G. Bouvier, 460. For details of the action of the Souldic, &c., see Ribadien, 190-211.

⁵ Duras (Lot et Garonne) capitulated 8th June; Sauveterre, 12th June; de Beaucourt, v. 47. Sauveterre, Saint-Macaire and Rions are in the Gironde.

⁶ See the treaty; Chartier, 271.

⁷ J. Chartier, 267, 268; M. d'Escouchy, 335, 336; de Beaucourt, v. 46.

⁸ T. Basin, i. 250; M. d'Escouchy, i. 337.

⁹ Chartier, 290 note.

for Fronsac being extended to the same day. If by the Eve of St. John, King Henry had not appeared in force, then on the morrow Fronsac, Bordeaux, the Bordelais, and all else appertaining to him in Guienne, would be delivered to the King of France. All local rights, customs, and franchises were guaranteed to the fullest extent; six months' time would be granted to individuals to decide as to their future nationality. If they elected to depart, their land would be allowed to devolve on their nearest relative of the French obedience. Supplemental treaties were concluded with the Captal and the Souldic to safeguard their public honour and their private interests¹.

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1451.

At the appointed hour the French turned out in strength, but not a man appeared from England. At Bordeaux, at vesper time, a herald ascended a tower, and sounded the last formal appeal for help. "*Secours de ceux d'Angleterre pour ceux de Bordeaux!*" but no man answered. Fronsac was given up on the day, but the delivery of Bordeaux was delayed for a further week. On Wednesday, 30th June, Dunois finally entered in state².

Bayonne, not being in Guienne or the Bordelais, was apparently not included in the treaty of Bordeaux. On the 6th August the Counts of Foix and Dunois began a siege; the place was fully invested by land and water; on the 18th the citizens sealed a composition, agreeing to give up the Captain, Jean de Beaumont, with all combatants, and to pay 40,000 *écus* for their own personal ransom. On the 20th August the French entered, and the last relict of the inheritance of Eleanor of Guienne was, for the moment, wrested from England³. All that the home Government had actually accomplished for the relief of Aquitaine was the transmission

Surrender
of Bayonne.

¹ See the treaties; J. Chartier, ii. 265-303; G. Bouvier, 460, 461. The Captal had a promise of 75,000 *écus d'or*; cf. Ribadieu, *Conquête de Guienne*, 213-237.

² J. Chartier, ii. 303, &c.; G. Bouvier, 462; Ribadieu. The accounts of Sir E. Hull, the Constable of Bordeaux, close on the 24th June; Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 35 Henry VI.

³ G. Bouvier, 495; J. Chartier, ii. 313. The treaty is given by M. d'Escouchy, i. 362. For a wonderful appearance of a white cross on a cloud in blue sky see Dunois' letter of the 20th August; Id. 367, and iii. 397.

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L

CHAP. X.

1451.

of £1091 to Fronsac in May; and the despatch about July of 100 men under Sir John Astley, the Mayor of Bayonne¹. Elaborate efforts, however, resulting in miserable failure, had been made in the previous year to send out a substantial force under Lord Rivers². He was named Seneschal of Aquitaine for five years, to serve with 300 spears and 2700 bows, at extra rates of pay, namely, 1s. 6d. a day for men-at-arms, and 9d. a day for archers. A fleet for his transport was collected at Plymouth in October and November, 1450, and kept there waiting till July or August, 1451, when apparently the expedition was given up, liabilities to the amount of £13,000 and upwards having been incurred and nothing done³.

Disturbed
state of
England.

The loss of Guienne could only tend to strengthen the hands of the Opposition, and to loose the feeble bonds of order at home. In June the war between the Earl of Devon and Lord Bonville broke out again in the West. The Earl besieged his rival at Taunton; various Lords joined in the struggle, but eventually Bonville was induced to accept the mediation of the Duke of York, and place himself in his hands⁴.

Special writs despatched about this time to the Duke of York, the Earl of Devon, and the Lord de Vescy in the North⁵, were probably connected with this affair. In July we hear of York and Norfolk being ordered to meet the King at Canterbury; and again in August we hear of messages to the Earls of Devon and Wiltshire⁶. During

¹ Issues, Easter 29 Henry VI.

² Sir Richard Wydeville, husband of the Duchess of Bedford, had been created Baron Rivers in May, 1448, about the time that Edmund Beaufort was created Duke of Somerset; Suffolk, Duke of Suffolk; John Stourton, Lord Stourton; and Thomas Hoo, Lord Hoo; Lords' Report, v. 258, &c.

³ See Proceedings, vi. 105; Issues, Easter 29 Henry VI (a detached skin); and Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 33-38 Henry VI. Rivers was sent to Calais in December; Issues, Michaelmas 30 Henry VI, m. 5, 6.

⁴ W. Worcester, 475.

⁵ Sir Henry Bromflete, an officer of the Household, was created Lord de Vescy in January, 1449; Lords' Report, iv. 919.

⁶ Issues, Easter 29 Henry VI. James Butler V, son and heir apparent of James, fourth Earl of Ormond in Ireland, was created Earl of Wiltshire in July, 1449; Historic Peerage; Doyle, Official Baronage, &c.

the same period the King found it necessary to visit Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Wilts, districts quite out of his ordinary beat; at the end of July he made a third tour through Kent; and in September he visited Northampton, Leicester, and Coventry. He went backwards and forwards between Coventry and Kenilworth from the 22nd September to the 3rd October, being engaged, it would seem, in an ineffectual attempt to bring York and Somerset to friendly terms ¹.

Far from having any intention of making friends with his rival, Duke Richard was only preparing for a more vigorous attack upon him.

Alarming reports of Richard's doings having been circulated, he thought it prudent to issue a circular protesting his entire loyalty to Henry VI, and offering to take his oath on the Sacrament to that effect ². His policy was to distinguish between the King and the untrustworthy adviser by whom he was led, and so far there is no proof that York did not mean what he said.

On the 3rd February, 1452, being ready for a march on London, he addressed a manifesto to the men of Shrewsbury, asking for support against the Duke of Somerset. He asked them first to consider the "worship, honour and manhood . . . ascribed of all nations" to the people of England, "whilst the Kingdom's sovereign lord stood possessed of his lordship in the realm of France"; and then to compare therewith the "derogation, loss of merchandise, lesion of honour, and villany . . . reported generally . . . for loss of the same; namely, unto the Duke of Somerset, when he had the commandance and charge thereof". The "which loss", he continued, had encouraged the King's enemies to conquer Guienne; and now they were threatening Calais,

¹ For the King's movements see Wardrobe Accounts, 29th and 30th years; Q. R. Miscell. *v*, *71*, "Mense Septembris"; W. Worcester, 476; the year being given as 1452 or 1453; but in 1452 the King was only one day at Coventry, and that was in August. In September, 1451, the Earl of Salisbury was ordered to attend the King at Coventry and Kenilworth, with a numerous retinue; Devon Issues, 475; so too, apparently, the Duke of Buckingham; Id. 478.

² Ludlow, 9th January, 1452; J. Stow, 393.

CHAP. X.
1452. and England itself, "to the final destruction thereof if they might prevail . . . which God defend". He reminded them that on his return from Ireland he, "as the King's true liege man", had laid before him certain necessary Articles for "the weal and safeguard" of the King and Realm; "the which advertisements . . . were laid apart and to be of none effect through the envy, malice and untruth of the said Duke of Somerset; which for my faith and truth . . . laboureth continually about the King's Highness for my undoing, and to corrupt my blood and to disherit me and my heirs". Wherefore Duke Richard begged to intimate that he was "fully concluded" to proceed in all haste against Somerset, with the help of his kinsmen and friends. He begged the people of Shrewsbury to join him with "as many goodly and likely men" as they might; requesting them at the same time to provide carefully for the good conduct of their contingent on the march¹.

He
marches on
London, York then started for London, the Earl of Devon and Sir Edward Broke, Lord Cobham, joining him².

Henry, of course, was entirely in the hands of Margaret and Somerset, but under no circumstances could any Government well listen to demands preferred in such style. York's manifesto was a mere declaration of war, and the Government accepted it as such.

On the 16th February the Court left London for the Midlands, to encounter the Duke of York; peremptory orders being issued to Lord Cobham, and doubtless to the others also, to join the King at Coventry³.

but turns
aside into
Kent, York and his friends took no notice of this summons, but, avoiding the line of the Royal march, pressed on towards London, where their strength lay; finding, however, that they would not be allowed to enter the city they crossed the Thames at Kingston, and so made their way into

¹ Ellis, Letters, First Series, i. 11. The orthography, however, cannot be that of the original.

² Chron. Giles, 43; Chron. Davies, 69. Lord Cobham was the grandson of Joan, the wife of Sir John Oldcastle, by a former husband.

³ Wardrobe Accounts, 30th year, sup.; Proceedings, vi. 116; Chron. Giles, sup.

Kent, hoping doubtless to find elements of disaffection there. CHAP. X.

Henry promptly retraced his steps, and reached the Tower on the 27th February. On the 1st March he went down to Welling, near Crayford, the Duke of York and his host being established at Dartford, on the other side of the Darent. Probably the forces were not ill-matched in strength: York had not found the men of Kent in spirits for a fresh rising, but he was too strong to be attacked ¹. 1452.
the King following him.

Negotiations were opened from the King's side to induce York to make friends with Somerset, a free pardon being offered to him and his men if they would retire. But Richard insisted that Somerset should be committed to custody to answer the charges he was prepared to bring against him. The matter was discussed by Bishops Waynflete of Winchester, and Bouchier of Ely; the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and the Lords Beauchamp and Sudeley; the two latter being members of the Government ²; Salisbury and Warwick friends and connexions of the Duke of York. Negotiations.

Eventually York's terms were conceded, whereupon he gave the order for disbanding his men, and repaired to the Royal tent. "There to his great disgust he found Somerset in his accustomed place". He was taken to London virtually a prisoner ³: Richard's simplicity in this matter tells for the honesty of his own intentions. Arrest of the Duke.

The difficulty now was what to do with him. He was undoubtedly guilty of high treason; but his men were still

¹ Chron. Davies, 69, 70; Chron. Giles, sup.; Chron. London, 137; Wardrobe Accounts, sup. I take no account of the estimates of the forces given by the writers, which vary from 10,000 to 20,000 men aside.

² Ralph Boteler or Butler was summoned to the House of Lords as Lord Sudeley in 1441; Treasurer, 7th July 1443-7th December, 1446. John Beauchamp was created Lord Beauchamp of Powyk in May, 1447; at the time we have reached he was Treasurer, having succeeded Say, 22nd June, 1450; Issue Rolls; Historic Peerage.

³ Cottonian Roll, ii. 23, given Paston Letters, i. cxlviii; Chron. London, 137; R. Fabian, 626; cf. J. Whethamstede, i. 162. According to the last the negotiations were opened by the Bishop of Ely, Lord Rivers, and Richard Andrew, the King's secretary.

CHAP. X. within call, and Somerset was too conscious of his own un-
 1452. popularity to venture on extreme measures. The matter
 His re- must have been discussed by the Lords at Westminster for
 lease. several days¹. Ultimately York was induced to purchase
 his liberty by swearing a solemn oath at St. Paul's, in the
 presence of a vast concourse, never again to take the law
 into his own hands. He pledged himself to come at the
 King's commandment; never to attempt anything against
 the "Roiall estate"; never to raise forces without the
 Royal license; never to proceed against any of the King's
 subjects by "wey of faite"²; promising to content himself
 with ordinary process of law.

On these terms Richard regained his liberty³.

York's
charges
against
Somerset.

The indictment that York wished to bring against
 Somerset has been preserved. With one single exception
 the charges deal with the administration of Normandy.
 Corrupt motives are freely imputed, but as to definite
 matters of fact the allegations agree substantially with the
 narrative we have given. Somerset had caused the loss of
 Normandy through his "inordinate negligence, lacchesse
 and . . . covetyse"; he had removed the most "true and
 feithful officers", appointing less competent men from
 corrupt motives; he had caused the breaking of the truce
 by his attack on Fougères, and the illegal fortifying of
 Mortain and Saint-James ("Faques") de Beuvron; he had
 starved the garrisons; and, when the war broke out made
 no efforts to succour beleaguered places; he had acted
 weakly at Rouen, and agreed to most improper terms "to
 save his children and his goodes"; he had pocketed 72,000
francs paid for the English dispossessed in Maine⁴; he
 was now preparing to surrender Calais to the Duke of
 Burgundy for the sake of marrying a daughter to the
 Duke's son⁵.

¹ Henry was at Westminster 3rd-16th March.

² Fr. *par "voie de fait"*, i.e. *by forcible means*.

³ Rot. Parl. v. 346; J. Stow, 395; R. Fabian; J. Chartier, ii. 124.

⁴ On this point see the complaint of the sufferers; Stevenson, Letters, ii. 598;
 they had recovered nothing.

⁵ See the document printed by Mr. Gairdner, Paston Letters, i. lxxvii.

Apart from the last charge, which was doubtless utterly unfounded, York's accusation made out no case of treason, only one of malversation and incompetence.

The pacification with the Duke of York, as the Court party doubtless regarded it, was followed up by the proclamation of a general pardon for all offences, issued by the King in honour of Good Friday (7th April). Some two or three thousand persons, with the Duke of York at their head, came in to claim the indulgence, and had Patents made out to them¹. In the like spirit the Queen and Somerset, in July, took the King on a progress through the south-western counties, to show himself to his friends and overawe his enemies. They visited Southampton, Poole, Exeter, Bristol, Bath, Gloucester, Ross, Monmouth, and Hereford. At the last-named place Sir Walter Devereux of Bodenham was impeached before Somerset for acts of treason committed on the 28th February. But before the case could come on for trial he had secured the benefit of the Act of Grace, and escaped².

On the 12th August the Court rested at Ludlow. This must have been a domiciliary visit to the Duke of York.

On the 18th the King was at Birmingham; on the 19th at Coventry; by the 5th September he was again on the banks of the Thames at Sheen³. "In October he made another circuit northwards by St. Albans to Stamford, Peterborough and Cambridge"⁴. Justices Prisot and Danvers attended the King, so that more trials may have taken place⁵. The last week of November was spent at

The exordium is given by Stow, p. 397, under the year 1454, just as he gives York's letters to the King of 1450 under 1452.

¹ J. Whethamstede, i. 86, 87. Among the other names on the Pardon Roll of the year Mr. Gairdner cites those of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Devon, Lords Cromwell and Egremont, Robert Winnington, and Thomas Younge; Paston Letters, i. lxxxii. Winnington of course was the privateer or pirate: for Younge, see above, p. 139.

² See his petition for Parliamentary confirmation of his pardon; Rot. Parl. v. 342. He had been sheriff of Herefordshire in 1447-1448; Dugdale.

³ Wardrobe Accounts, sup.

⁴ Gairdner, from the dates of Privy Seals.

⁵ Issues, Easter 31 Henry VI, m. 3; and Easter 32, m. 1.

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1452.

Appoint-
ments of
Bishops.

Reading: while there Henry strengthened his following by raising his two half-brothers, Edmund and Jasper Tudor, to the earldoms of Richmond and Pembroke¹. In April Lord Beauchamp had been turned out of the Treasury to make way for John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester², a friend of the Duke of York: "but the policy and influence of Somerset were still supreme". John Stafford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, having died on the 25th May, Cardinal Kemp was translated from York to the Primacy. The Queen's Chancellor, Bishop Booth, of Lichfield, "one of those against whom the Commons had petitioned in 1451", was promoted to York; Nicholas Close, of Carlisle, became Bishop of Lichfield, and William Percy Bishop of Carlisle³.

Feeling for
the English
in Gascony.

In Normandy the English had left no regrets behind them; not so in Gascony, where their rule was of ancient date, and had been exercised under very different conditions. The Gascons had been gently governed and lightly taxed⁴; and commercial ties with England were strong, the export of Gascon wine being balanced by the import of English cloth, which made its way over the Pyrenees into Spain⁵.

Unpopu-
larity of
the new
French
Régime.

Charles' advisers insisted upon introducing into the new province the military system which had been so successful in Northern France, and with it of course the "*impôt fixe*" upon which it rested. In vain the Gascons declared that they had always been able to defend their own borders; in vain they appealed to the conventions whose ink was

¹ 23rd November; Lords' Report, v. 293. This is the date of Edmund's charter. Jasper's creation only appears under a Parliamentary ratification of the 6th March, 1453; but as his brother's title was also ratified at the same time, it seems likely that they were both originally created together; cf. W. Worcester, 475.

² Worcester was appointed on the 15th April; Issues, Easter 30 Henry VI, m. 4. He was the son of Henry V's man, and created earl in 1449.

³ Stubbs, Const. Hist. and Reg. Sacrum; Foed. xi. 315-317.

⁴ "Une administration prudente et régulière, dont les actes nous sont restés, paraît avoir caractérisé cette domination"; Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, iii. 228.

⁵ T. Basin, i. 257.

hardly dry. Charles VII was not the man to interfere with anything arranged for him by his Ministers, and the Gascon deputies returned from Bourges with their errand unsped.

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1452.

Their next appeal was to England. It is said that Pierre de Montferrant, the Souldic de la Trau, and the Earl of Kendall, Jean de Foix, the eldest son of the Captal de Buch, appeared in London in March, while the struggle between York and Somerset was at its height¹. It is certain that by the middle of the month, immediately after the settlement of that difficulty, the King began to call for an armament for foreign service. The defence of Calais was the main object given out, but as the Earl of Shrewsbury was announced as Commander-in-chief, we may take it that the real destination was Bordeaux². The King asked for 1000 seamen, offering them a shilling a head per week, "beside thair wynnyng of werre such as by the custume of the see shall mowe growe to thaim". All subjects of Castile, Leon, Brittany, and France would be lawful game; but the truces with the subjects of the Duke of Burgundy must be respected³. In July the Earl of Shrewsbury entered into an engagement to serve for three months on the sea, with 3000 'fighting men'; a term suggestive of an irregular force. On the 2nd September, however, he received a formal commission as King's Lieutenant of Aquitaine⁴.

English
help in-
voked.

On the 17th October Shrewsbury landed in Médoc, in a sandy cove still known as "*l'anse a l'Anglot*"⁵. On the 20th he appeared under the walls of Bordeaux. The garrison opened negotiations, but before anything was settled one of the gates was thrown open, and Olivier de

Recovery
of Bor-
deaux by
the Earl
of Shrews-
bury.

¹ So E. Hall, 227; Ribadieu, Guienne, 268.

² De Beaucourt, however, finds evidences of an intention on the part of Charles VII to attack Calais; v. 34, 264.

³ 14th-22nd March; Proceedings, vi. 119-125; Stevenson, Letters, ii. 477.

⁴ Issues, Easter 30 Henry VI, m. 5; Foed. xi. 313. The Earl received £2000 in cash on the 17th July; another £1000 was paid to his agent a year later, after his death.

⁵ Ribadieu, 272; but he takes the 22nd October as the day of the landing.

CHAP. X.
1452. Coëtivy, the French Seneschal of Guienne, found himself a prisoner. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, Peyre, or, as he was more commonly called, Pey Berland, accepted the new state of things without demur. In a short space of time the whole of the Bordelais changed sides, including Castillon on the Dordogne¹, but not Fronsac, Bourg, or Blaye. At that time of the year Charles could only send a small force to watch the movements of the English².

The last
relief for
Aquitain.

About the month of March, 1453, a relief of some 210 spears and 2100 bows came out under Shrewsbury's son, Viscount de L'Isle, and the Lords de Moleyns and Camoys³: the last, an inveterate Free Lance, must have felt a perfect fish out of water in England, even the England of Henry VI.

Charles
VII takes
the field.

Charles did not move from Tours till after Easter: he spent the month of May at Lusignan⁴, while his forces were being organised. During that time Shrewsbury won back Fronsac. On the 2nd June Charles moved from Lusignan, advancing by Saint-Jean-d'Angely to Angoulême; while the army pushed on to Chalais⁵, which was taken by storm in the course of the month; apparently all prisoners of Gascon speech were put to the sword as traitors⁶.

Siege of
Castillon.

Gensac⁷ and some other places having been reduced, the French, on the 13th or 14th July, laid siege to Castillon. Their forces must have been considerable, as contingents

¹ On the right bank of the river, just above Saint-Émilion and Libourne.

² J. Chartier, ii. 331-333; G. Bouvier, 468; T. Basin, i. 261; Ribadieu, 275-280, q. v. for details of the capture of Coëtivy; also Stevenson, Letters, ii. 497. The accounts of Sir E. Hull, Constable of Bordeaux, give the 20th October as the day of its recovery; Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 33-38 Henry VI.

³ Stevenson, Letters, ii. 479, 480. The troops were to muster at Plymouth, 26th February, but they had not sailed on the 5th March; Issues, Michaelmas 31 Henry VI. Lord de Moleyns was Sir Robert Hungerford, who had married Eleanor, daughter of Lord de Moleyns, who fell at Orleans. For Roger, Lord Camoys, see above, p. 82, where a further reference should have been given to Segar MS., College of Arms, f. 208. De L'Isle was John Talbot, eldest son of the Earl by his second wife, Margaret Beauchamp, heiress of the L'Isle title.

⁴ Department Vienne.

⁵ Dordogne.

⁶ Stevenson, Letters, sup.; M. d'Escouchy, ii. 30.

⁷ Gironde; on the left bank of the Dordogne, near Pujols.

from Burgundy and Brittany were present, while the never-failing brothers Bureau were said to have 700 sappers and gunners under their orders.

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The first step taken by the French was to entrench a camp, on the east side of the town, on the Lidoire, a small affluent of the Dordogne. Within this stronghold the artillery was parked, in case of any sudden attack from without. The head-quarters were established there; but one detachment was posted in an abbey, now the priory of Saint-Florent, on the West, while the Bretons were stationed as a rear-guard on the Mont Horable, near Capitoulans, on the North-East¹.

An appeal for succour having been sent from Castillon to Bordeaux, Shrewsbury, without one moment's delay, started with his son and Lord de Moleyns. At daybreak on Tuesday the 17th July he drew near to Castillon, having doubtless crossed the Dordogne at Branne. By the advice of his friends in the town he began by attacking the *francs archers* in the abbey. They were defeated and driven out, but the bulk of them effected a retreat to the camp. The Earl halted to refresh his men with the spoils of the abbey cellars, while the French pressed all available men into the camp. Confident of an easy victory, and perhaps mistaken as to the nature of the French movements, as the air was filled with dust, the gallant old Earl insisted upon leading his men straight at the enemy, to be confronted by the earthworks and batteries of Jean Bureau. Sensible at the last of the nature of the task before him he dismounted his men, retaining only for himself the indulgence of a little palfrey. For a full hour French and English battled it across the ramparts, the French guns doing great execution. At the last the Breton contingent came up and took the English on the left flank. The French sallied from their works, and all was over. The Earl's palfrey was laid low by a cannon ball, which shattered the rider's knee. Trodden under foot in the *melee*, Talbot's

Shrewsbury
hastens to
the rescue;

is defeated
and killed.

¹ J. Chartier, iii. 1-3; G. Bouvier, 469; M. d'Escouchy, ii. 32, 33; T. Basin, i. 263; Ribadien, 293.

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1453.

body was so disfigured as hardly to be recognisable next day by his own herald¹. His son, de L'Isle, a natural son, and James Berkeley, second son of Lord Berkeley, fell with him: de Moleyns and another Berkeley, Thomas, were taken prisoners. The relics of the force escaped, some into Castillon, some to Saint-Émilion².

'King
Talbot.'

With John Talbot, the hero of four-and-thirty years of warfare³, perished the last hope of the English dominion in France. On the Gascons his personality made a lasting impression. We are assured that in the popular legends of the Garonne the last English viceroy of Aquitaine still lives as LE ROI TALABOT⁴.

But the struggle was not ended at once. The Gascons made a fair stand for their provincial independence, considering that the great Houses had not been tempted to join in the movement. Castillon yielded on the day after the battle. Saint-Émilion, Libourne, and Fronsac fell within the month, or shortly after. Charles VII, advancing from Angoulême, was present at the reduction of the last place.

On the other side of the Garonne the Counts of Clermont and Foix, and the Sire d'Albret, were already at work ravaging the country⁵. Having taken Castelnau de Médoc

¹ It was said that the man only knew his master by his teeth.

² M. d'Esouchy, ii. 34-41; G. Bouvier, 469; J. Chartier, iii. 3-9; T. Basin, i. 264-268. The most likely estimate of Shrewsbury's force is that given by Aeneas Sylvius, *Hist. de Europa*, 441, cited Ribadieu, 297, viz. 500 men-at-arms and 800 archers. Of the men-at-arms the bulk must have been Gascons. The two Berkeleys had been taken out by the Earl as hostages for the peaceable conduct of their father, with whom he had waged a private war for years, for the possession of the Berkeley and de L'Isle estates, claimed by him in right of his wife, as already mentioned. See *Lives of the Berkeleys*, by J. Smyth of Nibley, ii. 57-75 (Bristol, 1883); Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 361.

³ In the *Gesta Henrici V*, p. 144, we have "Dominus de Talbotte" mentioned among the leaders at the siege of Melun, A. D. 1420. As Lord Gilbert, the elder brother whom John succeeded, died in 1419, that must have been our John. He had already been summoned to Parliament as Lord Furnival in right of his wife, A. D. 1409. That *prima facie* implies that he was born in or before 1388, but Mr. Doyle (*Official Baronage*) states that he was born in 1390. If so he was sixty-four at his death.

⁴ So Ribadieu, *Guienne*, 282. The reader may remember that at the siege of Orleans the one name that the *Pucelle* associated with the defence was "Talebot".

⁵ For details of the lasting destruction done in Médoc during "la guerre du

in July, they laid siege to Blanquefort, Cadillac, and Saint-Macaire. The two former places held out till the end of September at any rate¹. When they fell the only place still holding out was Bordeaux, which had been more or less blockaded since the 1st August. If the citizens were starving, the besiegers were falling victims to pestilence: thus terms were not hard to adjust. Charles VII insisted on reserving the right to banish twenty of the chief authors of the rising; all other natives would be admitted to his peace on taking the oaths of allegiance, but no local rights were reserved. The English would be allowed to sail home. On these terms Charles' officers took possession of Bordeaux on the 19th October², and the Hundred Years' War was fairly at an end.

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1453.

Final loss
of Bor-
deaux.

End of
Hundred
Years' War.

The weary struggle had witnessed among other things the transition from mediaeval to modern conditions of warfare; it saw cavalry displaced by infantry as the mainstay of armies; it saw gunpowder brought into effectual service both for siege and field artillery; the hand-gun, however, had not as yet established any ascendancy over the longbow; nor had the applicability of gunpowder to mining purposes been yet realized. Pit-props and fire were still the only *modus operandi* of which we hear. Nevertheless, for the time, the advantage in the matter of sieges lay rather with the assailant, the improvements in artillery not having been accompanied by any corresponding development in the science of fortification. The new artillery was the glory of the French: the establishment of infantry must be credited to the English, they again having borrowed the idea from the Scots and Flemings. The reader may have noticed that in the last reliefs sent to Guienne the proportion of bows to spears had risen to ten to one:

roi Talabot" (*the war of king Talbot*), see Baurein, *Variétés Bordeloises*, cited Ribadien; also de Beaucourt, v. 269.

¹ Cadillac fell 27th September; M. d'Escouchy, ii. 67, note.

² G. Bouvier, 470-472; J. Chartier, iii. 9-18; M. d'Escouchy, ii. 64-77, and E. Hull's *Accounts*, sup. The convention is dated "Montferrant près Bordeaux", 9th October, 1453; *Registres du Parlement de Paris*, cited Ribadien, 355, q. v. for details of the siege and campaign.

CHAP. X. under Edward III it was two to one; under Henry V only
 1453. three to one. But the true recognition of infantry dates from the time when the English dismounted their cavalry to win battles¹.

The year 1453 fixes a memorable era. It has been
 1453. taken by many to mark, so far as one year can mark, the point of transition from the Middle Ages to the era of the classical *Renaissance*; itself a period of transition from mediaeval to modern life². On the 23rd of July Philip the Good established his mastery over the Flemings on the field of Gavre³. The consolidation of Flanders had important results in the near future; but the event sounds trivial beside the final downfall of the Byzantine Empire, and the establishment of Turkey as a European Power. On the 29th of May, 1453, Mahomet II made himself master of Constantinople. The treasures of the Byzantine libraries were scattered to the winds. Some relics found their way to Italy; fortunately "the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism"⁴.

Fall of
Constanti-
nople.

¹ In the latter days of the English occupation we find a dismounted man-at-arms employed for garrison duty, with wages intermediate between those of the archer and those of the mounted man-at-arms. These two classes of men-at-arms still survive in the *gendarmérie à pied* and the *gendarmérie à cheval* of France, both, however, used as constabulary. The *sergeant de ville* represents the mediaeval foot-soldier.

² Vallet de Viriville, Charles VII, iii. 240.

³ See M. d'Escouchy, ii. 80-92, and notes; also iii. 425.

⁴ See Gibbon, Decline and Fall, xii. 219-232. With respect to the invention of printing, however, for "German" town we should read "Dutch" town, in justice to Lourens Janszoon Coster of Haarlem, who appears to have the best claim to be considered the inventor of printing, that is to say of printing with moveable types, as distinguished from block-printing, the essence of the invention. Books printed by him appear to have been in circulation *circa* 1446-1451; whilst the earliest dated product of the Mainz press of Schoeffer and Gutenberg belongs to the year 1454. See Mr. J. H. Hessels, letters to the Academy, May-August, 1887; his article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Typography"; and Mr. Blaydes in the Bookworm for April, 1888. In fact Coster may have been at work long before 1446, as it appears that early in 1442 sets of metal types, both for Hebrew and Latin, were to be found at Avignon: "Litteras scisas in ferro . . . ad scribendum artificialiter"; see L'Imprimerie à Avignon, by l'Abbé Requen (Paris, Picard.)

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Parliament—Parties in the country.—Illness of the King.—Birth of Prince Edward.—The Duke of York appointed Protector.

ON the 6th March (1453) the King opened a Session of Parliament at Reading. The place was probably selected as being free from the Yorkist influence, "which was strong in London"¹. The King's half-brothers, Edmund and Jasper, took their seats as Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, with precedence of all other Earls. A petition was also presented for a declaration of their legitimacy, as if the matter was not wholly free from doubt².

CHAP. XI.
1453.
Parliament
at Reading.

No Parliament had sat since June, 1451, and no regular Subsidy had been voted since 1449. Since 1450 the only direct taxes available for the Government had been the trivial poll-taxes on foreigners, and the income tax of 1450, if anything ever came of it. The renewal of the war in Guienne made the need of money imperative. At the same time Shrewsbury's first successes had revived the spirits of the nation; and the Government must have gained strength from the failure of York's grand attack in

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 227; Stubbs, iii. 163.

² Rot. Parl. 250: "quod prefati E. et J. declarentur vestri fratres uterini in legitimo matrimonio infra Regnum vestrum predictum procreati et nati ac Indigere Regni vestri supradicti et nedum sic declarentur verum etiam sic auctoritate supradicta realiter et in facto existant". As sons of a Welshman they were probably under disabilities. For the grants to them see Id. and J. Whethamstede, i. 92. For the question of their legitimacy, see preceding vol. p. 496.

CHAP. XI. the previous year. At any rate the Parliament proved decidedly Lancastrian.

1453.

Lancas-
trian
majority.

The Speaker chosen was Thomas Thorpe, Knight of the Shire for Essex, and a strenuous supporter of the existing dynasty. He had been deprived of the office of Remembrancer of the Exchequer by the Earl of Worcester when he became Treasurer, but since then had been made a Baron of the Exchequer¹.

Partisan
petitions.

The disposition of the House was indicated by two petitions that were presented. One prayed that any disabilities imposed on Lord Say, William Crowmer, or John Bailey by the judicial sentences passed on them by Cade's courts might be removed; a most extreme instance of regard for a judicial decision, if the request was preferred in simple earnest. The petition went on to pray that the petition of 1450 for the removal from Court of Somerset and his friends should be utterly quashed and "put in oblivion"². The second petition prayed for a resumption of Crown grants as against all the "traitours assembled in the feld at Dertford"; and a confirmation of all grants made in favour of the opposite party: also that the exceptions in the Act of Resumption of 1451 might be cancelled, they presumably having run in favour of the Yorkists. Both petitions were apparently granted³.

Money
grants.

When the Session rose for Easter on the 28th March liberal grants were announced. A Fifteenth and Tenth were given, to be raised by halves on the 11th November, 1453, and 11th November, 1454, but under the established deductions. Tonnage and Poundage were granted for the King's life at existing rates; the wool duties were also granted for the King's life at increased rates, to take effect from the beginning of the Session. Natives would now pay 50s. instead of 40s. on the sack of wool, and aliens

¹ Foss, Judges, iv. 362.

² Rot. Parl. v. 265; Stat. 31 Henry VI, c. 1.

³ See Rot. Parl. p. 329, with the further exceptions tacked on by the King, p. 237. The petition was expunged in 1455-6, and we only get the text from the petition praying for its removal.

100s. instead of 63s. 4d., impossible rates that the Government was never able to enforce¹. The poll-taxes of 1s. 4d. and 6d. on alien householders and alien servants were also granted for the King's life; and the poll-taxes or license duties on foreign merchants were largely increased; resident merchants were required to pay 40s. a year; travellers "abyding" six weeks in the country were required to pay 20s. a year; aliens made denizens by the King's letters patent or otherwise were required to pay ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.) per annum².

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1453.

But along with these grants Speaker Thorpe was able to announce something much more novel and significant, namely, a 'grant' of 20,000 archers to be raised and maintained at the cost of the shires and boroughs for six months' service on demand. The men were not granted for foreign service; nor were they intended for resistance to foreign invasion, as they could only be called out on four months' notice; they must therefore have been granted in contemplation of civil war.

'Grant' of
20,000
archers.

The Commons, however, as if possessed by some misgivings as to the burden they were undertaking, begged to be allowed time to settle the details of the scheme. The King gave a ready assent, at the same time personally thanking the Commons for their liberality; and then Cardinal Kemp, with renewed thanks, adjourned the Session to the 25th April, to meet at Westminster³.

This Session lasted till the 2nd July, the time apparently being mainly taken up with settling the scheme of the proposed levy: 3000 men were fixed as the quota to be provided by the Lords, and another 3000 men as the

¹ This increment was remitted for five years in 1454; Rot. Parl. 269; Stat. 31 Henry VI, c. 8. [Native merchants also obtained at the same time a remission of the moderate Poundage duty of 12d. on the £1 on native woollens.] The leather duties remained unchanged at 100s. the last from natives, and 106s. 8d. from aliens.

² Rot. Parl. 228-230. The Convocation of York gave one half-Tenth in January and another in the autumn. Canterbury gave a whole Tenth in March; Wilkins, Conc. iii. 563, 564; Wake, 372; Stevenson, Letters, ii. 491.

³ Rot. Parl. 230, 231.

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M

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1453.

quota to be provided by Wales and Cheshire. This separate assessment was clearly made with reference to the fact that the Lords, Wales, and Cheshire did not contribute to ordinary Fifteenths and Tenths. The King of his "speciall grace" remitted 1000 men, thus leaving 13,000 to be provided by the rest of the country. We may point out that 20,000 archers for six months at the stipulated wage of 6*d.* a man a day would have cost just £90,000, say three entire Fifteenths and Tenths, to be paid up within six months, and in addition to all other existing taxes; while one half-Subsidy in the twelve months was about as much as the Government of Henry VI had ever yet received.

A schedule was drawn up assessing the quota of "men archers" to be provided by each county. The table is appended, as giving an interesting estimate of the comparative wealth and population of the different shires and towns¹.

But before the scheme had passed into law fresh overtures were made to the King. The Government were making desperate efforts to raise troops for Aquitaine², the final collapse not having come yet. His Highness might perhaps be induced to suspend the domestic levy in consideration of a money grant that might be available for the needs of the foreign Dominion. The King again was quite willing; the Commons granted a further half-Subsidy, to be raised in the spring of 1454, a cheap composition, and there the matter ended³.

Business of
Session.

The business of the Session included arrangements for giving security to Somerset for £21,648 due to him up to

¹ See Appendix to chapter.

² July-August. See Proceedings, vi. 143-156; Stevenson, Letters, ii. 481-492. Shrewsbury and his son are spoken of as if supposed to be alive up to the 27th August. At the end of July Lord Say and others mustered 190 spears and 1950 bows for Aquitaine, and received £5312 on account; but they cannot have sailed. Lord Bonville also received £1000 to go out; Issues, Easter 31 Henry VI. Lord Say was William Fenys, son of the man put to death by Jack Cade.

³ Rot. Parl. v. 231-233, 236.

the 6th June as Captain of Calais; subject always to the existing charge in favour of the Duke of Buckingham for CHAP. XI.
1453. £19,000 on the same account¹.

Lastly, Sir William Oldhall, the Speaker of the late Parliament, was attainted for complicity in York's rising of 1452, and for alleged complicity in Cade's rising².

On the 2nd July the Parliament was adjourned, to meet again at Reading on the 12th November: doubtless the Government was loth to part with so well affected an assembly³. In proroguing the Houses the Chancellor spoke of standing⁴ disorders that the King would 'labour' to suppress. In connexion with this subject we may notice a measure passed in this Parliament, by which the penalty of utter forfeiture was enacted against persons of whatever rank, who should neglect to appear at the Royal summons⁵.

In truth the Government was already battling with the flames of civil war. The rivalries of the great Houses of Alnwick and Raby were of old standing. Apart from Hotspur's outbreak, the Percies had stood by the dynasty which they had contributed to set up. The present, or second Earl of Northumberland, Hotspur's son, had been steadily loyal. The Earl's third son, Thomas, had been created Baron Egremont in 1449⁶: he himself had been made Constable of England in 1450, and though he had shortly resigned the staff in favour of Somerset⁷, his youngest son William had been made Bishop of Carlisle in 1452⁸. English
factions.
The
Percies.

The Nevilles, on the other hand, were connected with The
Nevilles.

¹ Rot. Parl. 233. Arrangements were also made for sending £9300 to Calais for jettys and other works; Id. 234. The money was duly expended; Enrolled Foreign Accounts.

² 22nd June; Rot. Parl. 265, 266. The Government had men watching Oldhall in April; he was taken into custody in August; Lord Grey and Sir John Fastolf were also in trouble; Devon Issues, 473.

³ Rot. Parl. 236.

⁴ "A tamdiu usitata".

⁵ Id. 266; Stat. c. 2.

⁶ Lords' Report, Appendix v. 272.

⁷ Foed. xi. 270, 276.

⁸ Collins, Peerage, ii. 359; Stubbs, Reg. Sacr.

CHAP. XI.

1453.

the Duke of York, partly by marriage, and partly perhaps by opposition to the House of Alnwick. Ralph Neville, eighth Lord of Raby and first Earl of Westmorland, had been extraordinarily successful in providing for a numerous family. By his first wife, Margaret Stafford, he had a son John, who, dying before him, left a son Ralph, the existing Earl¹. By his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, he had, among other sons, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, by virtue of his marriage with Alice Montacute, the daughter of Earl Thomas, who fell at Orleans; William, familiar to the reader as Lord Fauconberge, a title also acquired through the hand of a heiress²; a fifth son, George, held the barony of Latimer, said to have been purchased for him by his father through a family arrangement; a sixth son, Edward, was Lord Abergavenny, through his marriage with Elisabeth Beauchamp; while Robert, the seventh son, was Bishop of Durham. Of the daughters, Catherine was mother of the existing Duke of Norfolk, and wife of Viscount Beaumont; Eleanor was married to her father's rival, the Earl of Northumberland; Anne was married to the Duke of Buckingham; while Cecille, the youngest, was Duchess of York. To crown all, the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to have taken the lead in the family politics, had secured for his son Richard, the future King-Maker, the time-honoured earldom of Warwick through the hand of Anne Beauchamp, only child of Earl Henry, the son of the King's Governor, who had been raised to a Dukedom in 1445³.

Salisbury himself had been loaded with favours: he was Warden of the West March, Justice of the Forests North of

¹ H. Nicolas; Sandford, 264. Ralph II succeeded to the title in 1425. For the other children of Ralph the first Earl, by his first wife Margaret Stafford (one son and eight daughters), see Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 299. For the relations of the two families to each other, see above, p. 134 *note*.

² Lords' Report, Appendix v. 236.

³ Lords' Report, v. 244, 272. See Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 299; Sandford, *Gen. Hist.* 264. Beauchamp was also crowned King of the Isle of Wight, *circa* 1444. The year of his Dukedom is usually given as 1444, but he was clearly created after Buckingham, who was made a Duke in September, 1444.

the Trent, Chief Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Constable of Pontefract and other royal castles¹.

CHAP. XI.

1453.

Another leading family connected by marriage with the Duke of York were the Bouchiers, the half-brothers of the Duke of Buckingham. Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, had by her second husband, Edmund Earl of Stafford, a son Humphrey, created Duke of Buckingham in 1444. Her third husband was William Bouchier, created Count or Earl of Eu in 1419. By him she had Henry, Viscount Bouchier; William, who became Lord Fitz-Waryn by marriage; Thomas, Bishop of Ely; and John, afterwards Lord Berners. Of these Viscount Bouchier was married to Isabella, only sister of the Duke of York, by whom he had several sons and a daughter². The Duke of Buckingham, however, was Lancastrian in his politics.

The
Bouchiers.

At the period which we have reached the jealousies of the Percies and Nevilles had assumed an acute type. In June, during the sitting of Parliament, peremptory and reiterated orders had been sent to Lord Egremont and Sir John Neville, youngest sons of the Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, requiring them to keep the peace. In July the two Earls were charged "in the straitest wise" to keep their sons in order³. In August it would seem that Sir Thomas Neville, another son of the Earl of Salisbury, married Maud Stanhope, niece of Lord Cromwell, the ex-Treasurer, and relict of Robert Lord Willoughby, of fighting reputation⁴. On their way home from Cromwell's seat at Tattershall, in Lincolnshire, the wedding party came into collision with Egremont and a brother,

Collision
at Stam-
ford
Bridge.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 347; Rot. Scot. ii. 273, &c.

² Sandford, Gen. Hist. 235. See Table V.

³ Proceedings, vi. 140-150. The matter had been brought before Parliament, and noble Lords had been requested to "putte in" their "griefs" in writing; Id. 160. In July Sir William Lucy held inquests as to 'dangerous riots' in Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Westmorland; Issues, Easter 31 Henry VI.

⁴ "Mense augusti"; W. Worcester, 476, the year being vague. Lord Willoughby died 25th July, 1452; Inquis. Post Mort.; Collins, iii. 303; vi. 415.

CHAP. XI.

1453.

Illness of
the King.

Richard Percy, at Stamford Bridge, near York; a pitched battle ensued, which was afterwards regarded as the true beginning of the civil war¹.

But by this time the hapless monarch, who was to have laboured in person to restore order, had lost all use of his faculties. Not many days after the close of the Parliament Henry VI fell ill at Clarendon, it would seem from the effects of a start or sudden fright; and for eighteen months remained in a state of mental and bodily prostration, without sense or memory, and unable even to rise from his chair without assistance².

Birth of a
Prince.

The plot now thickened apace. On the 13th October Queen Margaret, after nearly eight years of barren wedlock, gave birth to a son, who was christened Edward³. Under the circumstances "the common people", at any rate the Yorkists, received the announcement with scorn and derision; the child was spurious, or suppositious; he could be no "naturall sone of Kynge Henrye"⁴.

¹ 1453; Collins' Peerage, ii. 359, citing Harleian MS. 692; Antiq. Repertory, ii. 109; W. Worcester, sup.; cf. Proceedings, vi. 158-161, remonstrances to Salisbury and Northumberland, and thanks to Westmorland and the Bishop of Durham.

² "Circa festum Translationis sancti Thomae martyris . . . subita et temeraria formidine in talem infirmitatem incidit ut per annum completum et dimidium anni non fuit in eo nec sensus naturalis", &c.; Chron. Giles, 44; "ut sensu . . . careret et memoria . . . nec valeret pedibus pergere", &c.; J. Whethamstede, i. 163, and especially the official report Rot. Parl. v. 240. The Translation of St. Thomas is the 7th July. The King was still at Westminster or Greenwich on that day, but he was at Clarendon on the 7th August; Privy Seals, 31st year. The date of the 10th August, therefore, for his attack, given by Mr. Gairdner from MS. Reg. 13, c. 1, is probably correct; Paston Letters, i. xcvi. The King was apparently still at Clarendon on the 3rd October; Privy Seals. Attendants sat with him day and night; Issues, Easter 35, m. 4.

³ Westminster; Chron. Davies, 70; Chron. Giles, 41. The Prince was christened by Bishop William of Waynflete. Cardinal Kemp, the Duke of Somerset, and the Duchess of Buckingham were the sponsors.

⁴ Chron. Davies, 79; R. Fabian, 628; E. Hall, 230; cf. T. Basin, i. 299, and Chastelain, as there quoted. It is possible that the cautious reference in Gregory to the "grete wronge" done to the Duke of York may be connected with this, p. 198; he does not otherwise notice the birth of this Prince at all. See also the ballad of 1460 Chron. Davies, 92: "fals wedlock . . . fals heryres (*heirs*) fostred". This is assigned as the first cause of the sickness of the body politic. Fabian, however, in a later passage refers to the "many untreue surmises" told of that "noble and moost bounteous pryncesse", Queen Margaret; p. 640.

Of course the birth removed the possibility of a compromise like that suggested by the Treaty of Troyes, whereby York might have been recognised as heir to the Throne, Henry retaining the Crown during his life.

CHAP. XI.
1453.

The question of a Regency, however, was the first thing to be dealt with. Doubtless Margaret and Somerset would have preferred the old system of ruling in the King's name without a Regency. On the 24th October, apparently, a Grand Council was held at Westminster, to which York was not invited; but his friends were strong enough to insist on his being summoned, and a writ was addressed to him; Worcester, the Treasurer, who was a Yorkist, and a number of Bishops signed the Minute, but not Somerset or the Chancellor¹.

Regency
question.

On the 12th November the Parliament resumed at Reading, only to be re-adjoined till the 11th February, 1454. The reason of the King's absence must have been tacitly admitted, as the Chancellor comforted the Commons with the promise of the appointment of "a sadde and a wyse counsaill of . . . right discrete . . . Lordes and other"². On the 21st November another Privy Council was held, the Duke of York and a number of Peers of both parties being present, but not the Duke of Somerset. York complained that he had been deprived of the services of old members of his "counsail", and obtained an order, doubtless intended to effect the liberation of Sir William Oldhall³. On the other hand Baron Thorpe, the Speaker, having rashly laid hands on some arms and accoutrements belonging to the Duke of York which were stored up in London, was sued in his own Court of Exchequer, convicted of trespass, and imprisoned in the Fleet⁴.

Attack on
Speaker
Thorpe

The final shipwreck of English affairs in Guienne could

¹ 24th October; Proceedings, vi. 163.

² Rot. Parl. v. 238, 240.

³ See the extract from Pat. 32 Henry VI, m. 20, given Paston Letters, i. cxlviii. [Oldhall, however, was in sanctuary in 1455, till after the battle of St. Albans, when the proceedings against him were reversed; Id. 336, 344.]

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 239. As Thorpe was put on the Privy Council in 1453, he probably had acted under orders.

CHAP. XI.

1453.

Fresh impeachment of Somerset.

He is committed to the Tower.

Mental and bodily incapacity of the King.

not fail to tell against Somerset; and the popular misgivings as to the young Prince's parentage may have found an echo in the Council. The Duke of Norfolk now appears as taking up the cudgels against Somerset. He presented a "bill" to the Lords, insisting that the validity of certain Articles formerly presented against Somerset had been substantiated by recent events. "The losse of ii so noble ducheas as Normandie and Guyen" could never be held a mere "trespasse": many a stout captain had lost his head for much less. He demanded a commission of inquiry into the Duke's administration at home and abroad¹. The result was that about the end of November Somerset was sent to the Tower², his friends doubtless conceding that much to elude a trial³.

For Margaret and Somerset it was of the first importance that Henry should be exhibited as in some sense capable of acting. In the hopes of eliciting some sign of intelligence, the Duke of Buckingham took the Royal infant in his arms and presented it to the King at Windsor, probably on New Year's Day, 1454, asking him to give it a father's blessing. But Henry "yave no maner answe". Margaret then repeated the experiment, taking the child into her arms. The King looked at the child for an instant, and then "caste doune his eyene ayen" (*cast down his eyes again*)⁴. Not a word could be got out of him.

The Royal authority being in abeyance, both parties prepared to defend their own rights; and again the wonder was that war did not break out sooner. Cardinal Kemp

¹ Paston Letters, i. 259. The "bill" was apparently laid before the Council in November.

² In March, 1455, Somerset complained that he had been detained for upwards of a year and ten weeks prior to the 7th February; Foed. xi. 361.

³ Chron. Giles, 44; compare the interesting letter from Somerset to his cousin King James II of Scotland, printed from MS. Harl. 543 by Palgrave; Proceedings, vi. lxiii: "It was done . . . as I undarstand . . . moaste for the swertye of my person". James had enquired of Henry's health, and had offered help to Somerset. Edmund declined to speak of the King's health, and utterly rejected the offer of intervention.

⁴ See the news letter to the Duke of Norfolk from his agents in London, printed Paston Letters, i. 263.

was arming his household in London. The Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond¹, and Lord Bonville were reported to be enlisting as many men as they could get in Somersetshire at 6*d.* a day. The Duke of Exeter had gone to see Egremont in the North, and had formed a league with him. Wiltshire, Beaumont, Poynings², Clifford and Bonville were acting with them. The Duke of Buckingham was said to have ordered 2000 badges with the Stafford Knot. On the other hand it appears that the Yorkists were equally active, and that the Duke, Norfolk, Salisbury, and Warwick were all preparing to come to Town with goodly 'fellowships'. The Queen was said to be ready with a proposal investing her with the Regency and all powers of the Executive. Lastly, we note with some surprise that the newly-made Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, the King's half-brothers, were reckoned supporters of the Duke of York, and supposed to be in danger of being arrested on coming to Town³.

CHAP. XI.

1454.

Both parties arming.

When the 11th February, 1454, came, the Earl of Worcester, the Treasurer, was sent down to Reading with a commission to adjourn the Houses for three more days, to meet at Westminster⁴. We may suppose that the battle of the Regency had not yet been fought out. York was not over strong in the Lords, while the Commons were distinctly Lancastrian⁵. The King's state made a Regency of some sort imperative; but the amount of authority to be delegated, and the person in whom such authority should be vested, were still open questions.

On the 13th, however, York obtained a limited commission, authorising him to open and hold Parliament as

The Duke of York empowered

¹ James Butler V, Earl of Wiltshire, succeeded to the Irish title in 1452.

² Henry Percy, eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland, was summoned to Parliament as Lord Poynings, in right of his wife Eleanor, in December, 1445.

³ See the news letter of the 19th January, printed from the B. M. Egerton MS. 914, Paston Letters, i. 263. The Pembroke estates given to Jasper Tudor had been previously assigned to Margaret, she, however, received other lands instead; Rot. Parl. v. 261. The writer, however, may have been mistaken, as the Tudors ever after were staunch Lancastrians.

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 238.

⁵ On the opposition of the two Houses, see Paston Letters, i. 273, 288.

CHAP. XI. King's Lieutenant. Next day he opened Parliament, but
 1454- the Commons were without a Speaker, Thorpe being in
 to hold gaol, and they made an immediate demand for his libera-
 Parliament. tion, and also for that of another member likewise in
 confinement.

Thorpe's The question was argued before the Lords on the 15th.
 case. The Duke's counsel urged that Thorpe had been sued and
 imprisoned "in tyme of vacation . . . and not in Parlement
 tyme"; and that if he were set free the Duke would have
 no remedy for his damages and costs. On this delicate
 point of constitutional law the Peers asked to have the
 opinion of the Judges. But the Chief Justice, Sir John
 Fortescue, "after sadde communication" with his brethren,
 declined to give a positive answer. "For it hath not be
 used afore tyme, that the Justices shuld in eny wyse
 determine the Privelegge of this High Court of Parlement;
 for it is so high and so mighty in his nature, that it may
 make lawe, and that that is lawe it may make noo lawe;
 and the determination and knowlegge of that is Privelegge
 belongeth to the Lordes of the Parlement and not to the
 Justices". Nevertheless they suggested that as Thorpe
 had not been arrested for treason, felony, breach of surety
 of the peace, or condemnation passed on him in Parliament,
 he might be released to attend to his duties in Parliament,
 on appointing an attorney to represent him in the suit.
 The Lords, however, resolved that Thorpe should remain in
 prison "the Privelegge of the Parlement . . . notwithstand-
 ing"; and they charged the Commons to elect another
 Speaker, which they did, without further demur¹.

Of this case it has been said that it was "begotten by the
 iniquity of the times"². It was no doubt decided by a
 mere party vote, as it appears that many Lords, Percies and
 others, had failed to appear on the 14th February³.

A new A new speaker, Sir Thomas Charleton, Member for
 Speaker Middlesex, having been presented and approved, business
 elected.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 239, 240.

² Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, iii. 101.

³ Rot. Parl. v. 248. Repeated writs were sent to Lord Egremont; *Id.* 394.

proceeded as best it could, the two parties facing each other in attitudes of keenest antagonism. On the 9th March Lord Cromwell had to ask for 'surety of the peace' against Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter¹.

CHAP. XL
1454.

On the 13th March the Chancellor laid before the Commons a statement showing the necessity for a further grant for the defence of Calais and the safeguard of the sea². Next day the Royalists proceeded to impeach the Earl of Devon, apparently for his share in the demonstration of 1452: Lord Broke was already in prison for the same matter. The Earl was acquitted, but the King's Lieutenant, as the Duke of York was styled, was so obviously aimed at, that he felt obliged once more to protest his truth and loyalty to the King³.

On the 15th March the Lancastrians were again in the field, with a demand that Prince Edward should be created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. The request could not be refused⁴; but the Commons somehow remained obdurate in the matter of supply, and, when summoned before the Lieutenant on the 19th, they bluntly answered that they had already granted enough at Reading, and could grant no more; but they begged for information as to the "sadde and wyse" Council that had been promised them. They also prayed that the peace of the Realm might be "tenderly recommended" to the Lords⁵.

Cardinal Kemp promised a "good and comfortable aunswere"; but he did not live to deliver it. Three days later he passed away (22nd March); "a man of great experience, moderation, and fidelity; the friend and coadjutor of [Cardinal] Beaufort, yet thoroughly respected by the opposite party"⁶. His death left a void in the Royalist ranks not to be filled. The necessity of appointing a new Chancellor, and a new Archbishop of Canterbury, at once

Death of
the Chan-
cellor—
Cardinal
Arch-
bishop
Kemp.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 264.

² Id. 240.

³ Id. 249.

⁴ Id. The charter of creation was produced ready drawn, approved, and passed; and a Patent ordered to be issued.

⁵ Id. 240.

⁶ Stubbs, iii. 166.

CHAP. XI.
1454. brought up again the question of a Regency, the Duke of York being only commissioned to represent the King in Parliament.

But the Lords still hesitated. Twelve Peers were commissioned to ride down to Windsor to see if the King could in any way be got to act. The joint and several efforts of their Lordships during three successive interviews, in different apartments, before and after dinner, failed to elicit one "worde" or "signe" of intelligence; and so "with sorowefull hartes" they returned to London¹.

The Duke of York Protector. The Yorkist demand for a Regency could now no longer be withstood, and, accordingly, on the 27th March the Lords appointed Richard to be Protector and Defender of the Realm, as Gloucester had been, the actual Regency being kept from him.

The Earl of Salisbury Chancellor. York was thus able to fill the vacant Chancellorship, which he did by giving the Great Seal to his brother-in-law the Earl of Salisbury². His own Patent as Protector was sealed on the 3rd April, under the direction of Parliament; but his authority was only to continue so long as the King pleased³; or until the Prince should come of age; a prospective appointment of the Prince on 'reaching years of discretion' being sealed at the same time. York's salary was fixed at the modest sum of 2000 marks a year⁴, his nominal rights of patronage being also very moderate.

The Commons were made to concur at the special request of the Lords, for their "discharge"; the Duke having previously requested a record of the fact that he had been freely appointed by the Peerage, "in whom by

¹ 23rd-25th March; Rot. Parl. v. 240, 241. Two men had to help the King from one room to another.

² 1st April, given as Monday, 2nd April; but Monday was the 1st April; Foed. xi. 344; see also Proceedings, vi. 168.

³ "Quamdiu nobis placuerit"; Rot. Parl.

⁴ £1333 6s. 8d.; Rot. Parl. 242-244. [Gloucester's original salary was 8000 marks.] But the only payments of salary to Richard which the Issue Rolls record, are payments of two annuities of £104 and £94 respectively; nor is the title of Protector ever given to him; other payments, however, to him on account of old claims are numerous.

th' occasion of th' enfirmite of our said Souveraine Lord
restethe th' exercise of his auctoritee".

CHAP. XI.

1454.

The Duke laid the responsibility on the Lords, and they passed it on to the Commons.

The Primacy was filled by the promotion of Thomas Bouchier, Bishop of Ely, a man connected with both parties, as already mentioned. He was half-brother to the Royalist Duke of Buckingham on the one hand, while on the other hand his own brother, Viscount Bouchier, was married to the sister of the Duke of York. True to his character as the nominee of a compromise, he continued throughout a long career to serve which ever party was in the ascendant with praiseworthy impartiality¹.

Thomas
Bouchier,
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

Whether through virtue or necessity, the administration of the Protector showed itself one of moderation and compromise. "No attempt was made to bring Somerset to trial"; but he was deprived of the government of Calais, which the Duke of York appropriated to himself². The available proceeds of Tonnage and Poundage were assigned to the Earls of Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Wiltshire, and Lord Stourton, for three years, for the keeping of the sea³, a clear case of compromise, three of them being Royalists and two Yorkists. On the other hand fresh measures were enacted against privateers and truce-breakers, remedies being provided for the benefit of friendly aliens as well as natives⁴. Penalties were enacted against

Business in
Parliament.

¹ Bouchier was named by the Council 30th March; Proceedings, vi. 168; he was elected by the Canterbury monks 23rd April; and confirmed by the Pope in June; Anglia Sacra, i. 123.

² Rot. Parl. v. 254, q. v. for the Duke's requirements in connexion with the post. These were one quarter's wages in hand, with a guarantee of a succour of 4000 men in case of an attack, &c. The formal appointment (for seven years) was not sealed till the 17th July; Foed. xi. 351.

³ 16th April; Rot. Parl. 244, 245. For money paid to them see Stevenson, Letters, ii. 493, 494, the name of the Earl of Oxford being substituted for that of Stourton; also Issues, Easter 32 Henry VI. Shrewsbury was John Talbot II, son of the first Earl; Stourton was Sir John Stourton, called to the House of Lords in 1448; Hist. Peerage.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 268; Stat. 31 Henry VI, c. 4. In January the Calais merchants had complained of Lord Bonville's piracy on the Flemings; Paston Letters, i. 268, and again 290.

CHAP. XI. noble Lords refusing to pay attention to the King's writs
 1454. and Letters of Privy Seal¹, and an effort made to cope with that cruel outrage, so common at the period, the abduction and compulsory marriage of women of property². Fresh arrangements were made for securing a sum not quite amounting to £6000 a-year for the King's Household, the funds allocated in 1450 being probably troublesome to collect³. Native merchants were relieved of the extra 10s. on wool, imposed in 1453; and native cloth was relieved of all export duty for three years, Parliament being apparently unconscious of the effect this might have on the yield of the wool duties⁴. In the hope, as we may suppose, of keeping up the prices of wool, the Commons wished to fix *minimum* rates of prices. The proposal was resisted by the merchants, and fell to the ground; but the estimates given show extraordinary differences in the values of different growths of wool. Leominster wool was valued at £13 the sack; Shropshire March at £9 6s. 8d.; Cotswold £8 6s. 8d.; Herefordshire (outside Leominster) and Lindsey £5 6s. 8d. The growths of nineteen counties and districts, mostly Midland or Western, run from £4 to £5 the sack; those of Cambridge, Essex, Surrey, Middlesex, Dorset, Derby, and York, vary from £3 to £4. Sussex, the lowest, stands at £2 10s.⁵

About the 17th April Parliament was dissolved⁶, just four days before Easter.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 248, 266, cf. 395; Stat. sup. c. 2.

² Rot. Parl. 269; Stat. c. 9.

³ Rot. Parl. 246, 272, cf. 174. For the thirtieth year (1451-1452) the total receipts for the Household were £18,957, &c., the expenditure being £17,684; Q. R. Miscell. 718; this was without the Great Wardrobe, which might be £1600 more.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 246; Stat. c. 8.

⁵ Rot. Parl. 275, 256. See also Rogers, Prices, iv. 303.

⁶ This is the last traceable date; Rot. Parl. 272. The Acts and transactions of the two years 1453 and 1454, being mixed up, are not easy to arrange. Chapter i, of the Act 31 Henry VI, belongs to 1453; chapters ii, iv, v, and viii, belong to 1454. The others give no clear indications of their dates.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

LEVY OF ARCHERS VOTED BY PARLIAMENT.

(*Rot. Parl.* v. 232.)

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Contingents.</i>	<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Contingents.</i>	CHAP. XI.
Beds . . .	201	Brought Forward	8207	1454.
Bucks . . .	205	Somerset . . .	405	
Cambridge . . .	302	Dorset . . .	254	
Huntingdon . . .	133	Surrey . . .	175	
Cornwall . . .	142	Sussex . . .	329	
Cumberland . . .	74	Southampton		
Devon . . .	284	(County) . . .	385	
Essex . . .	368	Warwick . . .	236	
Herts . . .	183	Leicester . . .	226	
Yorkshire . . .	713	Wiltshire . . .	476	
Gloucester . . .	424	Worcester . . .	149	
Hereford . . .	130	Westmorland . . .	56	
Kent . . .	575	Bristol . . .	91	
Lancaster . . .	113	York (City) . . .	152	
Lincolnshire . . .	910	Hull . . .	50	
Middlesex . . .	105	Lincoln (City) . . .	46	
Northampton . . .	346	London . . .	1137	
Nottingham . . .	200	Norwich . . .	121	
Derby . . .	141	Newcastle . . .	53	
Norfolk . . .	1012	Southampton		
Suffolk . . .	429	(Borough) . . .	46	
Northumberland . . .	60	Coventry . . .	76	
Oxfordshire . . .	419	Nottingham (City) . . .	30	
Berkshire . . .	309	Durham (Bishopric) . . .	300	
Rutland . . .	64	Lords of the Realm . . .	3000	
Shropshire . . .	192	Wales and Chester . . .	3000	
Staffordshire . . .	173		19000	
	8207			

CHAPTER XII.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

First Protectorate of the Duke of York—The King well again.—First Battle of St. Albans.—The King ill again.—Second Protectorate of the Duke of York.

CHAP. XII.

1454.

Difficulties
of the
Protector.

THE first and most urgent difficulties with which the Protectorate had to cope were the unappeased feuds between the Percies and the Nevilles ; between Lord Bonville and the Earl of Devon. The last-named Peer was one of York's friends ; the Nevilles were identified with his Government, so that both quarrels were now in a manner the Duke's own. But as the Government was carried on in Henry's name, the more strenuous Lancastrians could be denounced as rebels. As soon as Parliament rose the Privy Council was summoned to meet in May, ostensibly to make arrangements for the defence of Calais, which was in no danger ¹ ; in reality to bring the opposition Lords to terms ².

Refractory
Lords.

The Council resolved that pressing invitations should be sent to the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord de Roos ³. But a few days later (16th May) Exeter and Egremont were reported to be raising men ;

¹ Not a trace of any disposition to attack Calais can be found in the foreign writers. Charles VII was busy establishing his hold on Guienne : the Duke of Burgundy was agitating for a Crusade.

² Proceedings, vi. 174.

³ 10th, 11th May ; Id. 178-180. They were not however summoned to appear on the same days, probably lest they should come too strong.

displaying standards, circulating letters and proclamations. The Protector hastened down in person, Cromwell and other Lords accompanying him: he was well received by the city of York, and for the moment stifled the disturbance¹.

CHAP. XII.

1454.

Alarm of
Civil War
in York-
shire.

These troubles doubtless caused a Grand Council, that had been summoned for the 25th June, to be postponed till July². On the 17th of the month York's indentures as captain of Calais were settled; but the Opposition moved that Somerset should be admitted to bail, and the Protector had to take upon himself the responsibility of refusing the request³.

On the 24th the Duke of Exeter, who had 'covertly' made his way to London, and then found it expedient to take sanctuary at Westminster, was removed from the sanctuary and sent to Pontefract⁴. At the same time a fresh Grand Council was summoned to meet on the 21st October, special writs being addressed to thirteen Peers who had failed as yet to appear; while the Duke of Norfolk was directed to be ready to proceed with his charges against Somerset⁵.

Arrest of
the Duke
of Exeter.

The reader will notice how resolute the antagonism of the two parties was; an antagonism implying deeper underlying issues than those of any mere change of administration. It is clear that a number of influential noblemen utterly rejected all allegiance to the Protectorate.

The Grand Council met in the autumn, but little is known of its proceedings. Somerset was neither released nor brought to trial; but he was ordered to surrender

¹ Proceedings, vi. 131 (given under 1453), 189-197. Richard was at York by the 29th May; Paston Letters, i. cxi, cf. 290. He had returned by the 10th July; Proceedings, 198. Sergeants Moyle and Hyndeston attended him to hold Sessions; Issues, Easter 32 Henry VI, 12th July. The town of Hull also showed a friendly disposition.

² Proceedings, 185, 198.

³ Id. 199, 206; 17th, 18th July.

⁴ Paston Letters, i. 290; E. Hall, 233; Proceedings, 217, 218; Chron. Giles, sup.

⁵ Proceedings, 214-219; among the absentees were the Bishop of St. Davids (John de la Bere), the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lords Greystock, Poynings, Lovel, Clifford, de Roos, &c.

CHAP. XII. Calais without further delay¹. The delivery of a garrison town, as we have seen in the case of Le Mans, was one of those things that even a Royal writ could not always enforce.

1454.

The Royal Household.

The Council also took in hand the reduction of the Royal Household, as if they did not anticipate any change in the King's state of health. They agreed that the numbers "of verray necessitee must be abregged and reduced to a resonable and a competent felisship". Accordingly the King's retinue was cut down to the modest 'fellowship' of 428 souls, great and small; and, be it noted, all of the male sex, no women's names appearing. This was exclusive of 120 persons required for the service of the Queen, and 38 required for that of the Prince; total, 586 without the families².

Medical treatment of the King.

He recovers his faculties.

But the King's health was about to take a turn. In March five medical attendants had been appointed with power to diet and purge him; shave his head; cup him, 'with or without scarification'; apply fomentations, embrocations, 'and any other remedies of which learned men have written or may write'³. Whether as the result of scientific treatment, or of recovery of power through absolute rest, Henry about Christmas suddenly recovered his senses, waking up as from a long sleep: 'He wist not, he said, what was said to him—nor where he had been whiles he was sick.' On the 30th December he was able to realise that he had become a father, and that Cardinal Kemp was dead. On the 7th January, 1455, William of Waynflete and the Prior of St. John (Sir Robert Botyll) were admitted to an audience: "and he

¹ 4th November; *Foed.* xi. 359; cf. *Issues*, Michaelmas 33 Henry VI, 28th October.

² *Proceedings*, vi. 220-233. The Queen and Prince must have had female attendants, but their names are not given. Reference was made to the days of Henry V as a reasonable standard, but the Household of Henry VI was much below that of his father. In July the Royal Stables had been reduced. From one "Karre" and five "Chariotts" with thirty-eight horses, the King was cut down to one "Karre" and one chariot with thirteen horses. The saddle and sumpter horses ("somers") were reduced from seventy to twenty-four in number; *Id.* p. 210.

³ *Proceedings*, 166.

speke to hem as well as ever he did; and when thei come out thei wept for joye, and he seith he is in charitee with all the world, and so he wold all the Lords were" ¹. CHAP. XII.
1455.

Poor Henry! there was 'little stillness' in store for him. Margaret, however, gave him a respite of a month before entering on business. The first step resolved upon was the liberation of Somerset. There were no longer any fears for his life, and he was wanted to make head against the Duke of York. On the 5th February the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Wiltshire, and the Lords de Roos and Fitz-Waryn, entered into recognizances with the King in person for the due appearance of the Duke, and the order for his liberation was passed. The Duke of York and his friends were present and acquiesced ². The Duke
of Somerset
released
from the
Tower,

Of course there was no intention of bringing Somerset to any trial. On the 4th March a Council was held in the King's presence at Greenwich ³. The Duke of York, eleven Bishops, and twenty lay Peers were there. Somerset complained to the King that he had been detained for upwards of a year and ten weeks, "as he concieved without any resonable ground or laweful processe"; and that even so he had only been let out on bail; he begged that his bail might be discharged, as there was "noo lawfull cause proposed ayenst him".

We cannot take Somerset deeply to task for endeavouring to make political capital out of his imprisonment, although, as we have seen, he himself represented it as the act of his own friends. On the other hand, without imputing to him anything approaching to wilful default or negligence of duty, we must admit that a smaller loss than that of Normandy would have been held in much later times to warrant an investigation by a court martial. But Henry at once declared Somerset his "feithful liegeman" and hon-
ourably
acquitted

¹ Paston Letters, i. cxvii, 315. On seeing the Prince, Henry asked first what his name was; and, secondly, who were his godfathers. He was "wel apaid" with the Queen's answers on both points.

² Foed. xi. 361; Somerset, however, was not enlarged till the 7th February; p. 362.

³ The King was there apparently all the month; Privy Seals, 33 Henry VI.

CHAP. XII. who had done him "right true . . . and pleasaunt service";
 1455. and ordered his bail to be discharged. Somerset's public
 by the character was thus cleared. As for any personal questions
 King. that might remain between him and his rival, it was
 arranged that the two should stand by the arbitration
 of the new Archbishop of Canterbury and seven others,
 their decision to be declared by the 20th June.

Change of
Ministers.

The changes did not rest there: on the same day York
 was relieved of the Captaincy of Calais, which two days
 later was restored to Somerset¹. On the 7th March the
 Great Seal was taken from the Earl of Salisbury and given
 to Archbishop Bourchier, "no doubt to secure the support
 of Buckingham", who had recognised the Protectorate by
 attending its Privy Councils². On the 15th James Butler,
 the Earl of Wiltshire, was made Treasurer³: on the 19th
 the Duke of Exeter was set free⁴. The Government of
 the Protectorate was thus at an end.

Further
movements
of the
Govern-
ment.

A Grand Council was now summoned to meet at
 Leicester, professedly to provide for the King's safety,
 which was not threatened; in reality to cover movements
 to crush the Duke of York⁵.

York draws
the sword.

But Richard was equal to the occasion; and, calling his
 friends in the North to arms, once more marched on
 London. On the 20th May, having reached Royston, he
 forwarded a letter to the Chancellor, Archbishop Bourchier,
 to explain his conduct. The manifesto, which was also
 signed by Salisbury and Warwick, though couched in
 dutiful and loyal language, amounted to a demand for the
 dismissal of Somerset. Repudiating all selfish or disloyal
 intentions, the three pointed out that a Council had been
 summoned to meet at Leicester, to provide for the King's
 "suertee". That step "of common presumption" implied
 "mistrust to somme persones". They were prepared to

¹ Foed. xi. 361-363.

² Proceedings, vi. 358; Stubbs.

³ Issues, Easter 33 Henry VI, m. 3; Proceedings, sup.

⁴ Foed. 365.

⁵ Rot. Parl. v. 280; J. Whethamstede, i. 166; Issues, Easter 33 Henry VI,
 16th April.

provide for the King's "suertee", but they wanted to know who the mistrusted persons were, and who had inspired the King with such mistrust. CHAP. XII.
1455.

It is needless to remark that this proceeding again clearly transcended the limits of constitutional action.

Next day, having advanced to Ware, the Yorkists addressed a letter to the King himself, along with a copy of the previous manifesto¹. But the King had started that same day with a strong following for Leicester, neither communication having come to hand. The manifesto of the 20th, however, reached Town just after the King's departure, and, being sent after him, was delivered to one of the Royal Chaplains at Kilburn at 10 o'clock a.m. Somerset, however, thought it unnecessary to trouble the King with the communication. The King
marches
from
London.

The Royal party continued their march, resting at Watford. During the night the second communication came in; but neither was it delivered to the King².

Early on the morning of the 22nd May Henry resumed his journey, advancing to St. Albans. The Royal party included the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham; the Earls of Pembroke, Northumberland, Devon, and Wiltshire; and the Lords Clifford, Dudley, and de Roos; besides the eldest sons of Somerset and Buckingham³.

Devon, we may note, had acted with the Duke of York in 1452, and in fact up to 1454; from this time onwards we shall find him a staunch Lancastrian. As if to keep up the proper balance of parties in the West, Lord Bonville had changed also, becoming Yorkist when his neighbour and rival became Lancastrian.

At St. Albans a halt was called, the Duke of York and his men being found to be at hand. A spot known as the Camp, not half a mile off in the direction of Ware, may have been the Yorkists' resting-place⁴: at any rate First Battle
of St.
Albans.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 280, 281; Paston Letters, i. 325.

² Rot. Parl. 282.

³ Archaeol. xx. 519; Paston Letters, i. 327, 332.

⁴ I owe this suggestion to the Rev. Henry Fowler of St. Albans.

CHAP. XII. at 7 o'clock a.m. they appeared on the east side of
 1455. St. Albans, and advancing, took up their position in the Key Field, within the limits of the present town. Their numbers were vaguely estimated at 3000 men, while the Duke of Norfolk and other friends were hastening to their aid; the King's force was estimated at 2000 men¹.

The Bars in Sopwell Lane (the then London Road) and Butts' Lane, otherwise Shropshire Lane (now Victoria Street), leading to the Key Field, were hastily closed; while the Royal Standard was "pyght" in St. Peter's Street, probably in the broad part of the street at the junction of Butts' Lane².

A parley. The Duke of Buckingham was sent out to parley with the malcontents, and ascertain their demands. Referring to their manifesto, they said that as previous promises of redress had come to nothing, they must now insist upon having 'such persons as they should accuse' delivered up, "to have as they have deserved"; a request which amounted to a demand for Somerset's head. But Somerset declined to surrender without a struggle. After some hours' fruitless controversy the Duke of York gave the word, and so took upon himself the responsibility of striking the first blow in the Civil War. His followers pressed on in three bodies, one attacking Sopwell Lane, another Butts' Lane, while the third, under the Earl of Warwick, attacked the ditch and palings, which on that side apparently represented the fortifications of the town.

Defeat of the Royal-ists. The Royalists held the Bars successfully enough till Warwick, having made his way through the gardens, burst into the principal street, "betwene the signe of the Keye and the sygne of the Chekkere", i. e. between the existing Cross Keys and the Queen's Hotel; thus cutting the Royalist position in two, and taking them in the rear on the right hand and the left. The King, as in duty bound, stood

¹ See the contemporary Memoir ascribed to Sir William Stonor, the Steward of the Abbey of St. Albans; *Archaeol. sup.*; also printed Paston Letters, *sup.*

² "At the place called Boslawe (*leg.* Botslane) in Seynt Petrus Strete, which place was called afore tyme past Sandeford"; *Archaeol. sup.* See Map.



From Man formerly in the possession of the Mayor & Aldermen of St Albans.

Lancastrian Troops *Yorkist Troops*

meekly by his Banner till he was attacked and wounded in the neck with an arrow¹. His attendants then hurried him off and established him in a tanner's cottage. All was over in half an hour: the King's men had been utterly discomfited, and from 50 to 100 bodies lay in the streets². Among the fallen were the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland and the Lord Clifford. The Earl of Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham, died of his wounds. Among the wounded were the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Devon, and Somerset's son, the Earl of Dorset. This severity to the men of rank, a class usually treated with such consideration by mediæval warfare, is a circumstance which we shall find characteristic of the later battles of the struggle. The blame of it must fall on the shoulders of the Yorkists, and in all probability on those of young Warwick in particular. It seems natural to connect a new policy with a new man; and the only new man on the Yorkist side that day was Richard, Earl of Warwick. A few years hence, at the battle of Northampton, we shall find this system expressly attributed to him. The King's baggage was plundered, and the whole town sacked, the Abbey only escaping through the fortunate circumstance that the Royalists had not entered its precincts before the battle³.

CHAP. XII.

1455.

Their
losses.

Without a moment's delay York, Salisbury, and Warwick sought the King in his refuge, and kneeling tendered their allegiance, which was at once accepted. Henry was then taken for the night to the Abbey. Next day he was conducted back to London with every mark of respect, the citizens turning out to receive him⁴.

¹ J. Blakman, 301. The King gently rebuked his assailants; "Forsothe, forsothe, ye do fouly to smyte a Kynge enoynted so."

² "At most slayn vi score", Paston Letters, i. 334; "lx persones of gentilmen and of other", Chron. Davies, 72. The Memoir in *Archæologia* states that forty-eight of the slain were buried in the Abbey. Stow gives the names of about fifty killed, gentle and simple; but supposes that many more fell; p. 399.

³ J. Whethamstede.

⁴ See *Archæol. sup.*; Paston Letters, i. 327-334; J. Whethamstede, i. 167-178, 258; J. Stow, 398-400; cf. Chron. Davies, 71. Somerset, Northum-

CHAP. XII.

1455.

York's proceedings in this affair were the clearest breach of his oath of the 10th March, 1452. He might plead that that obligation had been extorted from him by fraud: it was also positively asserted that he had been relieved of it by the Pope¹; but among Richard's many good qualities we shall not be able to reckon a disposition to keep faith with the rival dynasty.

Results of the battle.

Skirmish as it was, the first battle of St. Albans "sealed the fate of the kingdom". It fixed the two parties in a blood feud, shutting out all hope of a peaceable solution, if indeed there had been any such hope since the birth of Prince Edward. The logical conclusion would have been a change of dynasty, but public opinion was not ripe for that, and an attack on the King's position, as we have seen, was the first thing that the Yorkists hastened to disavow. The only ostensible change that followed was a change of Ministry.

Changes of Ministers.

Richard took for himself the Constable's Staff set free by the death of Somerset; Archbishop Bourchier was requested to retain the Great Seal, while the Treasury was given to his brother Viscount Bourchier, brother-in-law to the Duke of York². Salisbury and Warwick had been made joint Wardens of the West March of Scotland in December, 1453³. The appointment was now confirmed to them for twenty years⁴. But the preeminent nature of the son's services was shown by his appointment to the Captaincy of Calais⁵, the most distinguished post in the gift of the Government. Lastly, the fourth Bourchier, John, was summoned to the House of Lords as Lord Berners. Under these circumstances the Duke of Buckingham was again

berland, and Clifford were buried, through Abbot Whethamstede's intervention, in the chapel of the Virgin in the Abbey church.

¹ So Abbot Whethamstede, i. 163, and again 383.

² 29th May; Pat. 33 Henry VI, pt. 2, m. 12, cited Gairdner; also Issues, Easter 33 Henry VI.

³ Rot. Scot. ii. 372.

⁴ 12th June. Their Indentures were sealed on the 9th August; Issues, Easter 34 Henry VI.

⁵ 25th May; Paston Letters, i. 334. The formal appointment was made on the 3rd or 4th August; Rot. Parl. v. 309, 341.

persuaded to "come inne . . . and draw the lyne with them" ¹. CHAP. XII.
1455.

On the 26th May writs were issued for a Parliament to meet at Westminster on the 9th July. Practically all living Peers who had been summoned to the last Parliament received writs ². York was strict in his observance of constitutional forms: during the Protectorate the Privy Council had been much more of a reality than under the rule of Somerset, who could obtain from the King direct all the orders that he wanted.

Pending the elections, the King, whose health had been severely tried by recent events, was allowed to retire to Hertford, the Queen and Prince going with him. On the 5th June we find him writing for Gilbert Kymer, formerly physician to Duke Humphrey, to give him the benefit of his "notable crafte" ³.

The Royalists made a stout fight at the Parliamentary elections, and York did not obtain a majority without difficulty. It is clear that his precipitancy at St. Albans had shocked even persons well disposed towards him. The loyalty of the age was startled by a direct attack on the King's Standard and the King's own Royal Person. "Sum men holde it right straunge to be in this Parlement, and me thenketh they be wyse men that soo doo" ⁴.

The King was able to assist at the opening of Parliament; Archbishop Bouchier delivered an address, and the Speaker chosen was Sir John Wenlock, a Yorkist who had been wounded at St. Albans ⁵. Parliament
at West-
minster.

The proceedings opened with fierce recriminations as to the responsibility for "the male journey of Seynt Albones",

¹ Paston Letters, 335.

² Lords' Report, i. Appendix. The exceptions were the Lords Rivers, Welles, and de Moleyns, and the young Earl of Northumberland, previously Lord Poynings. De Moleyns was still a prisoner in France; Rot. Parl. v. 310; Welles and Rivers were at Calais; Proceedings, vi. 276; and Northumberland was needed at Berwick, of which he was Warden; Rot. Scot.

³ Paston Letters, i. 335; Foed. xi. 366.

⁴ See Proceedings, vi. 246; Paston Letters, i. 337, 339-341, 345-347; W. Gregory, 198.

⁵ Rot. Parl. v. 278-280.

CHAP. XII. the Yorkists being very touchy on this point. Lord Crom-
 well, who was not at St. Albans, having assured the King
 1455. in private that he had no hand in the matter, Warwick
 hastened to the Royal presence to protest that Cromwell
 was the true "begynner" of the whole affair. Cromwell
 was so much alarmed by Warwick's violence that he begged
 the Earl of Shrewsbury to come to Charing Cross for his
 protection. Proclamations against bearing arms were
 The York- issued ; but the Yorkist chiefs went daily to Westminster
 ists in arms. with their barges filled with men armed to the teeth¹.

Business of the Session. On the second day of the Parliament the Chancellor laid
 before the Lords a programme of business for the Session.
 Five select committees of Lords were named to deal with
 the more important matters, namely, the expenses of the
 Royal Household ; the defence of Calais, and of Berwick,
 which had been attacked by the Scots ; the safe keeping of
 the sea ; the drain of bullion ; and the government of Wales².

Amnesties. In connexion with the third of these points, the Lords
 who last year had undertaken the keeping of the sea were
 relieved of their charge³ ; but the only important business
 transacted was the passing of an Act absolving York,
 Warwick, and Salisbury, with their followers, from all
 liability for "any thyng that happened" at St. Albans on
 the 22nd day of May. The entire blame of the disturbance
 was thrown on Somerset, Thorpe, and one William Joseph,
 who for their own ends had 'estraunged' the King from his
 trusty cousins. Henry declared that he had never received
 the letters of the 20th and 21st May ; and that he was fully
 satisfied of the loyalty of all who had followed the Duke of
 York to St. Albans. "To the which bill mony a man
 groged full sore nowe it is passed"⁴.

¹ Paston Letters, i. 345.

² Rot. Parl. v. 279. The attack on Berwick, which was made by land and
 water, was repulsed before the 3rd July ; Proceedings, vi. 347-9 ; Issues, Easter
 33 Henry VI, 7th July.

³ Rot. Parl. 283.

⁴ 18th July ; Rot. Parl. 280-282 ; Paston Letters, i. 346 ; J. Whethamstede,
 i. 183-186. According to Blakman, the King's biographer, even the men who
 had attacked and wounded him were not excepted.

To restore public confidence all the Lords present in Parliament were made to take a fresh oath of allegiance to the King¹. On the 31st July the pardon of the Yorkists was supplemented by a general amnesty for all crimes and offences against the Crown committed prior to the 9th July, with a remission of all debts and fines accrued due before the 8th July, 1448. The memory of the good Duke Humphrey was rehabilitated by a Parliamentary declaration that, notwithstanding the charges of treason brought against him at Bury, he had lived and died a true liege. That done, Parliament was prorogued to the 12th November².

CHAP. XII.

1455-

During the recess the country seems to have remained in peace, except in the West, where the undying feud between Lord Bonville and the Earl of Devon broke out afresh. On the night of the 23rd October a lawyer of the name of Radford, one of Bonville's "counseil", was dragged from his house at Poghill, by the Earl's son, and brutally murdered on the highway³. A few days later a sort of pitched battle was fought between the two parties on Clist Heath, about two miles from Exeter; Bonville was defeated and driven into the city; the Earl, following up his advantage, plundered the Cathedral, the See being vacant, and put the Canons to the ransom⁴.

Disturbances in the West.

When the time for the reassembling of Parliament came the King was again found to be ill. The precedents of the last occasion were followed to the letter. On the 12th November the Duke of York opened the Session by virtue of a commission sanctioned by the Privy Council on the 10th⁵. On the 13th a deputation of the Commons, headed by one Burley, waited on the Lords to ask for the appointment of a Protector; as proof of the need of a strong Executive they pointed to the "grete and grevous riotes doon

Renewed illness of the King.

¹ 24th July; Rot. Parl. sup. Sixty Peers, lay and spiritual, took the oath.

² Rot. Parl. 283, 335; J. Whethamstede, i. 181; J. Stow, 400.

³ Paston Letters, i. 350; Chron. Giles, 46.

⁴ Paston Letters, i. cxxiii, citing Holinshed's Chronicle, and Jenkins' History of Exeter, 78; Rot. Parl. 285.

⁵ Proceedings, vi. 261; Rot. Parl. 284; Foed. xi. 370.

CHAP. XII. in the Weste countrey betwene th' erle of Devonshire and
 1455. the lord Boneville".

The Duke
 of York
 again Pro-
 tector.

The Chancellor answered that the matter would be taken into consideration. No answer having been given by the 15th November, the Commons returned to the charge, pressing for the appointment of a suitable Protector. The deputation having withdrawn, the Chancellor put the question to the Lords, who agreed that the Commons' request ought to be granted. In answer to a further question, they agreed in naming the Duke of York. Richard made a show of declining, and protested that he only undertook the duty "for trust" that he should have "good assistance counsell and aide" from all the Lords. On Monday, 17th November, the Commons reiterated their request, when the Chancellor informed them that the Duke of York had been appointed.

The persistency of the Commons suggests that the Duke of York found it necessary to use them as a lever to overcome resistance in the Lords.

Two days were spent in settling the Protector's Articles. Richard pressed for the appointment of a strong Council, "not of favour ner affection", but of men "approved of . . . wisdame and indifferencie"; he urged the due payment of their salaries to ensure attendance. For himself he asked that his salary might be raised from 2000 marks to 3000 marks a year, with 1000 marks "in hand"; he also asked that the arrears of his salary for his last Protectorate might be paid up.

On the 19th November his Patent was sealed, the office as before being limited to endure until revoked by the King in Parliament, or until the Prince of Wales should come of age, a prospective appointment of the Prince being again sealed¹.

To emphasize the Prince's position his entire appanage

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 284-289; Foed. xi. 369. The rights of patronage were kept as before, and the salary was also kept at 2000 marks; but no payment whatever of salary appears on the Issue Rolls, and the title of Protector is again withheld. With respect to this latter point the Roll was probably not made up till after the Protectorate had ended; so, too, on the previous occasion.

as Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall was vested in him, the rents in the meantime being assigned to the King as his guardian¹; while to mark the limits of the Protector's authority, the right to determine all matters touching "the politique rule and governance" of the land was vested in the Council².

On the 13th December Parliament was prorogued for Christmas, the Session being cut short to enable the Protector to pay a prompt visit to the troubled districts in the West³. Letters had already been sent to all the leading western magnates (except the Earl of Devon) inviting them to meet and support the Protector on his tour⁴. The Commons had petitioned that both Devon and Bonville should be committed to prison "withoute baile or mayneprise", pending judicial enquiry⁵.

York had not strengthened his position during the autumn: when Parliament rose for Christmas it appeared that of 101 lay and spiritual Peers summoned in May only 37 had attended the autumn Session. This was a falling off from the summer Session, when 60 Peers had taken the oath of allegiance. On the 15th December pressing letters were sent to the absentees insisting upon their attendance after Christmas⁶.

On the 14th Jan., 1456, Parliament resumed. The King's health was again improving; and it was soon rumoured that the Duke of York might be "discharged" any day. To keep hostile influences in check he and Warwick came to Westminster with retinues estimated as 300 strong, the result of which was that 'no other lords' came. On the other hand it was asserted that Henry,

CHAP. XII

1456.

Parliament.
The King's
health improving.

¹ Rot. Parl. 290-294.

² Id. 289. From Fortescue's "Governance of England" we gather that the word "*politique*" at that day was equivalent to our "constitutional".

³ Rot. Parl. 321; Proceedings, vi. 274. Parliament was prorogued by Richard, not as Protector, but under a special commission.

⁴ Proceedings, 267-270.

⁵ Rot. Parl. 332.

⁶ See Proceedings, 279, comparing Lords' Report, Append. iv. 936, and Rot. Parl. 282.

CHAP. XII. who doubtless felt unequal to the task of governing, and
 1456. who had no personal feeling against the Duke of York, was disposed to retain him, with reduced authority, as Chief Counsellor and King's Lieutenant at will. But Margaret, who was clearer-sighted, would not have it. "The Quene is a grete and stronge labourid woman, for she spareth noo payne to sue (*follow up*) hire thinges to an intent and conclusion to hir power" ¹.

End of York's second Protectorate. On the 25th February the King came in person into Parliament, and relieved the Duke of his Protectorship ²; the Session, however, did not close at once, as it lasted till the 3rd, if not till the 13th of March ³.

Business of the Session. As might be supposed the work of the Session was considerably tinged with partizan spirit. Not a word was said of any money grant, the Commons assuming that all occasion for Subsidies had passed away with the war; but they ventured faintly to hint that the Revenue had been impaired by the loss of the foreign possessions. A resumption of Crown grants was again the financial expedient of the hour. The Resumption Act of 1453 was repealed, together with the exemptions from the Act of 1451, those measures having been framed under Lancastrian influences ⁴; and a new Act was passed, framed so as to intercept special cases which had slipped through the meshes of former measures. The Commons wished that any proposed new clauses of exemption should be submitted to them; and that all persons accepting Crown grants in future should incur the penalties "of the Statutes of provisours", and 'forfeit 1000 marks' (*sic*). But neither request was granted ⁵. A paltry sum of £3933 19s. 4d.

Resumption Act.

¹ See the letter to Sir John Fastolf, Paston Letters, i. 377.

² Rot. Parl. v. 321; Foed. xi. 373.

³ See Rot. Parl. 297, 300, 340.

⁴ In 1453 Thorpe was Speaker, and in 1451 the Government was still in the hands of Suffolk's friends.

⁵ See Rot. Parl. 300-320, 329; cf. 328 and 330. One hundred and forty-one new clauses of exemption were introduced, thirty-seven of them in favour of Church foundations, but the pensions to Lords were cut down as much as possible. See p. 308.

was assigned for the Royal Household¹; and arrangements were sanctioned for giving security to the Company of Merchants of the Calais Staple for large advances to be applied in satisfying the demands of the garrison. But it appears that this effort was partly prompted by the wish to reconcile the soldiery to the authority of the Earl of Warwick, which, till then, had been defied².

CHAP. XII.
1456.

Thomas Younge of Bristol, the Member who had been imprisoned in 1451 for moving that the Duke of York should be declared Heir to the Throne, was recommended to the King for compensation³; an indictment for treason preferred in 1452 against Sir Walter Devereux was ordered to be quashed⁴, while confiscation and imprisonment were demanded against Thorpe and Joseph⁵.

The Commons complained of the extortions of the officials of the Exchequer; and of the endless crimes perpetrated by dissolute clerks "by cause of the grete boldnes of their Clergy"⁶ (i.e. *benefit of clergy*). They prayed that a clerk once convicted of felony, and then surrendered to his Ordinary and duly "purged . . . after the lawe of the Churche", should not be allowed a second time to offend with impunity⁷.

Benefit of
Clergy.

To keep the officials in order a table of fees for business in the Exchequer was drawn up; but as for delinquent clerks, the hierarchy declined to surrender the privileges of their Order.

The Statute of the Session reveals the existence of a native silk industry, carried on in London, and, it would seem, by women of a superior class. For their protection

Native silk
Manufac-
ture.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 320. As the charge was laid on the identical branches of the Revenue that were charged with the £5839 assigned in 1454, it is not easy to say whether the new sums were to be in addition to or in substitution for the old ones. The charge of 1454 was to last till the 1st April, 1457.

² Id. 297, 341; Proceedings, vi. 276. The Lords Welles and Rivers were apparently in command at Calais as Lieutenants of the late Duke of Somerset up to the 20th April, 1456, from which time Warwick's actual command began. The total advanced by the Staple Merchants under the above arrangement came to £49,580; Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 33-38 Henry VI.

³ Rot. Parl. 337.

⁴ Id. 342; above, p. 151.

⁵ Id. 332, 342.

⁶ Id. 323; Stat. 33 Henry VI, c. 3.

⁷ Rot. Parl. 333.

CHAP. XII. Parliament was induced to prohibit for five years all importation of wrought or "thrown" silk; ribbons, laces, and "corses of Geene (French *Gênes*, *Genoa*) only except" ¹.
1456.

For the protection of "husbond-fermours" (*husbandmen-farmers*) and other cultivators, brewers were forbidden to make more than 100 quarters of malt on their own premises within the year ². To discourage "untreue" and "foreyn" law-suits, and litigation generally, said to be greatly on the increase in East Anglia, through the increase in the number of attorneys-at-law, the number of these practitioners to be licensed in Norfolk and Suffolk was reduced to six for each county, with two more for the city of Norwich ³.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 325; Stat. sup. c. 5. Is "corses of Geene" the origin of the modern "corsets of jean"?

² Rot. Parl. 324; Stat. c. 4.

³ Rot. Parl. 326; Stat. c. 7. The number on the existing Roll was said to be over eighty.

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Domestic affairs.—Scottish affairs.—Breach between James II and the Douglasses.—Dismissal of the Bouchier Ministry.—Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester: his condemnation for heresy.

FOR seven months the two parties faced each other in attitudes of watchful defiance, waiting their opportunity, and meanwhile "marking time". The administration was in the hands of the Bouchiers, and we shall see that in spite of Margaret's protests, the direction of affairs remained with the Duke of York, supported by the Duke of Buckingham. The King was kept in or near London; the Queen at a distance, in itself a speaking fact. Thus, in May, we hear of the Queen as being mostly at Tutbury, in Staffordshire; while the Duke of York was at his place at Sandall, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire; he 'waiting on' her; and "she upon hym"¹. The Prince of Wales of course went with his mother.

In March, orders were given for admitting George Neville, Warwick's brother, to the temporalities of the See of Exeter, Neville being still too young to be consecrated². On the 20th April, Warwick at last obtained the actual command at Calais³.

¹ Paston Letters, i. 386, 387, 392.

² Foed. xi. 376. George Neville was now about twenty-five years old. He was not consecrated till December, 1458. The See had become vacant in September, 1455, on the death of Edmund Lacy.

³ Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 35-38 Henry VI.

CHAP. XIII. About the end of April serious disturbances broke out in London, probably in connexion with the attempt to prohibit the sale of foreign silks. The servant of a mercer picked a quarrel with an Italian, and then assaulted him. The Mayor, next day, having committed the offender to prison, the entire "mercery" of the City rose, and released their fellow. The houses of several Italians were sacked: foreigners hid themselves, or fled to Winchester and Southampton. The Duke of Buckingham was sent into the City with a commission of "*oyer determiner*"; the judges sat eight days continuously at Guildhall hearing cases. Even the King was brought into the City to appease the people. On the 5th of May the disturbances rose to such a height that the King was taken back to Westminster; while Buckingham escaped from the judgment-seat into Essex. By the 10th May order was restored, two or three men having been hung. "The Lumbards to occupie the merchaundizes as thei dide til the Counsail or Parlament have otherwise determined"¹.

Foreign affairs. In foreign affairs the policy of the Duke of York had always been to identify himself with the old traditions of England. His action from this time onwards acquires increasing importance.

Scotland. The unsuccessful attempt of the Scots on Berwick, in June, 1455, has been noticed. Notwithstanding that aggression, James II—"the Kynge of Scottys with the rede face"², as he was called—sent Lyon Herald to London in May (1456), complaining of English attacks on the Scots, and in fact declaring war³. No answer was sent till the 26th July, when the Duke of York wrote in Henry's name in most contemptuous terms, reminding James that he was his vassal, and assuring him that his disloyal breaches of

¹ Fabian, 630; Paston Letters, i. 384-387.

² Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 70. James had a "bread red spott" on one of his cheeks; Leslie, History of Scotland, p. 11; Gairdner; "celuy qui portait le feu au visage"; G. Chastelain, iv. 449.

³ Perth, 10th May; Bekyngton, Letters, ii. 139. On the 16th May it was rumoured in London that the King was going against the Scots.

the truce should not long pass unpunished¹. A month later, the Duke of York being at Durham, on his way to the Border, wrote to James in his own name, upbraiding him with burning defenceless houses, and committing petty fugitive inroads unworthy of a King, or "courageous knyght"². James was in fact at the time established on the Kail Water near Jedburgh, thence making inroads into Northumberland, but at the Duke's approach it would seem that he retired³.

CHAP. XIII.

1456.

The warmth of York's tone towards the King of Scots is somewhat remarkable, as he had apparently received offers of recognition and help against Henry VI from James⁴. The relations of the two countries were complicated by intestine divisions on both sides; but it must be said that although neither English party hesitated to intrigue with Scottish malcontents as against the Scots King, neither were disposed to submit to Scottish intervention in English affairs. Somerset had declined James' help just as peremptorily as York⁵.

Since his marriage and practical attainment of majority in 1449⁶, James II had striven, not without success, to make himself master of his dominions. The execution (January, 1450) of Robert Livingston, Comptroller of Accounts, was followed by a notable increase in the Revenue, especially in the Landed Revenues of the Crown. The Earldoms of March, Athole, Strathearn, Menteith, Fife, and Mar had been apparently in hand; but the proceeds till then had hardly figured in the Accounts⁷. 1450 was a year of Jubilee. Among those who went on pilgrimage to

Govern-

ment of

James II.

1449-1450.

¹ Foed. xi. 383.

² Bekyngton, ii. 142.

³ See *Extracta e Cronica Scotie*, 243, and the other authorities cited Burnet, *Exchequer Rolls Scotland*, vi. xlii.

⁴ See James' letter to Charles VII of the 28th June; Stevenson, *Letters*, i. 323.

⁵ See Somerset's letter above, p. 168, note, and *Proceedings*, vi. lxiii.

⁶ James was born on the 16th October, 1430, and therefore attained the age of 19 in 1449.

⁷ See *Exchequer Rolls Scotland*, v. 406, 448, comparing the earlier accounts of "Ballivi ad Extra".

CHAP. XIII.

1450-1454.

Breach
with
the Doug-
lasses.Assassina-
tion of the
Earl of
Douglas by
James.Intrigues
of the
Douglasses
with
England.

Rome was William, eighth Earl of Douglas. James took the opportunity for a preliminary attack on the Earl's possessions. Douglas having returned to Scotland in the spring of 1451, was, after a while, received into favour; but during the summer, his brother James, the Master of Douglas, paid a private visit to the English Court at Winchester¹. In the autumn the Earl was guilty of fresh acts of lawlessness, and James apparently became aware of a secret league formed between Douglas and Alexander Lindsay, the "Tiger" Earl of Crawford. On the 22nd February, 1452, James invited Douglas to Stirling Castle under a formal safe-conduct. After supper the King took him apart to remonstrate with him on his relations with the Earl of Crawford; the Earl's tone becoming defiant, James lost his temper and stabbed his guest, who was promptly despatched by the courtiers. Furious war broke out between James and the Douglasses, headed by the new Earl, James III, ninth Earl, and brother to the last one. In May, the English Wardens were warned to keep strict watch along the Border². On the 2nd June, Douglas sent his mother, Beatrice, and his brother's widow, Margaret, into England with an offer of personal homage to Henry VI³. Yet again, on the 28th August, Douglas made friends with his King⁴: and in the following spring he was sent to London to sign the four years' truce with England⁵. While there he obtained the liberation of Malise Graham (formerly Earl of Strathearn), for five-and-twenty years a hostage for the ransom of James I⁶. The motive of this was evidently "to involve James II in trouble" by letting loose a man embittered by ill-treatment. The truce between the King and Earl of Douglas was hollow throughout. In February, 1454, we hear of payments to Garter for

¹ The Court was there 14th-17th July. Somerset and Margaret were then ruling.

² 4th May; Proceedings, vi. 125-127.

³ Foed. xi. 310. Somerset was still in power.

⁴ Fraser Tytler, iv. 409.

⁵ Foed. xi. 324, 327. The truce was signed 23rd May, 1453, to last till the 21st May, 1457.

⁶ See preceding vol., p. 491.

conferences on the Border with the Earl of Douglas; and for attendances in London on the Earl's ally Lord Hamilton¹. In March, 1455, James II again drew the sword with thorough-going purpose. Beginning with the siege and demolition of Inveravon Castle, he swept through the South-West of Scotland, compelling all the gentry to join his standard. In Easter week (6-13th April) he laid siege to Abercorn, the most northern of the Douglas strongholds. The Earl retired to England, leaving his three brothers, the Lords Moray, Ormond and Balveny to keep up the struggle. On the 1st May they were defeated at Arkinholm, near Wauchope, on the Esk; Moray was killed, Ormond captured and executed. Balveny fled to England. In the course of the following week Abercorn fell: about August the work was completed by the capture of Treve, or Threave, Castle in Galloway. Douglas had made a nominal surrender of the place to the King of England, thereby earning a pension of £500 a year².

CHAP. XIII.
1455-1456.
War
between
James II
and the
Doug-
lasses.

The attack on Berwick was made in the flush of these successes³; and doubtless on receipt of the news of the battle of St. Albans. Writing to Charles VII in November, 1455, James urges the attack of the Yorkists on their King as a justification for a combined attack on Berwick and Calais⁴: writing again with the same object in June, 1456, he expresses his belief in 'the clear right' of the Duke of York⁵. But Charles turned a deaf ear to the prayers of King James and his subjects; he would send no money; he would not even express an opinion as to the

¹ Devon Issues, 477.

² Stevenson, Letters, ii. 502; Devon Issues, 479. £250 were paid to Douglas 15th July. The Countesses Beatrice and Margaret, the latter now married to her brother-in-law, Earl James, had again retired to England; Foed. xi. 349. The Duke of York was now in power.

³ See for the above affairs Burnet, Exchequer Rolls, Scotland, v. lxxxiv, and vi. xxvii; and especially the letter of James to Charles VII of the 8th July; Pinkerton, i. 486.

⁴ Stevenson, Letters, i. 317, 319.

⁵ Id. 323, "qui vero dux (ut supponimus) clarum habet jus ad coronam", &c. James represents York and Salisbury as being on the best of terms with himself. *Sed quaere.*

CHAP. XIII. expediency of a Scottish invasion of England¹. Clearly
 1456. he had no wish to create difficulties for Margaret.

The Duke
of York
and the
French.

Again, in connexion with France, we find the Duke of York acting to a certain extent in the King's name, but altogether in opposition to Margaret. Since the winter of 1452-1453, he had been in communication with the Duke of Alençon and other French malcontents; not with any view to French interference in English politics, but with a view to a reassertion of English pretensions in France. A marriage was suggested between a daughter of Alençon and Richard's son, the young Earl of March. The chances of an English invasion of Normandy were being discussed in the spring of 1456, when the intrigue was cut short by the arrest of the Duke of Alençon².

Relations
of England
and Bur-
gundy.

With reference to Burgundy, York had a great opening of which he took care to avail himself, as we shall see; especially from the time when Warwick took up his command at Calais. The relations of England to Duke Philip had never been cordial since the treaty of Arras, and the Duke's attack on Calais in 1436. From that time England and Burgundy had never been formally at peace; the necessary commercial intercourse being carried on under renewable truces. At any rate Margaret and Philip were not on good terms³; apparently their families had been at feud ever since the war in Lorraine and the day of Bulgnéville (1431)⁴. This gave a clear opening for Yorkist intrigues.

The Queen
reasserts
herself.

By the autumn (1456) the Queen had made her arrangements for a fresh attack on the Duke of York. In August the King was taken down to sport in the Midlands, out

¹ See the further letters of James II and the Estates of Scotland; Stevenson, *Letters*, i. 326, 328, 330; and Charles' answer of January, 1457; *Id.* 332.

² May, 1456. The order for the arrest was issued 14th May. He was brought to trial in 1458, and condemned to forfeiture and imprisonment (10th October). See the judgment, J. Chartier, iii. 91-110. The references therein made to English affairs tally with the facts.

³ So G. Chastelain, iv. 279; cf. 316; J. Du Clercq, 223; J. Wavrin (*Du pont*), ii. 304.

⁴ So Du Clercq, 169.

of reach of the Londoners ; while a refuge in case of need had been prepared at Kenilworth, which was armed with cannon¹. In fact from this time onwards Leicester, Coventry, and Kenilworth became the chief head-quarters of the Court. About the 20th September it established itself at Coventry, both King and Queen being there. A Grand Council was summoned for the 7th October, the Duke of York and his friends being invited. The young Duke of Somerset (Henry Beaufort II)² was also brought there to give the Queen the support of his name. The first step was to get rid of the Bouchiers, who had in fact been the Ministers of the Duke of York.

On the 5th October Viscount Bouchier was removed from the Treasury, to make room for the Earl of Shrewsbury³, whose family had always supported the Dynasty. On the 11th the Great Seal was taken from Archbishop Bouchier and given to William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester: while Lawrence Booth became Privy Seal⁴.

It would seem that Margaret then proposed to impeach and arrest both York and Warwick. But the Duke of Buckingham, who had been supporting the late Ministry, and who perhaps aspired to hold the balance between the Queen and York, would not countenance any strong measures ; nor would the King himself, who doubtless felt bound by his amnesty of the previous year. Another hollow compromise therefore was arranged, Buckingham impressing on Richard the fact that he had "no thyng to lene to" but the King's grace ; and then praying Henry once more to take the Duke to his grace, on condition of good behaviour for the future. The King gladly assented ; but York and Warwick had again solemnly to forswear all "weys of feyt" (French *voies de fait*, i. e. *forcible proceedings*)⁵.

¹ Devon Issues, 481, 482.

² Son of Duke Edmund, who fell at St. Albans. He was under age. See Table iii., preceding vol.

³ Pat. 35 Henry VI, pt. 1, m. 16, cited Gairdner.

⁴ Foed. xi. 383 ; Paston Letters, i. 408.

⁵ See the account drawn up by Margaret's friends, Rot. Parl. v. 347 (without

CHAP. XIII.
1456.

New
Ministry.

York and
Warwick
sworn to
keep the
peace.

CHAP. XIII.

1456.

The stars in their courses seemed to fight against Margaret. The Court had patronised the quiet city of Coventry, and ought to have been popular there. But on the day when the Archbishop resigned the Seal, an affray broke out between the men of the young Duke of Somerset, the hope of the party, and the town watch. Two or three of the latter having been killed, the "larom belle" (*alarm bell*) was rung, and the town rose. Somerset would have been "distressed" had not Buckingham intervened to protect him.

Finally, we are told that the Duke of York went away "in right good conceyt with the Kyng, but not in gret conceyt with the whene" (*Queen*).

The Council having broken up, the King and Queen went off to Cheshire, where Margaret was nursing a party among the warlike gentry of the Palatinate¹. York retired to Wigmore; Salisbury to his place at Middleham; while Warwick retired to Calais², where he would be free to confer with the Duke of Burgundy, and his new guest the Dauphin, in their intrigues against Charles VII³.

The leading Yorkists were thus driven from the Council Chamber, but beyond that the Queen had taken little by her motion.

date), where Buckingham's action is represented as being all on their side; comparing James Gresham's account, *Paston Letters*, sup.; also *Fabian*, 631, and *Hall*, 236. Bishop Stubbs (iii. 176) would connect the incident with a Grand Council summoned to Coventry for the 14th February, 1457; *Proceedings*, vi. 333. But we hardly know if that Council really met, while it is clear that the proceedings of October, 1456, attracted considerable attention. I can make nothing of a pacification at Coventry, spoken of by Gregory under Lent, 1458, unless it be a mixing up of what happened in London at that time with the occurrences at Coventry of October, 1456, neither of which doings are otherwise noticed by him.

¹ Henry was at Stafford on the 19th October; at Eccleshall on the 20th; at Chester on the 24th; and at Shrewsbury from the 31st October to the 4th November, returning to Kenilworth by the 6th November; *Privy Seals*, 35 Henry VI.

² *Paston Letters*; *E. Hall*; *R. Fabian*, sup.

³ The Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI) left Dauphiné, where he had been settled for some years, on the 30th August, 1456, and made his way to Brussels, where he was hospitably entertained till his father's death; *Vallet de Viriville*, iii. 360, &c. On the 1st July, 1457, Warwick had an interview with Burgundian envoys at Calais; *J. Du Clercq*, 101.

The history of the year 1457 is even more meagre and disconnected than that of the year 1456. Grand Councils were held at Coventry in February¹, and at Westminster in November. Of the proceedings of the former we know nothing, unless the re-appointment of the Duke of York to be Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years was the result of something agreed upon there². An appointment sanctioned by the November Council will be noticed by and by.

CHAP. XIII.
1457.

The Duke
of York
King's
Lieutenant
of Ireland.

Of the Irish appointment of the Duke of York, we may safely say that it was another attempt to banish him from English politics.

The Court divided its time mostly between Coventry and Kenilworth. In April the King and Queen were called to Hereford to suppress some unexplained disturbance caused by Sir William Herbert of Chepstow, a leading Yorkist. The gentry proved to be loyally disposed, but Margaret wanted to indict so many persons that symptoms of reaction began to appear³. On the 11th June a truce for two years was signed with the Scots at Coventry⁴. James II was probably satisfied that he could look for no help from France; and it may be that Margaret had suggested a marriage between the young Duke of Somerset and James' sister Joan⁵.

France and England being theoretically at war, the privateers of the Channel were free to ply their sanguinary trade. Pierre de Brezé, Seneschal of Normandy since its recovery by the French, had devoted his talents to naval matters, organising a provincial fleet in concert with the Duke of Brittany. Even on the sea England now seemed helpless. On the 20th August de Brezé sailed from Honfleur on a grand expedition, and was joined at the mouth

¹ Proceedings, vi. 333.

² Richard was appointed on the 6th March, at Coventry; his Indenture is dated the 6th April; Gilbert, Viceroy, 585.

³ Paston Letters, i. cxxix and 416; cf. Foed. xi. 388; Privy Seals, 35 Henry VI.

⁴ Foed. xi. 389-401; Rot. Scot.

⁵ So M. d'Escouchy, ii. 352. The Princess had resided for many years in France: arrangements were being made at this time for bringing her home; Stevenson, Letters, i. 352.

CHAP. XIII. of the Channel by a Breton squadron from the Loire. Part
 1457. of the flotilla had been raised for the Pope, for service against the Turks : more profitable employment, however, was found for them at home.

Sack of
Sandwich
by a
French
privateer
force.

Warwick
to keep the
sea.

Reginald
Pecock,
Bishop of
Chichester.

De Brezé had on board his fleet the Duke of Lorraine, Marshal de Lohéac, and, we are assured, the Captains or Bailiffs of all the chief towns in Normandy. He is said to have had some sixty sail, of which thirteen, having top castles, might be considered war ships. Turning eastwards, they anchored early on the morning of Sunday, 28th August, near Sandwich. Some 1600 men were landed at a little distance for an attack on the walls ; while de Brezé himself forced his way into the harbour. After a stout resistance Sandwich was stormed and pillaged. Towards evening de Brezé took his men on board again, and moved off with all the shipping and plunder of Sandwich ; but he remained till the 1st September at anchor in the Downs, defying England. On their way home the Bretons plundered Fowey. In the course of October Admiral the Duke of Exeter got out to sea, and sailed as far as La Rochelle. His remissness enabled the Yorkists in the November Council to obtain for Warwick a commission to 'keep the sea' for three years¹ : a fresh blow to the Government. Petty operations on either side were kept up during the autumn and winter².

An incident of a very different character was the degradation of a Lancastrian Bishop for heresy.

Reginald Pecock, spoken of as a Welshman³, at one time a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, had been patronised for

¹ Foed. xi. 406. Exeter was much affronted by his supercession ; Paston Letters, i. 424.

² See Vallet de Viriville, iii. 391-396, and authorities there given ; Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, p. 152 ; R. Fabian, 632 ; Chron. Davies. D'Escouchy (ii. 352) thought the attack on Sandwich planned by Margaret and the Scots, who had just signed the truce of Coventry. But he wrote under the impression that the Duke of York had been still at the head of affairs, whereas he had been turned out a year before.

³ "Gallicus quidam" ; T. Gascoigne, Liber Veritatis, *passim*. Holinshed, (iii. 275) apparently on Bale's authority, states that he was born in Wales ; also Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 167.

his attainments by Duke Humphrey, through whose influence in the year 1431 he was appointed Master of Whittington College, London¹. From that time onwards Pecock employed his pen in controversial writings against the Lollards, who were strong in the City. In 1444 he was made Bishop of St. Asaph, Suffolk then being at the head of affairs. In 1447 he began to teach, both in the pulpit and by writing, that mere preaching was not the first or highest duty of a Bishop; arguing, on the contrary, that a Bishop's office was primarily to superintend the work of others, and solve cases of conscience; that a Bishop might for a sufficient cause lawfully absent himself from his See; and that payment of First Fruits to the Pope was not simony. Pecock's "Conclusions" on these points gave great offence to the popular party². They were clearly intended as a defence of the political Bishops, who held offices at Court—an unpopular set. But in support of Pecock's position it must be said that no party could dispense with the services of Bishops without detriment to the State, whose affairs always suffered when they fell into the hands of laymen.

However, in 1450 Pecock was again promoted, being translated to the See of Chichester, in succession to the murdered Adam Moleyns. This appointment must have been one of Suffolk's last acts³.

At some time, apparently subsequent to this date, Pecock published his great work "*The Represser Of Over Moche Wijtyng*"⁴ "*The Clergie*". This composition, again, was a defence of the clergy from the attacks of the strait-laced "Bible-men", who demanded Scriptural authority for all matters, great and small. In opposition to this school the Bishop, in the first part of his work, defines the scope and limits of Scriptural authority. "Holi Writt" does not

CHAP. XIII.
1447-50.

The Represser.

¹ Whittington College stood near the Three Cranes, in the Vintry: the Rectory of St. Michael's in Riola was attached to it.

² See J. Lewis, *Life of R. Pecock*, 1-17; T. Gascoigne, *Lib. Verit.* 15, 26.

³ T. Gascoigne, *sup.* 41. The *congé d'élire* was issued on the 30th January, after Suffolk's actual impeachment; Lewis, 128.

⁴ *Blaming, abusing.*

CHAP. XIII. contain all "Goddis moral lawe"; it presupposes a natural
 1457. moral law ("*moral law of kinde*"), which existed before Revelation. Both natural and Scriptural law must be interpreted by "resoun and moral philosophi", except as to mere "positijf lawe of feith"; i. e. the ordinances of the Church as to the mode of administering the Sacraments and the like, matters which Pecock ventured to describe as less "necessarie and profitable". The conclusion of the whole is that laymen ought always to seek the help of "clerkis weel leerned in logik and in moral philosophie . . . and in dyvynyte"¹.

In the second part of his work the writer deals with the usual moot points of the use of images; pilgrimages; possessions of the Papacy and clergy; orders of clergy; Papal supremacy; and monastic orders. The possessions of the Church are defended as being held by legal grants as valid as those of any other owners. On the other points the writer is content to take the humble ground that the teaching of the Church not being plainly contradicted by Scripture, might be accepted as sound².

Tendency
of his
teaching.

Dry and scholastic in its method, the Represser is nevertheless a cogent piece of reasoning; the illustrations are happy and the language good. But if the mere moderation and candour of Pecock's tone towards Lollards and Biblemen was calculated to irritate the orthodox, his line of argument was as subversive of current theology as Lollardy itself. In his Treatise of Faith he seems to give up all idea of an infallible authority in the Church, admitting apparently that the clergy "may erre in matere of faith". He also frankly admits that the truths of religion cannot be proved by demonstrative, only by probable arguments³. As a man of very "Broad" views, in the modern sense of

¹ See Lewis, 44-54, and the Represser, ed. Babington, xxii. 25, 36, 48, 83, 84 (Rolls Series, No. 19). For the spelling of the Title see p. 130.

² See Lewis, 55-100.

³ Represser, xxxii; Lewis, 137. This is supposed to be his latest writing; but the internal evidences as to the dates of publication of Pecock's works are not clear, as he kept issuing fresh editions of his works with corrections and additions, so that the earlier works contain references to the later ones.

the term, and one greatly in advance of his age, Pecoek had probably given offence to every Church party of the time.

CHAP. XIII.

1457.

Prior to the accession of Archbishop Bouchier, the cudgels against Pecoek had been taken up by the Universities and by the Friars, stigmatised by him as "pulpit-bawlers" ¹. But neither Stafford nor Kemp, the Lancastrian Archbishops, would countenance any proceedings against their friend ². In some of his writings Pecoek had questioned the authenticity of the so-called Apostles' Creed, arguing that it was of much later date than their age. In 1457 it would seem that he issued a new Creed of his own, omitting the clauses relating to the Descent into Hell, and the belief in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, and the Communion of Saints ³. Armed with these proofs of his heterodoxy, Pecoek's opponents went to Archbishop Bouchier to demand an investigation. The Yorkist Lords supported them, and use was made of a letter addressed by Pecoek to Canning, the Mayor of London, which was represented as dangerous in its political teaching ⁴. The Archbishop summoned the Bishop's accusers to appear before him on the 11th November with their evidences ⁵. Nine works of the Bishop were produced at Lambeth, and submitted to a committee of Doctors for examination. Next day, it would seem that Pecoek was brought before the King in Council at Westminster. The political element in the proceedings is brought out by the fact that George Neville, the youthful Bishop-elect of Exeter, took a prominent and offensive part against Pecoek ⁶. Henry's simple-minded piety would

He publishes a new Creed.

Proceedings against him.

¹ Lewis, 141, 145; Gascoigne.

² See Gascoigne, 38, 208, where, after giving the names of Pecoek's chief opponents, he goes on to say that Episcopal influence on his behalf was especially exercised at Oxford. That would be by Bishops Lamley and Chadworth of Lincoln, nominees of Suffolk and Somerset.

³ Gascoigne, 104, 212, 213; Represser, xliii; J. Whethamstede, i. 281, 285. As given by Fox, Pecoek's Creed does not omit the belief in the Holy Ghost, but on the other hand it contains a denial of Transubstantiation.

⁴ Gascoigne, 212, 213.

⁵ Lewis, 149; Fox, Martyrs, i. 651.

⁶ Gascoigne, 211-213. He seems to give the 11th November as the day of the examination at Westminster, and the 12th as that of the examination at Lambeth, but a notarial entry on the MS. of the Represser certifies that it was produced at Lambeth on the 11th November; Lewis.

CHAP. XIII. certainly be shocked by any suspicion of heterodoxy; and
 1457. it would seem that Pecock's name was summarily struck
 off the list of the Privy Council ¹.

He recants
 and is
 degraded.

The details of Pecock's defence cannot be given, but Bouchier finally cut the matter short by offering him the simple alternative of recantation or the Stake. The points he was required to abjure were the denial of the four articles in the Creed above given; the doubts thrown on the infallibility of the Church; and the assertion of the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures. Pecock yielded, as so many before him had done. On the 23rd and 28th November, he made private recantations before Bouchier and others; his Creed had been publicly condemned at St. Paul's Cross on the 13th. On the 4th December he made his public recantation in St. Paul's churchyard, in the presence of Bouchier, and the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Durham. With his own hands he delivered fourteen of his books to be burnt. Pending his degradation from his Bishopric he was sent into confinement, and never again appeared in public ².

"Wythe (*wit*) wondreth that reson not telle can,
 Howe a mayde is a moder, and God is man:
 Fle reasoune and folow the woundre (*wonder*),
 For beleve (*belief, faith*) hathe the maystry (*mastery*) and
 reasone ys under.

Thys made the sayde Pocock as it was seyde " ³.
 (*The said Pecock made this as it was said*).

¹ Gascoigne, 210.

² Gascoigne, 213-218; J. Whethamstede, i. 284-289; Wilkins, Conc. iii. 576; Chron. Davies, 75-77; J. Stow, 402. As Gascoigne is said to have died in March, 1458, his notes of the proceedings must have been written up at the time or very shortly afterwards.

³ Chron. Davies, 77; Gascoigne, 217. Gascoigne seems to claim the last two lines as his own. Lewis seems to give a better reading of the first line, "Wit hath wonder that reason cannot skann, How a moder," &c., p. 164. Pecock was not removed from his See without difficulty: the Pope, at Margaret's instance doubtless, refused to depose him, and in fact ordered him to be reinstated. But Archbishop Bouchier held firm, and eventually forced Pecock to resign. He ended his days in confinement in Thorney Abbey, the boldest thinker that Wales had produced since Morgan-Pelagius. See Lewis, 174, 179; Represser, liii-lvii. No successor was appointed till March, 1459.

CHAPTER XIV.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Renewed strife between the Percies and the Nevilles.—Aims of the Duke of York.—Margaret draws the sword.—Battle of Blore Heath.—Dispersal of the Yorkists.—Parliament at Coventry.

THE degradation of Bishop Pecock was again a shock to the tottering House of Lancaster.

But the event of the year 1457, which had most bearing on the main current of events, was the renewal of the private war between the Percies and the Nevilles. Another battle was fought, apparently at Castleton, in July. The Nevilles gained a complete victory, carrying off Lord Egremont and his brother, Richard Percy, prisoners to Middleham¹.

To legalise the success and turn it to account, the two were brought before Justices Bingham and Pole at the Yorkshire Summer Assizes, and condemned in penalties to the Neville family to the enormous amount of 16,800 marks (£11,200)². Pending payment, Egremont was committed to Newgate; but in the autumn he broke out of prison and took refuge at Court³.

¹ On the 16th July the forces of fifteen Midland counties were called out to suppress armed risings; Foed. Dr. Giles' Chronicle says that the conflict took place "juxta Castulton Brigge in comitatu Eboraci", p. 45. But the "Brigge" seems a confusion with the fight of 1453 at Stamford Bridge; R. Fabian, 632. For affrays involving bloodshed at Papplewick, Notts, and in Yorkshire, apparently in the course of this year, see Plumpton Correspondence, lxviii. T. Stapleton (Camden Society, 1839.) The Yorkshire Castleton is in the North Riding, 6½ miles S.E. of Guiseborough.

² J. Whethamstede, i. 303.

³ Id.; R. Fabian, sup.; W. Gregory; J. Stow. As the escape took place

CHAP. XIV.

1457.

The Percy-Neville feud.

CHAP. XIV. The settlement of this difficulty became the urgent question of the hour. The matter was probably touched upon in November, when Pecock's case was under consideration. Either the Council was too much taken up with that affair, or the Yorkists were too strong to allow of a settlement. The Council was adjourned to the 27th January, 1458, for the consideration of the business, ninety-two Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, being summoned¹.

Grand
Council in
London.

True to time the King came up to Westminster, and the Duke of York to Baynard's Castle at Blackfriars². Richard only brought his 'own household' to the number of 140 horse. Salisbury, Somerset, Northumberland, Exeter, Egremont, and the young Lord Clifford, however, all came in strength. The Yorkists established themselves among their friends in the City³; the Lancastrians in Holborn and the Strand. On the 14th February Warwick came over from Calais, and then Arundel was the only absentee⁴.

To keep the peace, with the streets swarming with armed retainers, was no easy matter; but the efforts of Godfrey Boleyn, the Mayor, proved successful.

Business having begun, the Archbishop and William of Waynflete, the Chancellor, laid themselves out to induce the Percies and Nevilles to submit to the King's award within certain limits, which must have been indicated beforehand. The leaders having been brought to this point, the King went down to Berkhamstead, the Lancastrian Lords apparently escorting him (23rd February).

The adjustment of the actual award was a lengthy affair, the Council sitting in the forenoons at Blackfriars, for the convenience of the Yorkists; and at Whitefriars in the after-

while Verney and Steward were Sheriffs, it must have taken place before the 13th October in this year, the day when they went out of office.

¹ Proceedings, vi. 290-293.

² The Court had been at Abingdon; the Earl of Devon died there in January, a distinct loss to Margaret.

³ Salisbury was at Cold Harbour (Herald's College), Blackfriars.

⁴ Paston Letters, i. 424, 425; Chron. Davies, 77; R. Fabian, 632; J. Stow, 403; Proceedings, 293.

noons for the convenience of the Lancastrians. By the 17th March the matter had made sufficient progress to call for the King's return to Town¹. On the 24th March the award was sealed at Westminster, the declared object being to heal the blood feud of the day of St. Albans. The terms were such as to suggest that Henry himself might have had a hand in framing them. York, Salisbury, and Warwick were required to endow the Abbey of St. Albans with a chauntry of £45 a year, for masses for the souls of those who fell in the battle. York would make over Crown 'assignments'² to the amount of 5000 marks to the widowed Duchess of Somerset and her children; Warwick would make over similar securities to the amount of 1000 marks to the Cliffords. The Earl of Salisbury and his sons would release the fines imposed on Egremont and his brother in the previous year, Egremont binding himself in a sum of 4000 marks to keep the peace towards the Earl of Salisbury and his family for ten years³.

The happy "loveday" was signalled by a grand procession to St. Paul's; the King marched in state with his crown on his head; before him, hand-in-hand, went Somerset and Salisbury, Exeter and Warwick; after him came the Queen, led by the Duke of York⁴.

York's willingness to apologise for his hasty action in 1455 must be reckoned to his credit, but of any positive fruits the pacification was as barren as any of the many 'reconciliations' we have had to record.

The event of the summer was a naval victory, by which Warwick justified his appointment and gained further *prestige* for his party. On the 29th May he utterly defeated

¹ Paston Letters, i. 425-427; R. Fabian, 633; Chron. Davies, 77; J. Whethamstede, i. 295-298.

² These assignments were stated to be some of those held by Richard for his salary in Ireland, overdue "paper" in the language of modern finance. For a supplemental arrangement by which he was to recoup himself by shipping wool duty free, see Foed. xi. 434. Thus Henry became the real paymaster.

³ See the award, J. Whethamstede, 298.

⁴ 25th March; R. Fabian, 633; E. Hall, 238. See also the ballad written on the occasion by John Lydgate, printed Chron. Lond. 251, 254 (two copies with variations), and Pol. Poems, ii. 254.

CHAP. XIV. twenty-eight "sayle (*sail*) of Spaynyards" off Calais. Sixteen of these were "grete schippis of forecastell"; while the Earl had only five such vessels, besides three "carvells" and four "spynnes" (*pinnaces*). The engagement began at four in the morning, and lasted six hours. Six of the enemy's ships were captured, but the English admitted a loss of eighty men killed and 200 wounded. One Spanish prize was recaptured with a prize crew of twenty-three Englishmen in it. These had to be exchanged¹.

1458.
Privateer-
ing in the
Channel.

Of any special *casus belli* between England and Castile no word is said; but on the salt sea-wave that mattered not. At the same time we must admit that in all recent treaties Castile had been reckoned an ally of France.

Warwick's success was doubtless no joy to the Queen; but he soon gave her a further handle by capturing a salt fleet bound for Lubec, on the old pretext that they would not "strike" their flags to that of the King of England. Lord Rivers was commissioned to hold an enquiry at Rochester as to this gross act of piracy, but what came of it we cannot tell².

Foreign
relations of
the Duke
of York.

The ultimate aim of the Duke of York's policy might be gathered, if need were, from his efforts to establish private relations with foreign powers. In May his friends obtained a commission for the Earl of Warwick, the Bishop of Salisbury, and others, to confer with the Duke of Burgundy as to breaches of the truce³. The commission was ostensibly a mixed one, containing members of both parties, but the Yorkists gained the entire control of the affair. Meetings were held at Calais, and sub-commissioners appointed to receive and examine complaints⁴. This cleared the way for a private mission of Sir John Wenlock, one of the commissioners, and a Yorkist⁵, who went over to Mons

¹ See the account of John Jernyngham ("Jernigan"), who was in the action; Paston Letters, i. 428; R. Fabian, 633.

² Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 71; Foed. xi. 415, 31st July.

³ Foed. 410, 411.

⁴ Id. 413, 414; G. Chastelain, iii. 427.

⁵ Wenlock, however, had been Queen Margaret's Chamberlain *circa* 1447-1449. Letters, Margaret of Anjou, p. 112.

in November to suggest a marriage between the infant daughter of the Count of Charolais, Philip's son, and one of York's sons. CHAP. XIV.
1458.

This was not the first time that a marriage between the two families had been suggested. In 1453 and 1454 the Count of Charolais himself had wished to marry one of Richard's daughters, but his father made him marry his cousin, Catherine de Bourbon¹. So again now Philip would not commit himself too deeply to the Duke of York: he talked of his obligations to the King of France under the Treaty of Arras, and required him to be consulted. Wenlock therefore went on to Rouen with a suggestion of a parallel alliance between the Houses of York and France. The offer was declined with polite contempt; and there for the time the project of a Yorko-Burgundian marriage rested².

The drift of events still running all against her, Margaret made a fresh effort in October, when the Privy Council was sitting at Westminster. The Earl of Shrewsbury was removed from the Treasury and Wiltshire recalled³. Margaret also endeavoured to relieve Warwick of the charge of Calais, proposing the young Duke of Somerset instead. But Warwick stood on his rights as holding by a Parliamentary appointment, and refused to resign⁴. His stay in London was cut short by a brawl between one of his men and a menial of the Royal Household. The King's man having been hurt, and the Earl's man having escaped, the "Blacke gard" of the Household set upon Warwick himself, "so rabbysshely" that he had to take to his barge to save his life, and so hardly escaping to the Tower, eventually returned to Calais⁵.

¹ See de Beaucourt, Charles VII, v. 258, and Du Clercq, 89.

² Du Clercq, 125, comparing Stevenson, Letters, i. 361-377, and Chastelain, sup. The Count lived to marry Margaret of York as his second wife; below A.D. 1468.

³ 30th October; Stubbs, iii. 177; Proceedings, vi. 297.

⁴ Chron. Davies, 78; Stevenson, Letters, i. 368.

⁵ 9th November; Chron. Davies, 78; R. Fabian, 633; E. Hall, 239; J. Stow, 404; J. Whethamstede, i. 340. Fabian gives the date as 2nd February, perhaps reading Candlemas for Martinmas.

CHAP. XIV. In the following summer Warwick again refreshed the
 1459. pride of the country by defeating five Genoese and Spanish
 carracks after a running fight of nearly two days' duration.
 Three of the enemy's ships were brought in triumph into
 Calais¹. In the depressed state of England's glory War-
 wick became the naval hero of the time.

Political
 distraction
 of the
 Realm.

But by this time the long continued process of disintegration had run its course. The split had reached every rank and station in English life. Every household, every college, every convent, was divided against itself². All hope of a pacific solution was fading away. "Everything was going wrong, and everything, right or wrong, was represented in the worst colours"³. The people complained that the King was in debt, though he "helde no householde ne meyntened no warres"⁴: yet they refused the supplies to enable him to maintain a Household and keep out of debt. The Queen was the especial mark of calumny; she and her friends were said to be gathering "ryches innumerable"; her jointure no doubt was large, yet for years she had of necessity surrendered part of it for the support of the King's Household. The doubts on the parentage of her son were more loudly expressed than ever, but she and her son were just the insurmountable difficulties of the situation⁵. All government was in abeyance; yet in fact the country was not so much disturbed by local outbreaks as it had been in some previous years, as notably in 1443. Probably minor differences were being sunk before the great impending issue.

It was no doubt unfortunate that no Parliament had been summoned for three years, but the reasons were clear. The Government could get on without Parliament, as the Customs had been granted for the King's life; if a Parliament were summoned under existing circumstances the

¹ 22nd June, 1459; J. Whethamstede, i. 330, copied by Stow; Chron. Davies, 83.

² Chron. Croyland, Continuation, 529; Pauli.

³ Stubbs.

⁴ Chron. Davies, 79.

⁵ Cf. Stevenson, Letters, i. 367, 368.

Government would have no majority, or no sufficient majority; while it was perfectly certain that no further grant would be obtained. Thus the nation lost all opportunity of expressing its feelings. But the question had now travelled beyond the reach of Parliamentary discussion: the sword, and that alone, could settle it.

Of York's intentions, as from this time onwards, it is impossible to entertain any doubt¹; but, again, it was Margaret's fate to have to take the initiative.

CHAP. XIV.
1459.
The Duke of York clearly aiming at the Crown. The King's friends called to arms.

In April (1459) Privy Seals were sent out inviting all well-disposed persons to join the King at Leicester on the 10th May: they were invited to bring as many men 'defenceably arrayed' as they could, with money and supplies for two months. Military stores were also laid in². The Queen kept open house in Cheshire with her son, distributing badges of the Swan³, just as Richard II had distributed White Harts. The Swan had been Gloucester's badge, and was adopted for the young Prince. Negotiations were kept up with the Scots⁴.

Such were Margaret's doings in the spring. When in the autumn she had to draw up her indictment against her scattered enemies, she was unable to assign any 'overt act' committed by them prior to the 4th July⁵.

About that time, as we may suppose, the Yorkists began to arm. It would seem that their purpose was to wait on the King at Kenilworth, of course in sufficient strength to ensure their own safety, in order to lay before him dutiful remonstrances of the same character as those laid before him at Dartford in 1452, and at St. Albans in 1455. It was arranged that Warwick should come over from Calais with the pick of the garrison.

The Yorkists in turn arming.

¹ See J. Whethamstede, i. 337. The writer, on the whole, seems rather friendly than otherwise to the Duke. The foreign writers ascribe dynastic intentions to him from the first, e.g. M. d'Escouchy, ii. 353; T. Basin, i. 253. They wrote later, however.

² Paston Letters, i. 438, 439; Stevenson, ii. 511.

³ Chron. Davies, 79.

⁴ The Abbot of Melrose and Rothesay Herald were in London in May; Issues, Easter 37 Henry VI.

⁵ Rot. Parl. v. 349.

CHAP. XIV.

1459.
Movements
of the
forces.

The Queen was on the move betimes, taking Henry northwards early in September, to arrest Salisbury's expected advance from Middleham¹. Henry went as far north as Nottingham², from thence moving westwards to Eccleshall, as Salisbury was reported to be going to Ludlow. On the 22nd September the Earl passed Newcastle-under-Lyne, and, marching through Market Drayton, established himself for the night on an eminence, since known as Salisbury Hill, to the South of the river Tern. He had evaded the Royalist forces at Eccleshall, but the Lords Audley and Dudley, with the Lancashire and Cheshire men, were at hand on the other side of the Tern, on a height since known as Audley Brow, near Moreton Say³.

Battle of
Bloore
Heath.

To continue his advance with this force in his rear would have been too imprudent, so next morning, being Sunday, 23rd September, Salisbury drew back by the Four Alls, Tirley, and Alington⁴, to Bloore or Bloore Heath, where he finally took up his position on a slope on the farther side of the Hempmill Brook, which the pursuing enemy would have to cross. The Earl was very inferior in point of numbers, but his men were probably better disciplined than those of the Cheshire squires⁵, and he certainly had more military experience than they had.

The Royalists, pressing on in over-confident pursuit, were lured into crossing the brook. Charging gallantly up hill, they were met, countered, and scattered. The pursuit did not end till seven o'clock next morning, when the Earl's unruly sons, Sir Thomas and Sir John Neville, found themselves near Tarporley, where they in turn were surrounded and taken prisoners. The action is spoken of as having lasted from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.⁶ If so, a running

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 348. The King was stated to have been thirty days in the field, the campaign eventually ending on the 12th October.

² Id. p. 369.

³ History of Market Drayton, T. P. Marshall, p. 12.

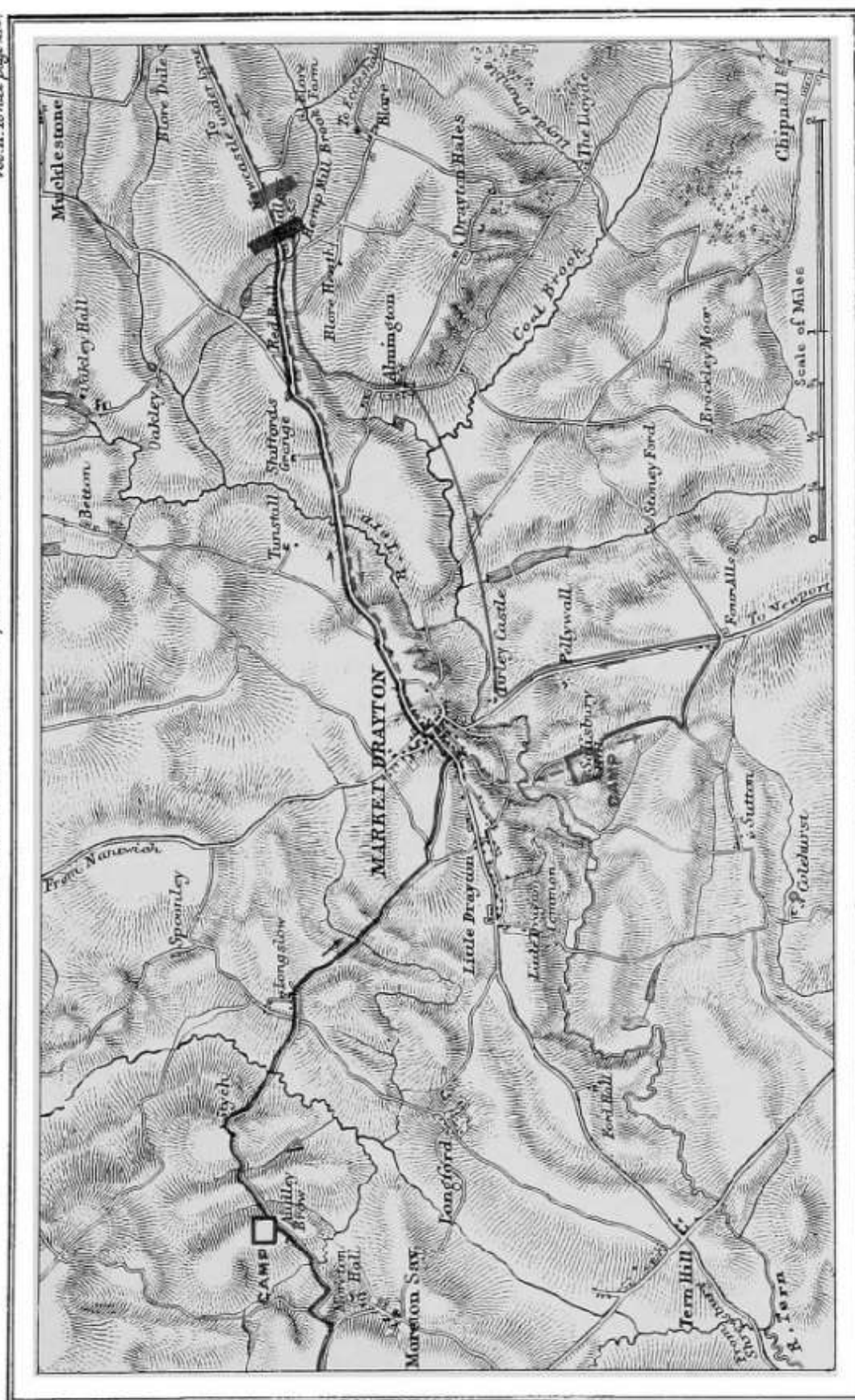
⁴ Id.

⁵ J. Whethamstede, i. 338. The estimates of Salisbury's numbers vary from 500 to 5000.

⁶ W. Gregory, 204.

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Lancastrian movements ——— Yorkist movements - - - - -

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fight must have been kept up from Tirley, or Almington, to Bloore Heath. Lord Audley was killed, Lord Dudley taken prisoner. A stone cross marks the spot.

CHAP. XIV.
1459

Cheshire suffered severely, as she had supplied recruits for both sides. Among the names of the victims we find those of Venables of Kinderton; Molyneux of Sefton; Dutton of Dutton; Troutbeck, Leigh, Egerton, and Donne¹.

Salisbury effected his junction with the Duke of York without further molestation; Warwick also made his way to Ludlow, but not without risk, as he just missed a collision with young Somerset at Coleshill; he brought with him from Calais Sir Andrew Trollope and Sir John Blount, veterans of the French war². But in numbers the Yorkists were still very weak.

Concentration of
Yorkists at
Ludlow.

The King, on the other hand, who had gathered a considerable force at Worcester, was anxious to avoid further hostilities, and Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, was sent forward to offer an amnesty on condition of disarmament. The Yorkists, however, who doubtless felt that they could not trust the Queen, rejected the overture, insisting that the amnesty of 1455, ratified by Parliament, had given no protection; while Warwick specially complained of the attack made upon him at Westminster in the previous autumn³. The alleged breach of the amnesty of 1455 may have had reference to the proceedings in the Grand Council at Coventry in 1456⁴, or to the recent engagement at Bloore.

The King
offers an
amnesty.

The King, seeing that they were shuffling, resumed his advance on Ludlow. On the 9th October he was at Leominster. On the 10th, York, Salisbury, and Warwick forwarded from Ludlow a somewhat rambling manifesto, in which once more they ventured to assert their "trewe entent" to the King's "estate" and "the commone wele" of the Realm. They made particular reference to an Indenture recently signed by them at Worcester, and forwarded

¹ See E. Hall, 240; J. Stow, 405; Chron. Davies, 80, &c.

² W. Gregory, *sup.*; J. Whethamstede, i. 338; R. Fabian; E. Hall.

³ J. Whethamstede, i. 339; J. Stow, 405.

⁴ Above, p. 199.

CHAP. XIV. through the cathedral clergy; they also referred to certain
 1459. verbal declarations made to Garter-King-of-Arms. With respect to their retinues, they insisted that they had no more 'fellowship' with them than was 'lawfull' in self-defence; and they complained that their estates had been overrun and plundered¹.

Dispersal
of the
Yorkists.

Henry answered by offering pardon to all who would join the Royal Standard within six days. On the 12th October he found the Yorkists posted at Ludford, just in front of Ludlow, in an entrenched position, commanding the bridge across the Teame. Apart from the Nevilles, Lord Clinton was the only nobleman with the Duke. Shots were exchanged and some skirmishing ensued; but after dark Trollope and Blount went over to the King's side. The defection of these professional soldiers turned the scales utterly. The Yorkist camp broke up at once. The Duke fled into Wales with his younger son, the Earl of Rutland, and so escaped to his government in Ireland. The Nevilles, with the Duke's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, made their way into Devonshire, whence they were shipped by Sir John Dynham to Guernsey, and from thence again to Calais. Ludlow was sacked by the Royal troops, as St. Albans had been sacked by the Yorkists: the Duchess of York, who was found there with her younger children, was placed under the charge of her sister, the Duchess of Buckingham².

The campaign lasted thirty days, during which time the King was kept continually on the move.

Parliament
at
Coventry.

Secure of a majority, Margaret was now all eagerness for the meeting of Parliament: in fact a Session had already been summoned to meet at Coventry on the 20th November. No writs were sent to York, Salisbury, or Warwick, or to the Lord Clinton, "but all the rest of the

¹ Chron. Davies, 81; J. Stow, 405; cf. J. Whethamstede, i. 341, where the writer seems to give an ideal version of the same letter.

² J. Whethamstede, i. 342-345; Rot. Parl. v. 348, 349; W. Gregory, 205-207; R. Fabian, 634; E. Hall, 241. Guernsey was in the hands of Warwick; Foed. xi. 453. Dynham's widow, Johanna, afterwards received £80 for the cost of the transport; Issues, Mich. 1 Edward IV, 7th November.

barons were cited". In the election of Members for the Lower House little regard was shown to the requirements of the law. In many cases no formal writs were sent to the Sheriffs, only letters of Privy Seal directing them to return suitable knights and burgesses; the Members were all nominated by the Lancastrian leaders, and, in some cases, without even the form of election ¹.

CHAP. XIV.

1459.

The Session was opened by the King in the Chapter House of St. Mary's. The Chancellor, William of Waynflete, delivered an address, beginning with the text, truly appropriate to a reaction Parliament, 'Grace and peace be multiplied unto you' ².

The business of the Session was to attain the Duke of York and his friends, and to confirm the succession of the Prince of Wales.

The Bill of Attainder, after referring to the many favours shown by the King to "this moost unkynde (i. e. *unnatural*) duc of York", went on to notice the rising of "Jakke Cade", which was put, not exactly as having been fomented by Richard, but as a movement having for its object his exaltation to the Throne. From that time onwards he was charged with having continually laboured for the "amenusyng" ³ of the King's authority. The "felde" at Dartford in 1452 was duly mentioned, the Duke's oath of the 10th March being set out in full. The battle of St. Albans came next, the amnesty being briefly noticed.

Attainder
of the
leading
Yorkists.

The indictment then travelled to the grand reconciliation of March, 1458; going back after that to the pledges given by York and Warwick at Coventry in October, 1456, as we take it, that they would never again have recourse to "wey of fayt". Another written obligation by the Duke to respect the King and his "succession" was also referred to.

¹ Stubbs, iii. 179; Rot. Parl. v. 367, 374; Chron. Davies, 83.

² Rot. Parl. v. 345. The Speaker chosen was Thomas Tresham, Member for Northamptonshire, son of the former Speaker, William Tresham, who lost his life in 1450 for his adherence to the Duke of York: the present man was equally devoted to the other side.

Diminishing, curtailment.

CHAP. XIV. The events of the recent campaign were then detailed, as
 1459. involving clear treason on the part of all the Yorkists present at Bloore or Ludford. The Bill ended by praying for the attainder of the Duke of York and his two sons, March and Rutland; the Earl of Salisbury, with his three sons and his Countess "Aleyse"; Lord Clinton, Sir Thomas Haryngton, Sir John Conyers, Sir John Wenlock, Sir William Oldhall, Sir Thomas Parre, John and Edward Bouchier—"nevues to the seid duc of York"—and William Stanley, brother of Lord Stanley; twenty-three persons in all.

That York's acts of the autumn involved a clear breach of the Coventry oath, cannot be denied: the question might be raised whether he first attacked Margaret or she him; but the sequel shows that of his ultimate purpose there could be no doubt.

Henry gave his assent to the Act, but only on condition that he should be free "to shewe such mercy and grace as shall please his Highnes to eny persone or persones"¹. The proviso suggests that Henry did not altogether approve of the proceedings of his friends. His transparent simplicity still refused to believe any harm of the enemies of his Throne. He rejected a Bill for the attainder of Lord Stanley, whose conduct during the Bloore campaign had been most suspicious. On the day of the battle he had been at Newcastle-under-Lyne, say fifteen miles off: the fighting had lasted some hours, yet he had been unable to join the Royal Standard².

The Suc-
cession.

The question of the Succession was settled by requiring all the Lords to swear a very solemn oath of allegiance to Henry as a King "by succession borne to reign". They were also made to swear to protect the Queen and her "moost noble estate"; and to accept Prince Edward and his issue as "naturall borne" heirs to the Crown³. The

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 346-350. All grants made to or by the attainted persons (unless in favour of Royalists) were also declared void; p. 366. For the King's personal intention of showing mercy, see J. Whethamstede, i. 355.

² Rot. Parl. 369.

³ 11th December; Rot. Parl. 351.

oath was signed and sealed by the Dukes of Exeter, Norfolk, and Buckingham; the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, and Wilts; Viscounts Beaumont and Bouchier; and twenty Barons; besides the two Archbishops and the Bishops, who signed in a body.

Of these signatories, Archbishop Bouchier and ten lay Peers appear to have been Yorkists, besides Lord Grey of Ruthyn, who shortly came over to them; twenty were supporters of the existing Dynasty, and eleven of this number within the course of the next two years, sealed their allegiance with their blood. With this strength and this devotion on their side, the collapse of the Lancastrian party must be attributed to their standing want—the want of a capable head¹.

In connexion with the settlement of the Succession, the grant of the Cornwall appanage made to the Prince in 1455 was confirmed and extended, the estates being limited to be held by him, as “frely and entierly,” as the same had been held by “Prynce Edward, sonne of Kyng Edward the III^{de}”; or by the King’s own father. It was also arranged that the issues should no longer be paid to the King, but to the Prince direct². This would enable Margaret to manipulate the funds in her son’s interests. Little other business was transacted. The Lancaster estates enfeoffed

¹ That the Dynasty had a majority among the magnates seems clear, and was natural, after sixty years of ascendancy. Among the lesser gentry of the counties, often more stubborn in their prepossessions than those who mingle more in the world, parties were more nearly balanced. Of the different districts Bishop Stubbs writes as follows: “The North of England, notwithstanding the influence of the Nevilles, was loyal; the old feud between the first and second families of Earl Ralph, made the head of the house, the Earl of Westmorland, at least half Lancastrian; the estates of the Percies and Cliffords, and of the Duchy of Lancaster, gave great influence in Yorkshire to the same party; the Queen had succeeded in raising a strong feeling of affection in the Western counties. In the East, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent seem generally to have been inclined to the Duke of York, who was also strong on the marches. The South-Western counties did not witness much of the military action of the time, and bore their share in the common burden quietly; no politician sufficiently prominent to be chosen Speaker represented any Western county during the whole struggle”; *Const. Hist.* iii. 180, 181.

² *Rot. Parl.* v. 356–362.

CHAP. XIV. to the uses of the King's will, were conveyed to new
 1459. trustees, the original trustees being mostly dead¹. Eton
 and King's Colleges received further recognition², but no
 Petitions. grant was offered, and no Statute passed. Among the few
 petitions presented was one by the Sheriffs, praying for an
 indemnity against the penalties incurred by them for the
 irregular return of Members to the present Parliament³.
 Another called attention to the "lamentable compleynt" of
 rioting, brigandage and "wrongfull enprisonements . . .
 universally thorough oute every partie of this your Reialme".
 The conclusion, however, was somewhat lame, as the peti-
 tioners only asked for proclamations against twenty-five
 named offenders of middling or humble rank⁴. On the
 20th December the Parliament was dissolved by the
 Chancellor, with expressions of the King's 'most tender'
 thanks⁵.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 352-356.

² Id. 363-365.

³ Id. 367. See Stat. 23 Henry VI, c. 14.

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 367.

⁵ Id. 370.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Return of the exiled Yorkists.—Battle of Northampton.—Parliament at Westminster.—The Duke of York recognised as Heir to the Crown.—Battle of Wakefield.

THE Yorkists had now been fairly driven from the kingdom, and put out of the pale of the law. But what had poor Margaret gained thereby? Nothing whatever. Her adversaries were out of her reach, relieved of all scruples, and free to choose their own opportunity for attacking her; while her efforts to anticipate or guard against their blows proved "ludicrously ineffectual".

Calais and the command of the Channel became the pivot of the struggle. As already mentioned, Salisbury and Warwick entered Calais on the 2nd November, the place having been held during their absence by their relative, Lord Fauconberge¹. Henry, Duke of Somerset, had been appointed Captain of Calais on the 9th October: a month later he drew pay for 1000 men for six weeks². Crossing the Channel, he was refused admittance to Calais, but made himself master of the dependant fort of Guisnes, from whence he kept up skirmishing operations during the winter, till he met with a decisive reverse at Newnham Bridge, otherwise *Pont de Neullay* (23rd April, 1460)³.

The Kentish people being favourable to the Duke of

¹ R. Fabian, 635; J. Whethamstede, i. 368.

² Foed. xi. 436; Stevenson, Letters, ii. 512.

³ Chron. Davies, 84; W. Worcester, 479; W. Gregory, 206; R. Fabian, sup.

CHAP. XV.

1459.

The York-
ists in
exile.

CHAP. XV. York, Lord Rivers was posted at Sandwich to guard
 1460. against a landing. Early in January Warwick sent over Sir John Dynham, who, entering the place between four and five o'clock in the morning, captured Rivers and his son, Anthony Wydeville, in their beds, and carried them off to Calais¹. In February we hear of eleven persons, one of them a barrister, Roger Neville by name, being executed in London for recruiting men for the Earl of Warwick². About the same time Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, was laying siege to Denbigh, which was held for the Duke of York: the siege was still going on in March³. The Duke of Exeter and Sir Baldwin Fulford were sent to sea with a considerable force to operate against Warwick; they effected nothing, their own men being against them⁴.

The Duke
of York in
Ireland.

On the other hand, the Duke of York met with a hearty reception in Ireland. The Earls of Kildare and Desmond secured for him the adhesion of Meath, Leinster, and Munster. His authority as Lieutenant was formally recognised by the Irish Parliament, "which authorised the establishment of a mint in his castle at Trim"⁵, and took the opportunity of asserting its legislative independence of England. Resistance to Richard's authority was declared treason; an agent of the English Government, who came over with writs for his arrest, was executed as a traitor⁶.

The Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond endeavoured to raise the native Irish, but without success⁷. In May the Earl of Warwick went over to Ireland to concert future measures, making the voyage from Calais and back in 'less than thirty days'. He brought back with him his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, who had taken refuge in Ireland. When off the Cornish coast he met the Duke

¹ Tuesday, January 7th or 14th; Paston Letters, i. 504, 506; Chron. Davies, 85, &c.

² W. Worcester, 178; Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 73.

³ Foed. xi. 444-446.

⁴ Stevenson, Letters, ii. 512, 515; Foed. 451; Chron. Davies, 85.

⁵ Cf. W. Gregory, 205.

⁶ Gilbert, Viceroy, 368-370.

⁷ So the Yorkist Manifesto; Chron. Davies, 87.

of Exeter, who had been posted to intercept him; but the Duke's fleet was ill-manned, ill-found, and disaffected. Warwick, on the other hand, had no wish to show disrespect to the King's flag, so, holding calmly on his way, he reached Calais without molestation ¹.

Events now came on in quick succession. Young Lord Audley and Humphrey Stafford, while endeavouring to land a force for the relief of Somerset, cooped up at Guisnes, were driven by stress of weather into Calais, and surrendered themselves as prisoners ². About the same time a landing-place in England was secured by a second attack on Sandwich; Osborne Mundeford, who was in command there, was overpowered and sent off to Calais, where he was most unceremoniously executed, while Fauconberge remained at Sandwich to keep the foothold ³.

On the 26th June ⁴ the young Earl of March (York's son), Salisbury, and Warwick crossed the Channel. Their prisoner Audley had joined the party, and they also brought a most valuable ally in the person of a Papal Legate, Francesco dei Coppini, Bishop of Terni ⁵.

The Bishop had recently been in England, and knew something of the state of English politics. In January, 1459, he had been accredited to England by Pope Pius II ⁶, to secure Henry's support for a General Council summoned

CHAP. XV.
1460.

Sandwich
seized by
the York-
ists.

Landing of
the Earls
of March,
Salisbury,
and War-
wick.
Cardinal
Coppini.

¹ *Circa* 1st June; W. Worcester, 479; Chron. Davies, 85; E. Hall, 243; Gilbert, *sup.*

² J. Whethamstede, i. 369; cf. Davies, 84.

³ Qy. 21st June?; W. Gregory, 207. According to Worcester, Osborne was executed on the 25th June, p. 479; J. Whethamstede, i. 370, 371; Fabian, &c.

⁴ Ellis, Letters, Third Series, i. 91.

⁵ "Episcopus Interamnensis". Sir H. Ellis renders this "bishop of Teramo". Contra Lingard, Creighton, and Hook. Coppini offended the Pope by the part he took against Henry VI, and was recalled: he was with Louis XI, the new King of France, in August, 1461 (T. Basin, ii. 13; Du Clercq, 180). In November Edward sent him to act as his Proctor at Rome with a pension of £100 a year (Foed. xi. 479); but on his arrival there he was imprisoned and degraded; Ellis, *sup.*, from the Commentaries of Pius II.

⁶ Calixtus III died at Rome on the 6th August, 1458 (8th August; H. Nicolas). On the 19th Aeneas Sylvius Pictolomini, Cardinal of Siena, was elected, and took the style of Pius II, an allusion to the Vergilian "pius Aeneas". Creighton, Papacy, ii. 361, &c.; for the early life of the new Pope, see *Id.* 236.

CHAP. XV.

1460.

Yorkist
Mani-
festoes.

by the Pope to meet at Mantua, on the 1st June, for the defence of the Faith against the Turks. Coppini remained a considerable time at the English Court, and obtained the appointment of an influential delegation to the Council; but effective co-operation was frustrated by the war and the preparations for the war¹. Returning on a fresh mission to England in 1460, Coppini was won over by the Yorkists, who induced him to join them at Calais². Their last act before crossing was to draw up a manifesto ostensibly addressed to Coppini in his character of mediator, but obviously intended for general circulation.

In this document, while reasserting their truth to Henry, and their readiness to serve their country by sea or land, the Earls made a preliminary demand for the reversal of the Coventry attainders, intimating that if that were not granted, and speedily, they would be compelled to try the fortune of war. The Lords, however, did not pledge themselves to ask for nothing more, as they hinted that a further 'concord' would be necessary³.

Another manifesto, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and 'the Commons of England', had also been issued from Calais⁴. This was the Duke of York's statement of his ostensible position; his final indictment against the Government. In the main it follows the lines of previous manifestos. Richard still adheres to his protestations of "ligeaunce" to the King, "hys estate prerogatyf and preeminence", and his "most noble persone". He only demands the removal of the evil counsellors who have misled the King, and brought the Kingdom to "destruccion and wrechedness". Of the many counts, the only

¹ Foed. xi. 419; J. Whethamstede, i. 331-336; Proceedings, vi. 298, 302. Two English priests appeared at Mantua in the course of the year, but Pius treated the humble embassy as an insult; Pii II, Comm. 88, cited Creighton, sup. 391.

² So his letter to Henry below.

³ "Alias si ista non concedentur nobis, vel non fiat honesta concordia . . . sumus parati . . . experiri arma et fortunam nostram". See the document dated Calais, 25th June; Ellis, Letters, Third Series, i. 85. Coppini's mission was, certainly in part, to mediate between parties in England.

⁴ So J. Stow.

one of any substance is the old one of the general break-
down of the administration, in itself a very sufficient charge
no doubt; but the Duke thought fit to super-add a com-
plaint of 'oppression and violence' done to the Church,
which had always been the first object of the King's solici-
tude. The complaint that the Commons had been "gretely
and merveyulously charged with taxes and tallages", was also
absurdly wide of the mark. The Commissions of Array
recently issued to resist the Duke were made the basis of
a charge of attempting to introduce a conscription on the
French model, "whiche imposicione and tallage . . . wol be
the . . . worst ensample that ever grewe in Englund"; while
for the first time we have the end of the late Duke of
Gloucester deliberately ascribed to "murther". The com-
plaints that the King had no "lyfelode" (*livelihood, means
of living*) of his own, and that Normandy and Guienne
had been "shamefully loste or solde", were repeated. The
guilty parties now alleged were the Earls of Wiltshire
and Shrewsbury, and Viscount Beaumont. "They . . . and
nat the Kyng" were the "causes" of the general distress;
they had driven the Duke from the King's presence;
plotted his murder, and that of his issue and friends; pro-
cured his attainder; intrigued with the Irish; and sought
to betray Calais to the French. The sting was in the
tail, and that was the part personal to the Duke; but the
whole was probably well enough suited to the popular ideas
of the time¹.

At Sandwich the Yorkist Lords found Archbishop Bour-
chier with his Cross, ready to receive them². Pushing on
towards London, they were joined by all Kent, with Lord
Cobham at their head. Articles of a very partizan character
were circulated in the name of the men of Kent. In these

¹ See the manifesto; Chron. Davies, 86-90; J. Stow, 407-408: also another one doubtless issued at the same time (MS. Harl. 543, f. 164), though marked by Stow as belonging to the year 1459. Of both it may be said that "many points are mere constitutional generalities . . . charges which had been from time immemorial part of the stores of political warfare"; Stubbs.

² Chron. Davies, 84; J. Stow, 408. J. Whethamstede represents the Arch-
bishop as having only joined them in London.

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CHAP. XV. the King's advisers were charged with instilling into him
 1460. that his will was law; that all that his subjects had was his; that all were traitors whom he chose to regard as such; calumnies, for which there was not a particle of foundation¹.

More interesting as an indication of public opinion was a ballad stated to have been affixed to the gates of Canterbury a few days before. The writer of this goes to the root of the difficulty, intimating that the Prince of Wales was a 'false heir' born of 'false wedlock'; and that Duke Richard ought to be recognised as the 'true blood'².

The York-
 ists enter
 London.

On the 2nd July the Yorkists entered London at the head of a vast mob. The Bishops of Ely and Exeter³ met them in Southwark: the crush on London Bridge was such that thirteen men-at-arms, stumbling over holes in the roadway, were trampled to death⁴.

The Lords Hungerford⁵ and Scales had been commissioned to hold London for the King, but the Yorkist party in the City proved so strong that they retired to the Tower. Lords Lovel, de la Warr, and de Vescy went with them⁶.

Next day (3rd July) Warwick went to St. Paul's, where Convocation happened to be sitting, and made a public statement of 'the causes of his coming'; ending by taking a fresh oath of allegiance on the Cross of Canterbury⁷.

On the same day the Legate Coppini addressed a most barefaced letter to the King. Affecting to hold a neutral position, he adjures Henry at the peril of his soul to concede all the Yorkist demands⁸.

¹ E. Hall, 243; *Chronicles of White Rose*, lxxiv, from MS. Harl. 543.

² Chron. Davies, 91-94.

³ William Gray and George Neville.

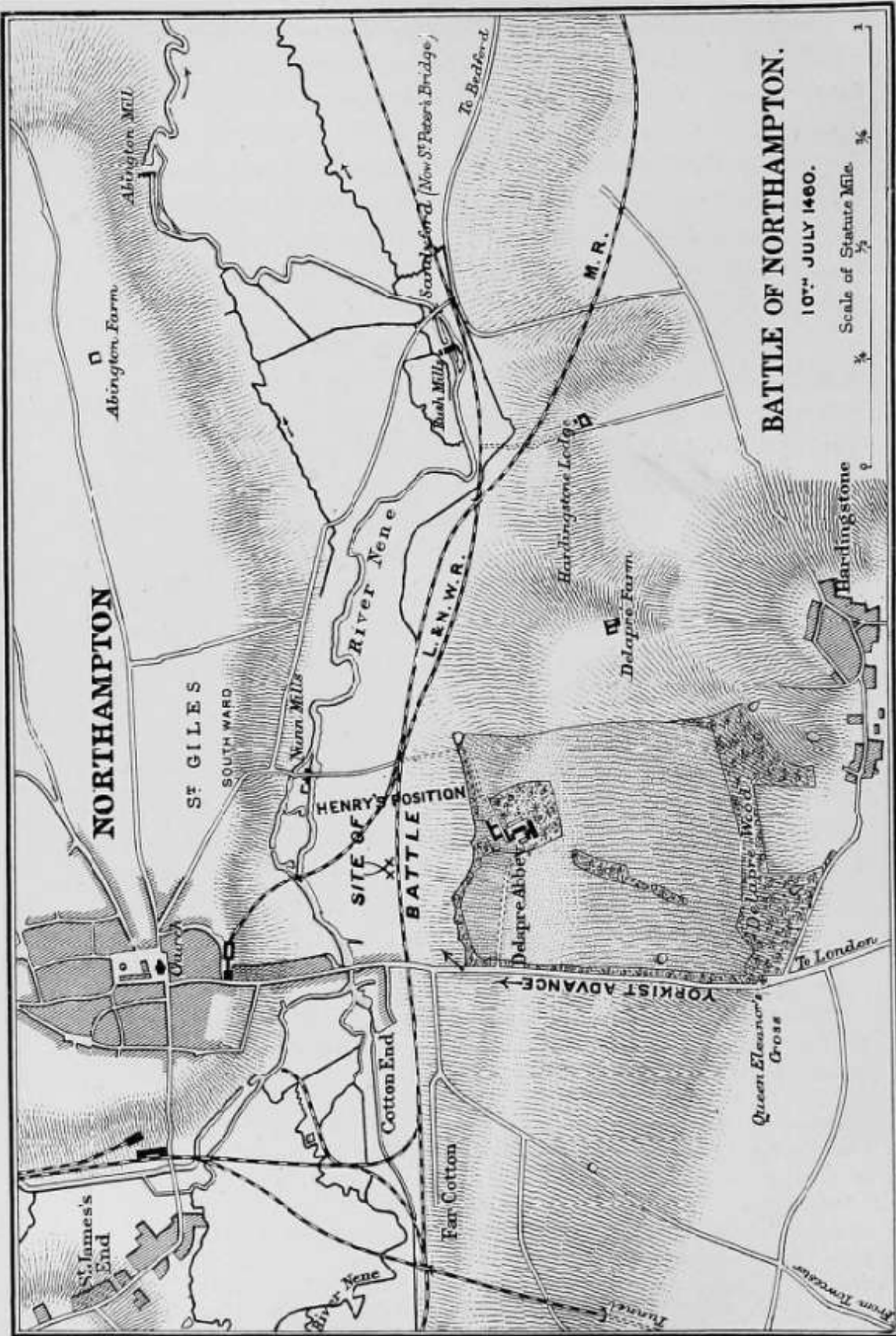
⁴ Chron. Davies, 94; W. Worcester, 480.

⁵ Robert Hungerford II. He succeeded his father in 1459; before that he had been summoned to the House of Lords as Lord de Moleyns, in right of his wife Alianore, or Eleanor, daughter of Sir William de Moleyns who was killed at Orleans in May, 1429; H. Nicolas.

⁶ Chron. Davies, 95; W. Worcester. They also had with them Jean de Foix, Earl of Kendal, but he turned Yorkist before the end of the year; Foed. xi. 466; *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, 73.

⁷ Chron. Davies, sup.; W. Worcester, 480.

⁸ Ellis, *Letters*, Third Series, i, 89.



A few days were spent in London arranging plans. CHAP. XV.
 Salisbury and Cobham were left to rule the City and 1460.
 besiege the Tower, while the rest set out to meet the Yorkist
 King. advance to
Northamp-

The Court in June had been at Coventry, but on hearing of Warwick's landing Henry advanced to Northampton; he took a tender leave of the Queen, kissing her and blessing the Prince¹, and sending them to Eccleshall out of harm's way.

On hearing of Warwick's advance from London, the King's supporters seem to have lost all heart. On the 7th July the Chancellor, Privy Seal, and chief officers of the Household, resigned in a body². The Yorkists had in their company Archbishop Bourchier, the Legate, and four other Bishops; the Lords Bourchier, Clinton, Audley, Fauconberge, Abergavenny, Scrope of Bolton, and Say³; and Sir Robert Botyll, Prior of the Hospital of St. John. The latter had been one of Henry's most trusted advisers; Audley had probably changed sides to gain his freedom; but ingratitude and bad faith are special features of the period.

On the forenoon of Thursday, 10th July, the Yorkists found Henry and his army entrenched in a meadow outside Northampton, apparently the one known as Hardingstone Meadow, on the east side of the London road, between Delapre Abbey and the river Nene⁴. The Bishop of Salis-

¹ W. Gregory, 209; Privy Seals, 38 Henry VI. Sessions had been held in London by the Yorkists; Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 74, 169.

² Foed. xi. 456; Foss.

³ John Le Scrope succeeded his father Henry in 1459. William Fenys, Lord Say, was the son of the man put to death by Jack Cade, as already mentioned; the father had been Lancastrian, the son was Yorkist.

⁴ "In the medowys beside the Nonry"; Chron. Davies, 96. The "Nonry" (*Nunnery*) is Delapre Abbey. The Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles say, "In the Newfelde be twene Harsyngton and Sandy fforde", p. 74. This seems to point to a site higher up the river; as for "Harsyngton" we must read "Hardingstone", while the Sandy Ford is identified with St. Peter's Bridge, to which the Ford Road still leads. Leland, again, in his Itinerary, seems to suggest a site within the Park of Delapre, as he says that "the battle was fought on the Hille without the southe gate, where is a right goodly Crosse, caullid as I remembre the Quene's Crosse, and many Walschmen were drounid in Avon (*leg. Nene*) ryver at this conflict. Many of them that were slayn were buried at

CHAP. XV. bury (Richard Beauchamp) was sent forward by the Yorkists
 1460. to ascertain if the King could be induced to accept of the mediation of the clergy¹, that is to say, of the Archbishop and the Legate. According to another account the request was that Warwick should be allowed to present himself before the King. The Bishop of Salisbury was subsequently charged with want of tact in the execution of his mission: whatever the tenor of his overtures may have been, they were scornfully rejected by the Duke of Buckingham, who since 1458 had gone completely over to the King's side. The King's friends might well decline the services of such 'mediators' as Archbishop Bourchier or Cardinal Coppini; perhaps with a man of the King's easy temper they felt that there could be no safety for themselves but in keeping their rivals at arm's length.

Battle of
 Northampton.

At 2 p.m. Warwick's trumpets "blew up". Reversing the ordinary practice of mediaeval warfare, he had ordered his men to sacrifice the leaders and spare the people. The Royalist artillery was rendered useless by torrents of rain, and the flooded state of the meadow. The storming of the entrenchment would probably have been under the circumstance an easy task, but it was made easier by the treachery of Lord Grey of Ruthyn, the man who had murdered William Tresham in 1450; who, now being in command of the Royal vanguard, pressed forward to offer the right hand of fellowship to the assailants. All was over in half an hour: Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Beaumont, Egremont, and many others lay strewn in death round the King's tent: not a few were drowned while attempting to cross the river at a mill, perhaps the Rush Mill, but more likely the Nun Mill. Some 300 in all were supposed to have fallen².

On this day, we may note, Edward "Plantagenet", the

De la Pray, and sum at St. John's Hospitale". Local tradition, however, fixes the place in accordance with the description given in the Chron. Davies. See Map.

¹ J. Whethamstede.

² Chron. Davies, 96, 97; J. Whethamstede, i. 372-374; W. Worcester, 481.

Earl of March, a young man of eighteen, whom nature had endowed with a grand *physique* and splendid courage, opened that record of military success which we shall find him preserving unbroken to the end of his career. We shall find him throughout exhibiting the greatest capacity for the game of war, and no capacity at all for anything else, except the pursuit of pleasure.

Once more Henry found himself a prisoner in the hands of Warwick: again he had to accept his assurances of loyalty. He was led into Northampton "wythe proces-syone"; just as he had been led into London in May, 1455, after the first battle of St. Albans.

At Northampton Henry remained three days; "and thanne came to London the xvi day of the monethe abovesayde, and loged in the bysshop's paleys", his ordinary residence when in the City. "For the whyche vyc-tory London yaf to Almyghtye God grete lawde and thankyng"¹.

The Lords in the Tower then surrendered "for lack of vitayl" (Friday, 18th July)². Next day Sir John Wenlock took possession. He was instructed to allow the Lords to go free, but Warwick again showed a vindictive disposition by refusing terms to the followers of his rival, the Duke of Exeter, the Constable of the Tower. Some seven of them were eventually arraigned at Guildhall in Warwick's own presence, and executed³. Lord Scales, one of the captives, being unpopular, was let out of the Tower by water after dusk. Unfortunately he was recognised, beset by the Thames watermen, and killed; it must be said, to Warwick's great annoyance⁴.

Thomas Thorpe, the Lancastrian Speaker of 1453, now

¹ Chron. Davies, 98. See also the contemporary ballad, *Archaeol.* xxix. 334.

² Chron. Davies; *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, 75.

³ Wednesday, 23rd July; *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, sup.; W. Worcester, 481.

⁴ 19th-20th July; *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, 75, 169; Chron. Davies, sup.; W. Worcester, 482; the last saw the body lying naked by the porch of St. Mary Overy, Southwark.

CHAP. XV.

1460.

The King
again a
prisoner.

He is
brought to
London.

CHAP. XV. second Baron of the Exchequer, was discovered disguised
 1460. as a priest. He was sent to Newgate, never to reappear
 in public¹. To his former misdeeds he had added the
 crowning offence of drawing the Bill for the Coventry
 Attainders.

New
 Ministry.

The three great ministerial offices, being actually or
 presumptively vacant, had to be filled up. On the 25th
 July the Great Seal was given to Warwick's brother, the
 young Bishop of Exeter. On the 28th Robert Stillington,
 Dean of St. Martin's le Grand, became Keeper of the
 Privy Seal; and Viscount Bouchier, Treasurer². In a
 short time all posts of any importance were filled by ad-
 herents of the Duke³, a fact which had a most material
 bearing on the subsequent course of events.

The Yorkists were now in a position to summon a Par-
 liament. Writs were issued on the 30th July, the assembly
 being fixed to meet at Westminster on the 7th October.
 Of the living Peers summoned to Coventry in 1459 Wilt-
 shire and Rivers were the only barons not invited, Bishop
 de la Bere, of St. David's, being the only prelate left out:
 he was a noted Lancastrian, and had resigned his See⁴.

In August Warwick went over to Calais, and induced
 Somerset to surrender Guisnes⁵.

The Duke
 of York
 returns to
 England,

The Duke of York did not return to England till the
 second week in September, when he landed near Chester,
 advancing by Ludlow and Hereford to London, which he
 did not reach till the 10th October, after Parliament had

¹ Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 75; E. Hall, 245; Foss, Judges. Thorpe was eventually beheaded by the mob at Haringay on the 17th February, 1461, the day of the second battle of St. Albans; J. Stow, 414.

² Foed. xi. 458. The date of Bouchier's appointment does not appear, but he was Treasurer in October; Issues, Michaelmas 39 Henry VI.

³ Thus William Bouchier became Constable of the Tower (25th September?), *vice* Exeter: Warwick Captain of Calais, *vice* Somerset; and Governor of the Channel Islands. Walter Blount became Treasurer of Calais, *vice* G. Clifton; John Fogge, Keeper of the Wardrobe, &c.

⁴ Lords' Report, Appendix. The lay Peers summoned were more numerous than those of 1459, namely, fifty as against forty-eight.

⁵ "Concordati sunt"; W. Worcester, 482, i.e. the garrison were bought over by paying them £1032 due for wages; Issues, Michaelmas 1 Edward IV.

met¹. His head must have been turned by his sudden success: certainly he behaved as if he expected to be hailed King of England by acclamation. He displayed 'the whole Arms of England without difference'; whereas till then he had been afraid to blazon those of Lionel of Clarence, using only those of Edmund of York². Trumpets and clarions heralded his advance, and, as he rode into London with 500 men, a naked sword was borne before him. He marched straight to Westminster³.

Parliament was sitting at the time. It had been duly opened on the 7th in the King's presence, and Chancellor Neville had delivered an address. The Coventry Attainders had been reversed at the petition of the Commons; and the Houses were probably engaged with the election of the Speaker⁴, when, with a flourish of trumpets, Richard marched into the hall, and, advancing to the vacant throne, laid his hand upon the cushion as if about to take his seat. But no cheer was raised to encourage him, so, feeling rebuffed, he withdrew his hand, and remained there, standing rather awkwardly beside the throne, till Archbishop Bourchier came forward, and with due reverence asked if he would like to see the King. Richard answered pompously, 'I know of no person in this realm the which oweth not to wait on me rather than I on him'. He retired, however, to take forcible possession⁵ of the King's own chamber in the palace, Henry happening at the time to be lodged in the Queen's apartments⁶.

This rude and ungracious conduct towards one who had treated Richard with such kindness and trustfulness, created an immediate revulsion in public opinion⁷. It was clear

¹ W. Worcester, 483; Paston Letters, i. 525; Chron. Lond. 141.

² Rot. Parl. v. 376.

³ W. Gregory, 208; J. Whethamstede, i. 376; E. Hall, 245.

⁴ Rot. Parl. v. 373, 374; cf. Foed. xi. 462.

⁵ "Effractis seris et ostiis apertis", "brak up the dores of the Kynges chambre", Croyland, Cont. 550.

⁶ J. Whethamstede, i. 376, 377; W. Gregory; Chron. Davies; W. Worcester, &c., sup.

⁷ "Cœpit protenus status omnis et ætas . . . contra eum murmurante agere", &c.; J. Whethamstede, 378, and again 380.

CHAP. XV.

1460.

and
assumes
the Royal
Arms.

Parliament
at West-
minster.

Entry of
the Duke
of York.

He occu-
pies the
King's
chamber.

CHAP. XV. that the Duke was not going to be bound by his oaths of
 1460. allegiance. Men had looked to him to reform the ills of the State ; they had a feeling that he and his had been kept out of their own ; but they were not prepared to push that feeling to its logical conclusion. On the other hand, if Henry VI had not offended as Richard II had offended, neither was the Duke of York a man of the thorough-going purpose of Henry IV or Henry V. Finding that "the Royal position could not be stormed", Richard proceeded to work for his end in his own quasi-constitutional manner.

He lays
claim to
the Crown.

On the 16th October his counsel laid before the Lords a formal claim to the Throne, with a pedigree clearly tracing the title of "Richard Plantaginet" as heir to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, "the third gotten son of Kyng Edward the third" in priority to "eny issue of . . . John of Gaunt, the fourth gotten son of the same Kyng". The pedigree was carried back to Henry III, so as to dispose of the pretension of John of Gaunt, that Edmund Crouchbank was really born before Edward I¹. Next day, the Chancellor having pressed the Lords for a "bref and undelaied answer", they went straight to the King's chamber, to lay the matter before him, as being too "high" for any subjects to deal with. Henry, who was probably not unprepared for the interview, and, at any rate must, from his infancy, have been familiar with every point in the controversy, begged the Lords to "serche for to fynde" objections to the Duke's claim ; while they, equally well up in the subject, retorted by praying him to give them the benefit of his historical knowledge, he being well read in "wrytyngs and cronicles".

On the 18th October, the Lords endeavoured to shift the responsibility by laying it on the shoulders of the Judges, sending for them, and straitly charging them to find "objections . . . in fortifying of the Kynges right". The Judges took two days to consider, and then gave their answer in writing to the effect that if they were asked to

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 375.

advise as between "partie and partie", then it was not law-
ful for Judges to be "of counsell" in any case. If they
were asked for judicial decision, then the matter was al-
together too "high" and "passed ther lernyng"; so they
prayed the Lords to have them excused. The baffled
Peers then made a desperate effort to bring in the King's
Sergeants and the King's Attorney, who had their "fees
and wages" from him. But the Crown lawyers were ready
with their answer. If the matter was too "high" for the
Judges "it must nedes excede their lernyng"; and so they
prayed the Lords to have them excused.

CHAP. XV.

1460.

Driven to the wall, the Lords produced five objections
of their own, three of them being of a very substantial
character, namely, the repeated oaths of allegiance taken
by Richard and themselves to Henry; and the Acts of
Parliament, and Parliamentary entails, by which Richard's
claim had been negatived, and the Succession assured to
the existing Dynasty. They also referred to Richard's use
of the Arms of "Edmund Langley", and to Henry IV's
claim to succeed as heir to Henry III.

The Peers
traverse
the claim.

The Lords' firmness shows how strongly rooted the
Dynasty was after all. The Lancastrian party had been
scattered; Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Beaumont, Scales, and
Egremont were dead; Audley and Grey of Ruthyn had
changed sides; the Duke of Exeter was with the Queen
in Wales; Somerset somewhere on the south coast; Wilt-
shire was in sanctuary at Ottery St. Mary; Rivers in the
hands of the Yorkists; Northumberland, Devonshire, Clif-
ford, Dacre of Gillesland¹, and Neville of Neville², were
in their own homes preparing for the future. Yet even

¹ Of Lords Dacre there were two at this time; one, Ralph Dacre, brother of Thomas, the last Lord, who died in 1458, was summoned to Parliament in 1459 as Lord Dacre of Gillesland: he was Lancastrian; the other Lord was Sir Richard Fenys, recognised by Patent in 1458 as Lord Dacre in right of his wife Joan, granddaughter and heiress of Thomas, the late Lord: he was Yorkist, and sat as a Trier of Petitions in this Parliament. He was distinguished as Lord Dacre of the South.

² John, brother to the Earl of Westmorland, called to the House of Lords in 1459.

CHAP. XV. in a House so weeded, Richard could not obtain a direct
 1460. recognition of his claim. Possibly the clergy may have thrown their weight on the other side. Richard put in an answer to the Lords' objections. Their last two points he dismissed with contempt: as for Acts of Parliament and Parliamentary entails they, though "good . . . ayenst all other persones", were of no avail against the "right enheriter" of the Crown by "Goddess lawe". Oaths were meant to support truth and justice, not untruth and injustice; but on this point he offered to submit to the decision of any Spiritual Judges¹. His confidence on this point may have been based on the Papal absolution he was said to have obtained², or he may have put his trust in Cardinal Coppini.

The King induced to agree to a compromise.

Henry to retain the Crown during his life, the Duke to succeed him.

Matters being thus at a deadlock, pressure was put upon Henry to induce him to agree to a compromise³—the compromise we have before referred to. On the 25th October the Chancellor informed the Lords that "a meane" had been found to reconcile regard for the King's 'honour and estate', with recognition of the Duke's 'indefeasible' title. The King 'would keep the Crown during his life; the Duke and his heirs would succeed him'. The Lords, glad to be relieved of their difficulty, adjourned once more to the King's chamber to ascertain if he was indeed prepared to consent. Henry received them with his usual urbanity: he was not a man to battle for his rights. After "good and sad deliberation and avyce had with all his Lordes"—as the record tells us—"the Kyng, inspired with the grace of the Holy Goost, and in eschuyng of effusion of Cristen blode", condescended to an "accord" to be ratified by Parliament.

The Duke agreed that Henry should be "taken and reputed" King of England and France, and Lord of

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 375-377.

² So very positively J. Whethamstede, i. 383.

³ "Ande he keppe Kyng Harry there by fors and strengythe, tylle at the laste the Kyng for fere of dethe graunted hym the crowne," &c. W. Gregory, 208. Cf. also Blakman, 305.

Ireland, during his natural life, undertaking to "wurship and honour" him as his sovereign, and to swear a solemn oath never to do, or suffer to be done, anything to 'abridge' Henry's life or 'hurt' his dignity or freedom: Richard's sons to join in the oath. Henry agreed that Richard and his sons should be "entitled and reputed" "verrey and rightfull" heirs to the same Crowns and Lordship at his death or resignation; that attempts upon Richard's life should be held high treason; that the Peers should take oaths of allegiance to him and his two eldest sons; and that land to the value of 10,000 marks a year should be assigned to them as their appanage. Lastly, the Act of Settlement of 1406 would be repealed.

CHAP. XV.
1460.

The transaction was completed on the 31st October, when Richard and his sons, the Earls of March and Rutland, came into Parliament and took their oaths, but "with protestation" that the King for his part should also 'duly keep the accord' ¹.

The suggestion, twice repeated, that Henry might perhaps be pleased to abdicate, or otherwise 'cease from' being King ², casts an ugly doubt upon Richard's intentions; the doubt must have looked very much like a certainty when, on the morrow (1st November), after another thanksgiving procession to St. Paul's, Henry was left at the Bishop of London's palace ³, while Richard returned to Westminster: a week later he was proclaimed Protector ⁴, a step not contemplated by the Accord. The struggle for a Crown seems to overpower all moral sense in man.

Richard
proclaimed
Protector.

Little other business is recorded of the Parliament, though the Session lasted till December. For the stipulated appanage of 10,000 marks, Wales, Chester, and Cornwall were granted to Richard for his life, exactly as the same had been granted to the Prince of Wales, whose existence,

¹ Rot. Parl. 377-379.

² "When it shall please his Highnes to ley from hym the said Coronas . . . or therof cesseth".

³ R. Fabian, 637; W. Gregory, 208.

⁴ Chron. Davies, 106; Fabian, sup.; E. Hall, 249.

CHAP. XV. by the way, was not once referred to throughout the proceedings.

1460.

Queen Margaret, the Prince of Wales, and the robber.

But the Yorkists must have been quite aware that all was uncertainty so long as Margaret and the Prince were at large; and she and her friends were again showing a threatening front. On hearing of the defeat at Northampton, she had fled from Eccleshall into Cheshire; near Malpas she fell into the hands of some of Lord Stanley's men, who seized her and her baggage. Fortunately, however, the men began to quarrel over their booty, and in the confusion she and her son got away by the help of a young squire, John Coombe of Amesbury, a lad of fourteen, the three riding on one horse. To elude pursuit they took refuge in a wood: Margaret's overstrung nerves—as she afterwards told her friends—conjured up enemies behind every tree; and in fact a brigand, "*hydeux et horrible en l'aspect*", came up, and seemed prepared to take advantage of their situation. With the true instinct of a mother, Margaret confided to him her rank, and, placing her boy in his hands said, 'Save the son of your King'! The man proved faithful, and the party reached Harlech in safety¹.

From Harlech, Margaret made her way to Denbigh, which had at last succumbed to Jasper Tudor². The Duke of Exeter joined her there³.

The Royalists resuming operations in the North.

The Duke goes down to meet them.

About November a concerted movement took place. The Earl of Northumberland and the Lords Roos, Clifford, Dacre of Gillesland, Neville, Latimer, and Greystock met at York, and began systematically ravaging the estates of Yorkists. The Duke of Somerset and Earl of Devon went to join them by way of Bath, Cirencester, Evesham, and Coventry. Apprised of these movements, York dissolved the Parliament, and left London on the 9th December, taking with him his second son Rutland and the Earl of

¹ See W. Worcester, 481; Chron. Davies, 98, 99; W. Gregory, 208, 209; J. Stow, 409, comparing Margaret's own account to the Duchess of Bourbon; G. Chastelain, iv. 300, &c. I venture to identify the "*escuier*" of Chastelain with the "*yonge poore gentyleman*" of Gregory.

² Proceedings, vi. 303.

³ Paston Letters, i. 525.

Salisbury; Warwick and the Duke of Norfolk being left in Town, while the Earl of March was sent down to raise men on the Welsh March ¹. CHAP. XV.
1460.

Richard had obtained from Parliament authority to employ all the resources of Government for the suppression of the 'riots and rebellions' in the North ². At Worksop his van came into collision with Somerset's rear, and suffered a slight check; both, however, held on their ways, Somerset joining his friends at Pontefract, while York on the 21st December reached his castle at Sandal ³, not a mile from Wakefield Bridge.

A tacit armistice was observed over Christmas week, the last of Richard's life. On Tuesday, the 30th December, the Royalists, finding that the Duke's strength had been weakened by sending out foraging parties ⁴, made a bold advance of nine miles from Pontefract, and so presented themselves in battle array between Wakefield Bridge and Sandal, challenging Richard to action. His advisers urged that he should wait for the concentration of his forces; but the "Plantagenet" thought death preferable to such dishonour. Regardless of odds, he led his men down from their moated stronghold ⁵. As the chief gate of the castle opened to the South, while the enemy were posted on the North, he would have to wheel round the base of the castle hill to reach the enemy, thus giving them ample time to make their arrangements, which they did, seemingly, by pushing forward their two wings on the right and left hand sides of the road, so as to be ready to enclose him as soon as the head of his column should come to close quarters with their main 'battle', which was drawn up across the roadway. Richard went blindly into the snare, and was taken "like a fish in a net, or a deere in a buckestall". He fell fighting at the head of his men: the spot where

Battle of
Wakefield.

Defeat and
death of
the Duke
of York.

¹ W. Worcester, 484; Chron. Davies, 106; W. Gregory, 209, 210; E. Hall, 250.

² Rot. Parl. v. 382.

³ W. Worcester, 484.

⁴ W. Worcester, 485; J. Whethamstede, i. 382.

⁵ Sandal Castle stands on a high conical "mote" of the old Danish type.

CHAP. XV. he fell is still shown, some 400 yards from the castle¹.
 1460. The young Earl of Rutland, getting out of the *mêlée*, endeavoured to escape to Wakefield: a few yards from the bridge he was overtaken by Clifford and stabbed, an offering to the Manes of his father.

"By God's blode, thy father slew myne and so wil I do the".

Among the slain were young Lord Haryngton²; Sir Thomas Neville, second son of the Earl of Salisbury; Sir John Haryngton, of Hornby; Sir Edward Bouchier, son of Viscount Bouchier; Sir James Pickering; Sir Hugh Hastings; Sir William Parr. Sir Thomas Haryngton, the father of Sir John, died of his wounds next day³. The Earl of Salisbury was captured in the course of the night, and taken to Pontefract: in the morning he was beheaded. The bodies of the chief victims were treated in the same manner, their heads being sent round to the chief towns in Yorkshire. That of the Duke was honoured with the mocking distinction of a paper crown⁴. These indignities testify to the "embitterment of feeling by personal and private antipathies". Yet we must note that the writers who condemned Richard's conduct to the King in October, are now equally strong in their condemnation of the Lancastrians. The public, to a great extent, watched the struggle rather as anxious spectators than as decided partisans, waiting on the course of events.

¹ An old tree marked the spot: the tree had been recently blown down, but the gap in the hedge still remained in 1886.

² William Bonville III, son of William Bonville II, by Elizabeth Haryngton, daughter and heiress of William, the last Lord Haryngton, who died in 1458. William Bonville II was the son of William Bonville I, Lord Bonville, who was still living; G. E. C. Peerage, &c.

³ Hall adds Sir Hugh and Sir John Mortimer, illegitimate uncles of the Duke: they are not noticed by the writers of the time.

⁴ See E. Hall, 250, the only account of the battle: cf. Worcester, sup. (29th December); J. Whethamstede, sup.; Chron. Davies, 106, 107; W. Gregory, 210; Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 154, 171; J. Warkworth, notes, 42. Also papers by Mr. Clements Markham, *Wakefield Herald*, 6, 13, 20th Feb. 1886. Hall, the chronicler, was descended from one David Hall who fell in the battle. Perhaps other members of the family may have survived and transmitted details.

York's death, however, was a great loss to the nation ; CHAP. XV.
 his rule would have borne a very different character from 1460.
 that of his son.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XV.

Children of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, by Cecille Neville, youngest daughter of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland. (She died 31st May, 1495¹.)

(1) Anne, born at Fotheringay, Tuesday, 11th August, ? 1439² ; married first Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, by whom she had a daughter Anne (died unmarried 1475-1476)³. The Duchess divorced the Duke 12th November, 1472, and then married secondly Sir Thomas St. Leger, by whom she left a daughter also called Anne (married Sir George Manners, Lord Roos, and left issue) ; died January, 1476⁴.

(2) Henry, born at Hatfield, 10th February, 1441⁵ ; died young.

(3) EDWARD IV (created Earl of March, 1445-1446).

(4) Edmund, born at Rouen, 27th May, 1443⁶ ; Earl of Rutland 1445-1446⁷ ; died 30th December, 1460 (killed at Wakefield).

(5) Elisabeth, born at Rouen, April, 1444⁸ ; married John de la Pole, second Duke of Suffolk (before October, 1460)⁹, and had issue.

(6) Margaret, born at Fotheringay 3rd May, 1446¹⁰ ; married Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 3rd July, 1468 (below) ; died at Malines 1503, s. p.

¹ Sandford, *Genealogical History*, 387.

² W. Worcester, 460.

³ Sandford, 396 ; below, A.D. 1475.

⁴ Stow ; *Paston Letters*, iii. 154, &c.

⁵ W. Worcester, 461.

⁶ *Id.* 462.

⁷ Doyle, *Official Baronage*.

⁸ W. Worcester.

⁹ Doyle.

¹⁰ W. Worcester.

- CHAP. XV. (7) William, born at Fotheringay 7th July, 1447 ¹.
 1460. (8) John, born at "Neyt" (*the Neat*), near Westminster,
 7th November, 1448 ².
 (9) George, born in Ireland 21st October, 1449 ³; Duke
 of Clarence 28th June, 1461; married Isabel Neville, eldest
 daughter of Richard, Earl of Warwick (the King-Maker),
 11th July, 1469; died 18th February, 1478 (executed in
 the Tower), and left issue Edward, Earl of Warwick, &c. ⁴
 (10) Thomas.
 (11) RICHARD III (created Duke of Gloucester 28th
 June, 1461).
 (12). Ursula, born 22nd July, 1455 ⁵.

¹ W. Worcester, 464, "quartus filius".

² W. Worcester. For the Neat, a house and grounds now represented by the parish of St. Gabriel's, Pimlico, see Wheatley and Cunningham's London, ii. 577.

³ W. Worcester.

⁴ See below and Table.

⁵ W. Worcester.

CHAPTER XVI.

HENRY VI (*continued*).

Alliance of Margaret with the Scots.—Advance on London.—Second Battle of St. Albans.—Edward Duke of York assumes the Crown.—Battle of Towton.—End of Reign of Henry VI.—Financial Review.

"Le Roi est mort. Vive le Roi!"

CHAP. XVI.

RICHARD PLANTAGENET was dead; but his rights, whether under the "Accord" of the 25th October, 1460, or otherwise, had devolved on his son Edward: the dynastic situation therefore was unchanged. But for Warwick the advent of a new chief, young and untried in politics, could not fail to involve material changes. A foreign writer assures us that Warwick had strenuously resisted the assumption of the Crown by the Duke of York¹; and certainly it does not appear that after the battle of Wakefield he was in any hurry to communicate with Richard's son. We may therefore suppose that Warwick preferred the plan of ruling in the name of Henry VI to that of risking the chances of a revolution.

1461.

Warwick and the new situation.

But again Margaret had to be reckoned with.

The Queen had not been with her friends at the battle of Wakefield. She was in Scotland beating up recruits and allies, a very doubtful policy. She went to Dumfries in January, 1461, and spent ten or twelve days at the

Margaret in Scotland.

¹ Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 244-247; Wavrin-Hardy, v. 313-317. The allegation may be correct, though the incidents and details given by the writer seem imaginary, and his narrative here is generally confused.

CHAP. XVI. neighbouring abbey of Lincluden with Mary of Guelders, the Queen-Mother, and her son, young James III¹.

1461.

Death of
James II.

James II was no more. True to the national policy, on hearing of the English troubles in July (1460), he had called out his levies and attacked Roxburgh Castle. On Sunday, 3rd August, he was watching the discharge of a great gun, when the piece burst and killed him on the spot². The Scots, however, persevered with the siege, and on the Friday following won Roxburgh. On the Sunday after that again James III was crowned at Kelso, having just completed his ninth year. The campaign ended with the capture and demolition of Wark³.

Parties in
Scotland.

In Mary of Guelders, Margaret might naturally expect to find a sympathetic friend, a foreigner like herself, and to all intents and purposes a Frenchwoman; but she was the niece of the Duke of Burgundy, and indebted to him for her position as Queen of Scots. As might be expected under a minority, Scotland was much divided by parties. In fact we trace three parties at least at this period. First we have the 'Old Lords', as they were styled, headed by the Douglas Earls of Angus and Morton, the Earl of Orkney, and James Kennedy, the distinguished Bishop of St. Andrews, the founder of St. Salvator's College there. These men clung to the French alliance, and consequently favoured the House of Lancaster. Queen Mary was gathering round herself a party of younger lords, namely, Levingston, Darnley, Hamilton, Huntley, and Hailes. As a Burgundian the Queen would naturally incline to the

¹ W. Worcester, 482, 485; Chron. Auchenleck, 21; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, vii. 8, 39.

² "The third Sonday of August"; Chron. Auchenleck, 20; "die Dominica . . . tertio Augusti," Extracta e Cronica, 243, 244; Scotichron. ii. 516; and Holinshed. The allegation of the Chron. Davies, p. 99, and Stow, p. 409, that James II died on the 10th August is refuted by the Registrum Magni Sigilli Scotiæ, which shows that his son's reign began on or before the 5th August, p. 171. The spot where James II fell is shewn in the grounds of Floors Castle. Cf. W. Worcester, 482, 485; E. Hall, 245; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, vii. xxxiii.

³ James III was born on the 10th July, 1451; Burnet, Exchequer Rolls Scotland, v. lxxxviii.

House of York. Lastly we have the Earl of Ross, John of CHAP. XVI.
1461. the Isles, who aspired to Highland independence; with him we may class the reckless exiles, James, Earl of Douglas, and his brother, Lord Balveny, men ready for any enterprise.

Margaret offered to marry her son to a sister of young A Scottish
alliance. King James as the price of an offensive alliance. The proposal was on the whole favourably received, but the Scots pressed for something more. They demanded the cession of Berwick. It would seem that Margaret, under the pressure of circumstances, agreed, and in return for this humiliating concession, was allowed to take with her a fatal contingent of northern auxiliaries¹.

The transaction brings out in the clearest light Margaret's incapacity to appreciate English feelings. To surrender England's chief bulwark against Scottish inroads as the price of liberty to import Scottish hordes to overrun England, was enough to stamp her party as national enemies. We may remind the reader of the instinctive repugnance shewn by the native leaders of both parties to Scottish intervention on their behalf.

Margaret's absence doubtless delayed the advance on London, which was not undertaken till after her return to York. In the meantime the young Duke of York, as we ought to call him, had checked the concentration of Lancastrian forces by defeating the Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire at Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore, pursuing Battle of
Mortimer's
Cross. them as far as Hereford, and driving them thence into "the corners of Wales". The victim of the day was hapless Owen Tudor, Pembroke's father, who, being taken prisoner, was ordered to execution by Edward. The unfortunate old man, who had been dragged from a seclusion of three and twenty years to do battle for the Dynasty, refused to believe that the head which had lain on the lap of a Queen could fall by the axe, till the executioner's hands

¹ Chron. Auchenleck, 21, 22; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 301, 302; J. Duclercq, 169; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, vii. 8; cf. G. Buchanan, 349, 372 (ed. 1697).

CHAP. XVI. were laid upon him¹. Nine other 'captains' suffered with him².

1461.

Margaret
advances
towards
London.

Soon after this reverse Margaret began her advance from York with the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset; the Earls of Northumberland, Devon, and Shrewsbury³; and the Lords de Roos, Grey of Codnor, Fitz-Hugh, Greystock, Welles, and Willoughby, and young Sir John Grey of Groby⁴. The army also included "Scots, Welshmen, and other strangers", a few of these last being Frenchmen. The whole was placed under the orders of Andrew Trollope as "grand capitaine"; a motley and unruly force, which by its misconduct swept away Henry's remaining hold on the nation. After crossing the Trent unrestricted pillage was allowed: Grantham, Stamford, Peterborough, Huntingdon, and Royston were sacked: nothing was spared, not even the books or vessels of the altar. The report ran that all England south of the Trent had been given up by Margaret to the Northern men as their "recompence". Henry's government had long been recognised as a failure; these outrages gave a new point to old grievances⁵.

Henry
taken to
St. Albans.

On the 12th February, Warwick took the King from London to St. Albans to be ready for the Northern host. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Arundel, Viscount Bouchier, and Lord Bonville were with them.

¹ 2nd February, W. Gregory, 211; E. Hall; J. Stow: 3rd February, Chron. Davies, 111; 1st February, W. Worcester, 486. A portent of three suns, caused doubtless by atmospheric refraction, was seen in the sky at 10 a.m. on the 2nd February. Edward claimed the omen as a good one; "In the name of Almyghtye God go we agains oure enemyes". The Chron. Davies places this on the day before the battle; Gregory and Hall on the day of the battle; so does the Lambeth MS. 306 (Three F. C. Chron. 77), but it gives a contradictory date, 'Sunday, Candlemas Day'. Sunday was the 1st February; apparently both the action and the portent should be placed on the 2nd. In commemoration of the lucky omen Edward afterwards adopted the Sun in conjunction with the Rose (*La Rose en Soleil*) as his emblem.

² For their names, see J. Stow, 413.

³ John Talbot III, third Earl, and son of the man killed at Northampton.

⁴ W. Worcester, 486; Doyle, Official Baronage.

⁵ J. Stow, 413. For the confusion and alarm created, see Croyland, Cont. 532, and Three F. C. Chron. 155 (Ely); also Chron. Davies, 107; W. Gregory, 212; J. Whetham. i. 388, 394; Paston Letters, i. 541; ii. 3. The town of Grantham is said never to have recovered its former position.

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OF THE MAYOR'S MARCHES OF O. A. 1811.

Margaret's Troops	Warwick's Troops	First Lancers' Attack
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They pitched their camp on "Barnet" Heath, now Barnard's Heath, a high-lying plateau at the north end of the town of St. Albans, a position well enough suited for resisting an attack from the North, as the ground falls rapidly in that direction, and in fact in every direction except towards Sandridge¹. The camp was further "fortefyd fulle stronge" with guns, nets, palisades, and other devices.

On the 16th February, the Queen's army reached Dunstable and defeated an outpost². Next day they advanced on St. Albans. Better informed as to Warwick's position than he apparently was as to theirs³ they took the trouble of making a slight *détour* to turn his position on the Heath, and so, instead of attacking him in front, kept along the Watling Street till they reached the church of St. Michael, within the walls of the old Roman Verulam. Then turning across the bridge over the Ver they boldly ascended Michael Street and Fishpool Street, to reach the centre of the town in Warwick's rear. But at the Great Cross in the market-place they were arrested by a body of archers, whose arrowy hail drove them down the hill again towards St. Michael's Bridge. Nothing daunted, they resumed their advance as soon as they were clear of the streets, skirting the "Town Backsides" till they came to Catherine Lane, through which they burst into St. Peter's Street, there renewing the struggle and driving their adversaries out to the Heath. Meanwhile, Warwick finding his position turned had removed the King with the main body of the army to Sandridge, and, in fact, to No Man's Land, three miles off: "and then alle thyng was to seke and owte of ordyr"⁴. Thus, when the Royalists fairly debouched on

CHAP. XVII.

1461.

Second
battle of
St. Albans.

¹ See map. Warwick may have been encamped on the site of the present Heath Farm or on ground adjoining it along the Sandridge Road.

² W. Worcester; W. Gregory, 212.

³ We are told that Warwick had no proper information as to the enemy's movements.

⁴ W. Gregory. This writer, who seems to have been engaged on Warwick's side, gives interesting details of the "gynnes" of war used. Among these were 'nets of great cords' four fathom long and four foot wide, set up with spikes: 'pavisses' (*shields*) like doors, set up with 'folding staves,' and loop-holed to shoot through: also things 'like unto a lattice,' full of spikes, and

CHAP. XVI. the Heath, they had only the left wing of Warwick's army
 1461. to contend with. An obstinate conflict ensued: it seems most probable that the Southerners would have gained the day had they been backed up; but they were not, and so eventually they broke and fled, the Northerners chasing them down the slopes on the right hand and the left. The main body, who had not struck a blow, dispersed in panic, and the leaders had to follow. When night closed in, Henry was left with one Esquire in attendance, Thomas Hoo, who took him to Lord Clifford's tent, where the Queen and Prince joined him. The King's joy knew no bounds. He knighted his son on the spot, and Edward again was made to confer like honour on the Earl of Shrewsbury and some thirty others. Henry was then taken to his usual quarters in the Abbey, but not till he had duly offered at the high altar and the Protomartyr's shrine. A Royal proclamation against pillaging, however, failed to save the town from the miseries of a second sack. Among the prisoners taken were Sir John Neville, the King's Chamberlain, recently created Lord Montagu¹; Lord Bonville, and "that manly knyght," Sir Thomas Kyrielle. Bonville and Kyrielle were executed² by order of a court over which the young Prince, not yet eight years old, was made to preside. Montagu was spared³, perhaps,

Henry re-
joins the
Queen.

made to open out or close up like "lazy tongs". These were intended to hamper cavalry. He styles the artillerists "borgeners" or "bargeners"; apparently the "Burgundenses" of the *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 155. They could shoot 'pellets of lead', arrows with double feathers, and 'wilde fire'. Not one of all these appliances proved of any use in the action!

¹ Montagu was the third son of the Earl of Salisbury and so younger brother of Warwick. Attainted by the Parliament of 1459 he had been restored by that of 1460: he became Chamberlain in February, 1461; *W. Worcester*, 776; *Doyle*, *Official Baronage*.

² Another man executed was William Gower, who had carried one of the King's banners in the action; *Rot. Parl.* v. 477. In the vestry of St. Peter's Church may be seen a helmet, a relic of the battle: also a pair of fetters found on the leg bones of a man of stature—perhaps Kyrielle, Bonville, or Gower.

³ 17th February. See *J. Whethamstede*, i. 388-396. The writer was at St. Albans at the time; *W. Gregory*, 211-214; *W. Worcester*, 486; *Chron. Davies*, 107, 108; *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, 155. Gregory records that the "substance" of the fighting was done by the 'household men and by the feed men'; i. e. the hired retainers: the popular levies being little worth.

on account of his personal connexion with the King as Chamberlain : at any rate, we shall find him less decided in his politics than the other members of his family. CHAP. XVI.
1461.

Of those engaged on the Queen's side, Sir John Grey of Groby died of his wounds¹.

Of the battle, we may remark that the want of boldness and resource exhibited by Warwick were such as to justify the contempt with which, as we shall see, his generalship was viewed by that accomplished soldier, Edward IV.

A prompt advance on London would have reinstated the King and Queen. 'Had they come to London with their army, all things would have been at their will.' So writes an intelligent observer who was in Town at the time²; and it appears that friendly agents were sent by the civic authorities to Barnet Heath on the day after the battle. The Duchess of York, in terror, shipped her two younger sons from Baynard's Castle to the friendly Court of Burgundy³. But the Queen did not advance. "*Et hoc fuit destructio regis Henrici et reginæ suæ*"⁴. In fact parties were divided in London as elsewhere. The lower orders shewed a spirit of determined hostility; while the Royalist chiefs probably felt that they could not trust their lawless hordes within the city. So the army was taken northwards again in an aimless kind of way, still plundering as it went. The Royal
army re-
tires north-
wards.

But, apart from battlefields, Warwick could act with decision. Politics were his sphere. Seeing the seat of government thus left "empty, swept, and garnished", he put himself, without the loss of a single hour, into communication with the young Duke of York, who was at Gloucester, and went down to Oxfordshire to meet him⁵.

¹ E. Hall; J. Stow; G. E. C. Peerage, &c. If his mother, Elizabeth Ferrers, was dead he would be Lord Ferrers, but the date of her death is uncertain. She had been remarried to Sir Henry Bouchier, younger son of Viscount Bouchier; Doyle; G. E. C., &c. See Table.

² "*Omnia habuissent ad eorum libitum*"; W. Worcester, 488.

³ E. Hall, 253.

⁴ W. Worcester, *supra*.

⁵ W. Worcester, 487, 488; W. Gregory, 214; Chron. Davies, 108, 109; E. Hall, 253.

CHAP. XVI. On Thursday, the 26th February, they rode into London, going quietly to Baynard's Castle¹.

1461.

Edward,
Duke of
York,
enters
London,

Two days having been spent in considering the situation, on Sunday, 1st March, George Neville, the Chancellor, held a mass meeting of citizens in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, the ground being kept by the Duke of York's troops. Neville explained Edward's title to the Crown; and obtained a resolution, carried, as we should say, by acclamation, that Edward was and should be King². Popular feeling having been so far worked up, a council of Yorkists was held at Baynard's Castle on the 3rd March. The Chancellor, Archbishop Bourchier, Bishop Beauchamp of Salisbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Warwick, the Lords Fitz-Walter³ and Ferrers of Chartley⁴, Sir William Herbert and others were present, and resolved to make Edward King without further ado⁵.

and as-
sumes the
Crown.

Next day, Wednesday, 4th March, Edward and his partisans went in state, first to 'offer' at St. Paul's, where the Chancellor preached⁶, and then on to Westminster. Entering the Hall⁷ Edward seated himself on the throne, and, addressing the multitude, explained the nature of his title; and that he claimed the style and authority of a king⁸. His claim having again been accepted and ratified by the cheers of all present, he was taken to the Abbey, where the clergy presented him with the crown and sceptre

¹ W. Gregory. "Thorsday the first weke of Lenten," the date given by the Three Fifteenth Century Chron. p. 77, and by Fabian, must be taken to mean Thursday in the first week in 'clean' Lent, i. e. the second week. York and Warwick could not have entered London on Thursday, 19th February.

² W. Worcester, 489. The writer was present. "Interfui et audiui et descendi cum eis in civitatem."

³ Sir John Ratcliffe, styled Lord Fitz-Walter, in right of his wife, Elizabeth Fitz-Walter; H. Nicolas; Chron. White Rose, p. 9.

⁴ Walter Devereux; he also was a lord by the Courtesy of England in right of his wife, Anne Ferrers; H. Nicolas.

⁵ W. Worcester, *supra*; cf. J. Whethamstede, i. 404; Fabian, Hall, and Stow, expanding some general words in Gregory, give to this meeting the character of a Grand Council or Convention, but it was a strictly party meeting.

⁶ Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 173. The sermon has been preserved and is printed: Archæol. xxix. 128; J. Stow, 415.

⁷ "Westmonaster hall", "the great halle."

⁸ "Sumpto tam nomine, videlicet Regis, quam regni etiam regimine".

of the Confessor. Having again 'offered' both at the high altar and at the shrine of the Confessor, he took his seat on a throne prepared for him in the choir, and received homage. From Westminster, he returned by water to the Bishop's palace, at St. Paul's, his accession being formally proclaimed¹. Towering above the crowd, the young Plantagenet would be hailed as another Saul.

Edward IV's reign "was allowed to begin from the day on which he declared himself King. . . . To anticipate the language of later history, the accession of the house of York was strictly a legitimist restoration." But though there was no election by any persons authorised to speak on behalf of the nation, only a "tumultuary recognition"², yet it appears that Edward took possession of the Throne with the assent of the southern half of the kingdom, finally estranged from the House of Lancaster by the misconduct of Margaret's host. So far, but no further, the chroniclers are justified in describing Edward's accession as an 'election'³. The work of Henry IV was thus undone, and undone primarily through the ambitious policy of his brilliant son. If we were required to summarize the revolution of 1461 in one word, we should describe it as the Nemesis of Agincourt. If Henry V had been content to follow the pacific policy of his father, the House of Lancaster might be ruling England at this day.

Before parting with Henry as a ruling King, we may give one more illustration of his ignorance of the world he lived in. Riding into Cripplegate one day from St. Albans, he saw a ghastly-looking object set up on a stake over the gate: enquiring what it was, he was told that it was the quarter of a traitor executed for treason against himself. 'Take it down at once', he said, 'I would not have a Christian

¹ See J. Whethamstede, i. 404-408, and the Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 173; but the former represents Edward as having delivered a second speech and made a second appeal to the people in the Abbey; cf. W. Worcester, 489; E. Hall, 254; J. Stow, 415.

² Stubbs, iii. 189, 190; "acclamantibus cunctis in regem angliae sublimatur", Croyl. Cont. 532.

³ W. Gregory, 215; Chron. Davies, 110, "was chosen Kyng".

CHAP. XVI.

1461.

His
'election.'

Character
of Henry
VI.

x x x

CHAP. XVI. body so treated on my account for anything'¹. Nor was
 1461. his age blind to his private virtues. In 1446, Eugenius IV presented him with a Golden Rose, the well-known distinction reserved by the Papacy for specially devoted servants of the Church. The offering was formally delivered to the King on the 11th November, 1446, by Louis de Cordova, just at the time when Margaret and Suffolk were plotting the downfall of Duke Humphrey. The gift, no doubt, may have been connected with the efforts being made by the Pope to obtain from the English Church payment of the general Tenth, voted by the council of Basle in 1443. But Henry's title to be singled out for the honour was not affected by that. He must have felt deeply humiliated when, writing on the 5th December, to acknowledge with deep gratitude the receipt of the Rose he had to slur over in melancholy silence the question of the Tenth².

Founda-
 tions of the
 Reign.

The Royal foundations at Eton and Cambridge have been already noticed. But these were not the only educational foundations for which the reign must be remembered. At Oxford we have Lincoln College, founded in 1427 by Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln; All Souls' College, founded in 1437 by Archbishop Chicheley; and Magdalen College, founded in 1456 by William of Waynflete, successively Head Master of Winchester, Head Master and Provost of Eton, Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of England³. At Cambridge, we have Queens' College, founded in 1448 by Margaret of Anjou⁴. The increase in educational foundations concurrently with the decrease in purely ecclesiastical foundations, is a noteworthy feature of the times.

Finance of
 the Reign.

For the finance of Henry VI, a brief summary must suffice. The difficulties of his Government were to a great extent

¹ J. Blakman, 301. The writer was present. For valuable remarks on the fall of the Lancastrian dynasty, see Stubbs, iii. 191.

² See Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 541-552; cf. Devon Issues, 457.

³ Oxford University Calendar.

⁴ Cambridge University Calendar.

financial, and the financial difficulties, like all the others, sprang from the weakness of the pivot on which everything turned. Henry was plundered because he was not strong enough to protect himself; and he could not replenish his Exchequer, because he had not sufficient influence with the Commons to make them tax themselves. In its financial aspect, the reign may be divided into three periods.

First, from September, 1422, to September, 1428, when the Government received no direct grant from Parliament, except one of 6*s.* 8*d.* on the Knight's Fee; and only one Tenth from the Convocation of Canterbury, and one half-Tenth from that of York.

The second period will extend from September, 1428, to September, 1454, when Lay and Clerical Subsidies were voted with some degree of regularity.

The remainder of the reign, up to the accession of Edward IV (4th March, 1461), will form the third period, when direct grants again ceased. Following our usual course, we will examine the several branches of the Revenue under the accustomed heads.

I. Old Crown Revenues.

(a) Sheriffs' and Escheators' Accounts, &c., as per Pipe Rolls¹.—The reader has already been given to understand that of all branches of the 15th century Revenue no one is so difficult to get at as that arising from the old feudal and landed rights and possessions of the Crown. The Rolls are overloaded on the one hand with old recurrent items handed down from one Sheriff to another, without the semblance of any account being offered of the sums entered as due to the Crown. On the other hand, the sums for which the Sheriffs do tender accounts melt away under the burden of local charges and allowances, often of ancient date. Thus the following results, though taken out with great care, must be offered under some reserve.

Old Crown
Revenues.
Pipe Rolls.

¹ Our account includes the payments from vacant Sees, Priories Alien, aulnage of cloth, estates 'in hand', fines, wardships, &c.

CHAP. XVI. An analysis of two Pipe Rolls gives the following
 1422-1461. results in round numbers¹ :—

	<i>Gross charge (without arrears).</i>	<i>Paid in ("In Tho.")</i>	<i>Accounted for otherwise.</i>	<i>Left owing.</i>
	£	£	£	£
Pipe Roll, 1 Henry VI, Michaelmas, 1st-2nd years (1422-1423). .	19,206	6906	10,390	1908
Pipe Roll, 25 Henry VI, Michaelmas, 25th-26th years (1446-1447) .	17,414	3179	10,480	4327

With these results we can compare the estimate laid before Parliament by Lord Cromwell in 1433². Taking the items in his return of the Old Crown Revenues which correspond to those arranged by us under the head of Pipe Rolls, we have as follows :—

<i>Charge.</i>	<i>To be paid in.</i>	<i>Allowances and Deductions.</i>
£14,808	£7356	£7452

The reader will notice that the sum the Treasurer hoped to get into the Exchequer was only £450 more than our return of what had been paid in a few years before. On the other hand, our "otherwise accounted for" comes to nearly £3000 more than his "allowances and deductions". Perhaps he altogether ignored some of the payments we have allowed.

For the first period, therefore, we can clearly allow £15,000 a year gross, and £7000 a year net for this branch of the Revenue. For the later periods £13,000 a year gross and £4000 a year net will suffice.

Cornwall. (b) Duchy of Cornwall.—For the returns from Cornwall we have accounts for the 7th, 32nd and 33rd years from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts; and one for the 12th year from the Parliament Rolls³. Making the best of

¹ The Pipe Rolls are also commonly used for recording special accounts of arrears of Subsidies, Customs, Hanaper, and what not. These are left out of our analysis as not belonging to the branch of the Revenue under consideration. We have also endeavoured to leave out arrears.

² Rot. Parl. iv. 433.

³ Id.

this evidence, we will roughly allow £3000 a year gross, and £1500 a year net for the yield all through the reign. CHAP. XVI.
1422-1461.

(c) Earldom of Chester.—For this possession of the Crown we have Ministers' Accounts for the 1st and 2nd years of the reign. Taking the mean of these two years we seem to find gross receipts to the amount of £700 a year, including arrears. Of this amount £370 appear to be expended locally, leaving £330 presumably available for central purposes. Lord Cromwell's statement already referred to gives the gross returns for the 12th year (1433-1434) as £764. We shall, however, probably allow enough if we take £700 a year for the gross income, and £330 for the net return.

The Palatinate was liable by custom to vote a subsidy of 3000 marks (£2000) on the creation of each new Earl of Chester. But that only came once in a generation or so. It was duly paid in the 31st year (1453-1454) on the birth of the Prince of Wales¹; but in so long a reign the addition of that single sum would not substantially affect the average, which must remain the same through all our three periods.

(d) Wales.—For North Wales we have taken from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts returns for five years, falling, no doubt, within the early part of the reign, and they give average returns of £1300 gross, and £900 net.

For South Wales we have taken from the same source returns for four years, and they show £1585 a year gross, and £975 a year net. But even the net returns were expended locally, as nothing at all seems to have reached the Exchequer.

(e) Duchy of Lancaster.—Under this head we have obtained returns for one year within our first period, namely, 2nd February, 1422-1st February, 1423; and for seven years within our second period (1438-1452). The gross yield for the earlier year is given as £3594, equivalent, say,

¹ Omerod, Cheshire, ii. 875 (ed. Helsby).

CHAP. XVI. to £2500 net. The later years show an average in round numbers of £4300 a year gross and £2800 a year net¹.
1422-1461.

II. Customs.

Customs.

Here we may remind the reader that the Customs under Henry V were taken to average £49,200 a year: the returns for the financial year 1417-1418, the last ascertained by us, amounting to £52,714 gross. In dealing with the Customs the gross returns are the ones to be looked at, the allowances to the Collectors, the only real deductions in our estimation, being very small: £400 or £500 a year would cover the amount. All the other so-called deductions were simply payments made by the King's orders and on his account.

With the very beginning of Henry VI's reign we have a fall in the yield of the Customs², due probably to the war. For the first year of the reign (Michaelmas 1422-Michaelmas 1423) the gross total is £45,732; that for the second year £41,972; and that for the third year £30,720, the drop in this year being due to reduced shipments of wool.

Fluctuations in wool returns.

The irregularities in the Customs returns from wool are very singular. Every now and then we come to a year when little or no wool was exported. Whether the wool crop was liable to fluctuations like those in vintages; or whether the deficiency was due to naval warfare, or to some irregularity in the mode of keeping the accounts, we cannot say, but the consequent falls in the Customs were very serious. The above figures are taken from the detailed returns from the several ports, audited by the Barons of the Exchequer, and then entered on the Treasurer's Enrolled Customs Accounts, the most authoritative record.

On the strength of the years above given, we will allow say £39,000 a year for the first six years.

Advancing to our second period (September 1428-September 1454), the Pell Receipt Rolls for the financial year

¹ Duchy of Lancaster, Class 28, Bundle 4, Nos. 9-16. There are no other Duchy accounts for the reign in the Record Office.

² See Table below.

1429-1430¹, as examined by ourselves, show Customs CHAP. XVI.
 payments into the Exchequer to the amount of £30,347, a 1422-1461.
 sum that would imply at least £34,000 gross, as the system
 of direct payments had begun to come into vogue². For
 the next two years we have double returns, through dif-
 ferent channels. First, we have the amounts attested by the
 Enrolled Customs Accounts, as taken out by ourselves;
 and secondly we have the report of the yield of those years
 as laid before Parliament by Lord Cromwell in 1434.
 The comparison of the two sets of returns is not altogether
 satisfactory. According to the Treasurer the gross yield
 of the Customs for the ninth year (1430-1431), all dues being
 mentioned, was £34,852, without Newcastle; and that for
 the tenth year (1431-1432) was £30,804, again without
 Newcastle³.

The Customs Accounts for Newcastle for those years
 have reached our hands, though they had not reached the
 hands of Lord Cromwell in 1434: adding the amounts
 shewn by them to his figures, we get £34,938 for the
 ninth year, and £31,385 for the tenth year. Lord Crom-
 well's totals are expressly given as gross, and subject to
 charges and deductions to the amount of £3756, or there-
 abouts.

The totals for these same two years, furnished by the
 Enrolled Customs Accounts, as added by ourselves, come
 to £31,366 and £40,717. Lord Cromwell's amount is
 above ours in the one year, and below ours in the other
 year; but on the whole his aggregate total is considerably
 below ours.

It would be unkind to suggest that as Lord Cromwell
 had only just entered office he might not as yet have fully
 mastered the details of Exchequer business; besides, the
 facts would be supplied by the permanent officials. Per-
 haps he took a different view from ourselves of what con-
 stituted gross returns, and so gave his gross totals subject

¹ Receipts Michaelmas and Easter, 8 Henry VI.

² See too Lord Cromwell's Statement above.

³ Rot. Parl. iv. 435.

CHAP. XVI. to some primary deductions which he did not specify. At
 1422-1461, any rate he gives no details, while the Enrolled Accounts
 give full details, and on them we must take our stand.
 For the 11th year, which we ourselves have not taken out,
 we must be content with Cromwell's statement, which,
 with the addition of Newcastle, comes to £27,091.

From the 11th year we must skip on to the 20th and
 21st years of the reign (1441-1443), when we get from our
 Customs Accounts totals of £24,519 and £41,614. Here
 again the disparity is due to the irregular shipments of
 wool. In the first of these two years Hull and Ipswich
 return £988 and £381 respectively; and in the latter of
 the two years £10,953 and £2196 respectively. So again
 Boston, another wool port, sinks to £1225 in the earlier
 year, and rises to £5384 in the latter year¹. We may,
 however, remark that the sums in the one year are about
 as much above the normal average as they are below it in
 the other year, so that for the purposes of striking an
 average the one twelvemonth may be fairly set against the
 other.

For the 27th year (1448-1449) an analysis of the Pell
 Receipt Rolls gives us net returns from the Customs (with-
 out cancelled tallies)² to the amount of £26,080, equivalent
 certainly to £30,000 gross; while the Enrolled Accounts
 for the 29th and 30th years (1450-1452) give us totals of
 £28,314 and £32,020; and there our *data* for the second
 period must end. Taking the average of these nine years,
 we allow £32,000 as the gross yield of the Customs during
 this time.

For the last period, 1454-1461, we have the totals for
 two years from the Customs Accounts, namely those for
 the 37th and 38th years (1458-1460). With all the con-
 fusion of the time, it is perhaps remarkable that there is no

¹ The most amazing disparity is found in the Newcastle accounts, where
 e.g. under the 26th year we have £1499 of duty paid, practically all from
 wool, with £1100 paid into the Treasury. In the 30th year there is no wool
 shipped, and the total duties accounted for come to £81.

² For these see preceding vol. p. 144, but especially Antiquary, viii. 96.

further decay traceable; as the sums come to £30,014 and CHAP. XVI.
£32,674. On the strength of these we will again estimate 1422-1461.
an average yield of £32,000.

Our totals include the old Butlerage due, being a tax of Butlerage.
2s. the tun of wine levied from foreigners. The amount
came on the average to about £200 a year. 750 tuns
of wine is the smallest, and 2500 tuns the largest importa-
tion entered under any single year.

The rates of Customs duties did not vary much during the Rates of
Duties.
reign; at least so far as natives were concerned. For them
Tonnage remained at 3s. the tun of wine, and Poundage at
12d. on the £1 value of general merchandise, including native
cloth. But foreigners were subjected in 1431 to surtaxes of
3s. on the tun of sweet wine and 6d. on the £1 value of
general goods, the latter impost being raised to 12d. in 1433¹.

The wool duties payable by natives, in spite of some
efforts to raise them, remained at 40s. the sack through-
out. The duties from foreigners varied a good deal. A
total of 63s. 4d. the sack was imposed on them in 1422,
to be reduced shortly to 53s. 4d.² In 1435 the amount
is given as 56s. 8d., and in 1437 at 63s. 4d.; while in 1453,
when the Customs were voted for the King's life, the total
to be paid by foreigners on the sack of wool is stated at
100s.³ This duty, if enforced, would simply exclude them
from dealing in their own names in the English market.
But in practice probably 50s. was the most ever exacted.

The falling off in the wool duties was perhaps in part The cloth
trade.
due to the development of the home manufacture of cloth.
Ordinary cloth, or cloth "of assize", could be exported at
the light duty of £5 per cent.; while the duty on wool at
the lower rate paid by natives must have come to £25 per
cent. on middling wool, which we are told sold for £8 the
sack at Calais⁴.

The development of the English woollen manufacture
is specially noticed by foreign writers at this time, and
noticed with alarm by the Burgundian writers. The

¹ See last vol. pp. 436, 456.

² Proceedings, iii. 35.

³ Rot. Parl. v. 229.

⁴ Rot. Parl. iv. 454; cf. Rogers, Prices, iii. 704.

CHAP. XVI. Customs Accounts bear clear testimony to the expansion
of the cloth trade.

1422-1461.

Direct
Grants.

III. Direct Grants.

Lay
Fifteenths
and Tenths.

(a) Lay Subsidies, &c.—A statement on the Parliament Rolls for the 2nd year of Edward IV informs us that the Fifteenth from counties and Tenth from boroughs was still estimated at £37,000. So it may have stood on the King's Books; but as a matter of fact we found under Henry V that £36,000 was the utmost that we could make out as the product of one of these imposts.

Down to September 1428 Henry VI received no regular Subsidy from Parliament; but between that time and the year 1432 he received three Fifteenths and Tenths, with five-sixths of another Fifteenth and Tenth, making in all £138,000. Between 1433 and 1445 the King received six further Subsidies, but under a deduction of £4000 each for the benefit of places that had fallen into decay since the time of the original assessment. It may be asked whether the £4000 would be deducted from the assumed £37,000 or the actual £36,000. Considering the difficulty there always was in getting these taxes fully paid up we may safely assume the latter, and hold that the yield of one of these Subsidies would at the most only reach £32,000, so that the product of the whole six would come to £192,000.

Between 1446 and 1454 the King again received from Parliament four Subsidies and a half, but under a deduction of £6000 each, whereby the Subsidy would be brought down to £30,000 and the aggregate total to £135,000.

After 1454, Henry received no direct grant from Parliament of any sort.

Sundry
Grants.

But besides the regular Fifteenths and Tenths Henry received a few other grants which, though trifling, must be mentioned. In 1428 he received a grant of 6s. 8d. from each knight's fee of lands held in chivalry, and the same from every parish of lands held in socage.

In 1431 he received a grant of 20s. on the knight's fee, and the same on every £20 annual value of socage lands; while in 1435 Parliament voted a graduated income tax of

6*d.* on the £1 of freehold rents from persons worth £5 a year, rising to 2*s.* on the £1 from persons worth more than £400 a year. CHAP. XVI.
1422-1461.

The reader may be reminded that Peers contributed to these special grants, though not to ordinary Fifteenths and Tenths.

Lastly, we have to record some miserable poll-taxes on foreigners. In December 1439, or January 1440, alien householders were condemned to pay 1*s.* 4*d.* a year; servants and lodgers to pay 6*d.* a year. The amount was increased in 1449, when 6*s.* 8*d.* a year was laid on each foreign merchant resident in the country, and 1*s.* 8*d.* on each foreign clerk¹.

These imposts will not give us much trouble. The poll-tax at the best appears only to have brought in £100 a year; and the grant of 1431 was remitted, apparently because the people could not be made to pay it. The grant of 1435 however was raised, after four years of diligent labour on the part of the Commissioners, and it realised £12,154 for all England². With respect to the 6*s.* 8*d.* on the knights' fees and socage parishes we can only make a guess. Assuming as an outside estimate that there were 8000 parishes and as many lay knights' fees in England at the time, the yield of the tax would amount to little more than £5000; most likely it did not bring in half that amount. However, spreading that amount over the six years of our first period, we shall get an annual average contribution of £800. For the second period, the sum of the direct lay grants above noticed, when distributed in the same way over the twenty-six years, will supply £18,346, or allowing for defalcations, say £18,000, a year.

The third period, as already stated, was not favoured with any direct grants from Parliament.

(*b*) Clerical Subsidies.—The Canterbury Tenth under Henry V we took at £12,000. The proceeds of the first half Tenth voted to Henry VI, as entered on the Pell Clerical
Tenths.
Canter-
bury

¹ For all these grants, see above under the several years.

² Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 33-38 Henry VI. The reader may be reminded that Parliament had insisted that persons should be assessed on their own mere oaths.

CHAP. XVI. Receipt Rolls, amount to £6422 12s. 9d.¹ As the earlier
1422-1461. grants of a reign were always more productive than the

later ones, we shall make a liberal estimate if we again
allow £12,000 for each Subsidy from the northern Province.
York. For the York Tenth we will again in like manner allow £1400.

During our first period, as already mentioned, Henry received one whole Tenth from Canterbury, and one half Tenth from York, in all £12,700. Divided between the six years this will give £2116 for each year.

During the second period Henry received 15½ Tenths from the southern Province, equal to £183,000, and 5½ Tenths from the northern Province, equal to £7350. The sum of these two spread over the twenty-six years will furnish a contribution of £7321, say £7300, for each year. The last period passed without any grant from either Convocation.

Hanaper. IV. Hanaper in Chancery.

For our first period we can give a very exact account under this head, as the returns for the whole six years are before us². They exhibit one with another £2000 a year of gross income, and about £1450 of net income.

For the second period we have returns for three years from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts, and for one year from the Pipe Roll for the 25th year of the reign³. The amounts are slightly higher, and enable us to allow £2100 for the gross, and £1500 for the net proceeds.

For the third period we have three years taken from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts, and we are glad to notice a further rise in this, if not in any other branch of the Revenue. The yearly amounts may be taken as £2600 gross and £2000 net.

Tower Mint. V. Tower Mint and Exchange.

Here we have in the first period returns for three years from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts. The proceeds are large, owing to recoinages at the beginning of the reign,

¹ Receipts, Michaelmas and Easter, 4 Henry VI.

² Enrolled Foreign Accounts, Henry VI.

³ Subsidiary accounts, not properly belonging to the Sheriffs' regular business, often find their way into the Pipe Rolls, as already noticed, apparently because the money had been applied to local purposes.

and they make up on the average, say £1700 a year gross and £1100 a year net.

CHAP. XVI:
1422-1461.

For the second period we have from the same source returns for four years and a half; they now only come to, say £250 a year gross, and perhaps £50 a year net.

For the third period we have again four years to go by: but the establishment only pays its own expenses, yielding just £228 a year gross and nothing net.

VI. Loans and Sundries.

Loans.

The reader may remember that in calculating the Revenues of Henry IV we allowed £1500 a year for money borrowed but not repaid; and that for the Revenues of Henry V we allowed £5000 a year under that head. What to allow for the reign of Henry VI is to us a matter of great uncertainty. Not because he did not owe money, for it is clear that the Government was deeply in debt under various heads; and not because he did not borrow money, as independently of the ordinary hand-to-mouth borrowings of the Exchequer, the reader has heard of large loans authorised to be raised by Parliament; but because we do not think that the Government was ever strong enough to borrow largely without giving security. The question could be answered fully by going through the Receipt Rolls, where the loans not repaid can always be distinguished from those that were repaid¹. But the labour of this would be very heavy. For the first ten years however we can refer to the statement of Lord Cromwell, so often mentioned, which, with the tables of the Revenue, gives also a schedule of unsecured Crown debts up to date. There we have £18,000 for loans, of which £6666 were due to Cardinal Beaufort². But the reader has heard that in the first three or four years of his reign Henry VI repaid the Cardinal £23,000 borrowed by Henry V; so that on the entire loan account of the first ten years, even if nothing of the £18,000 was ever repaid, Henry VI would be out of pocket.

¹ If the loan is repaid at any time, a marginal entry alongside of the original entry of the loan attests the fact. If the loan never came to be repaid, there is no such entry.

² Rot. Parl. iv. 436.

CHAP. XVI. But the £6666 due to the Cardinal was certainly repaid, so
 422-1461. that during those years Henry must have paid back considerably more than he borrowed. For the rest of the second period, down to September 1454, something perhaps ought to be allowed for loans not repaid, considering how common the practice of borrowing was, say £750 a year. For the last period, after September 1454, we would again allow nothing.

Totals of Revenue. Putting these several results together, the reader will see that we make out—

for the first period, an average Revenue of £70,795 gross and £57,171 net ;

for the second period, a yearly average of £84,285 gross and £69,605 net ;

and for the third period, a yearly average of £58,713 gross and £44,005 net.

Net and Gross Totals. With respect to the difference between the gross and the net totals, the reader must be reminded that this represents a great deal more than necessary office charges and deductions. The amount of these was not heavy.

Direct payments. The bulk of the difference is made up by direct payments to influential persons, who found that, with the scramble for money at the Exchequer, the only safe way was to get an order for payment at the fountain-head of some special branch of the Revenue. Thus the jointures of the Queens Dowager Johanna and Catherine and of Queen Margaret were mostly charged on the Old Crown Revenues, and so make up part of the difference between our net and our gross returns. Even the Royal Household found it desirable to protect itself by obtaining an order for preferential payment of a certain sum from the Lancaster estates. Under this system the Treasurer had no longer any control over the Royal expenditure.

The reader therefore will understand that, in our estimation, the gross totals approximate much more nearly to the true Revenue than the so-called net totals ; and that a deduction, say of £2000 or £3000 a year, from the gross totals would give the best idea of the actual Revenue.

In former reigns we have compared the results yielded

by examination of the audited subordinate accounts with those exhibited by the unaudited accounts in chief of the Pell Issue and Receipt Rolls. For this reign again, as the materials for the comparison are ready to our hands it need not be withheld, little importance as we attach to the result. For our first period, the two sets of accounts may be said to harmonise exactly. The totals of the expenditure on the Issue Rolls of the first six years show an average of £71,400, as against our £70,859 of estimated Revenue. With the second period, the twenty-six years when direct grants were made, the harmony disappears. The average of twenty out of these years for which accounts are forthcoming show an average expenditure of £109,100 a year, or £25,000 a year above our estimated Revenue—a huge discrepancy no doubt¹. We say that this difference is made up partly of loans contracted in anticipation of the grants from Parliament and Convocation, and repaid out of them²; and partly of over-drafts, tallies or assignments drawn upon the Revenue officers in excess of the assets in their hands, but still entered on the Issue Rolls as valid payments to creditors. Of these drafts Sir John Fortescue tells us that a poor man would rather have 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) in cash than £100 by assignment, “wich peraventur shall cost hym right miche or he can gete his payment and peraventur be never paid thereof”³.

As evidence of the extent to which the Pell Rolls might be inflated by short loans and overdrafts we may adduce two facts. In the Easter term of the eighth year we have £11,000 borrowed and repaid within one week; the operations of that single week involve an addition of £11,000 to the seeming Receipts and Expenditure of the year: again as early as the twelfth year (October 1433) the schedule of debts drawn up by Lord Cromwell gives the outstanding overdrafts as amounting to £56,288 10s. 10d., representing on the average another £5000 of inflation for each previous year of the reign. The total debt in 1433 is given as

¹ For these totals, see *Antiquary*, x. 194, and xiv. 100.

² See preceding volume, p. 144.

³ *Governance of England*, 119 (ed. Scott Plummer).

CHAP. XVI.

1422-1461.

Comparison of Totals given by Issue and Receipt Rolls.

Inflation of Pell Rolls.

CHAP. XVI. £166,961 8s. 3d.¹ By the year 1449 the amount had risen to £372,000².
 1422-1461.

Again, we will adduce an instance in the contrary direction to show the utter worthlessness of the Pell Rolls at this period of our history as evidences of the Revenue or Expenditure. The two Receipt Rolls for the thirty-seventh year (1458-1459), apart from cancelled tallies and loans, give a total Revenue of only £22,021, while the Enrolled Customs Accounts prove a return from the Customs alone in that year of over £30,000. £22,021 was doubtless all that reached the hands of the Treasurer, but the Treasurer was no longer the keeper of the King's purse.

Expenditure of the Reign.
Household.

To glance at the expenditure of the reign.

The Household down to the time of the reductions made in 1454 appears to have been kept with singular regularity within the moderate limits of £13,000-15,000 a year, exclusive of the Great Wardrobe, which came to £1500 or £1600 a year more³. In the seventeen months from the 4th December 1454, to the 11th May 1456, we find £17,684 spent⁴.

Calais.

Calais was always a terrible drain; the expenditure can be fully traced through the Enrolled Foreign Accounts. There were two standing accounts for Calais, that of the Treasurer for money wages; and that of the Victualler for the rations which the Government had to supply; the latter represents one-third, and the former two-thirds of the total allowance. From the 4th February 1421, to the same day in 1424, the apparent expenditure for the combined accounts was £43,444; in the next two years we have £43,276 recorded as spent. Again, from 1426 to 1428 we have £26,374 spent. Then passing on to the five years beginning 24th June, 1451, we have £95,500 paid for wages; with £22,676 spent for victualling in a period of five years

¹ Rot. Parl. iv. 436.

² Rot. Parl. v. 183.

³ For the Household we have examined a summary of the first four years in the Chapter House Miscellanea; Lord Cromwell's estimate for the 11th year; and sundry Q. R. Miscellanea for the 22nd, 25th, 26th, 29th, and 30th years; the estimate, therefore, of £24,000 for the 28th year given in Rot. Parl. v. 183, seems unreasonable. For the Great Wardrobe see accounts also in the Q. R. Miscell. for the 17th, 18th, 21st, 22nd, and 28th years.

⁴ Q. R. Miscell., Wardrobe, 111.

falling about the same time, but not exactly within the same dates. Thus the total bill for pay and rations came to more than £29,000 a year. In addition to this, we have, between 1451 and 1456, £16,484 spent on works. Thus the proved expenditure for Calais in this reign may be said to have run from £15,000 a year to £30,000 a year, without works. Of the moneys passed through the accounts last referred to, we note that £49,580 was apparently borrowed from the Merchants of the Calais Staple; of which £40,900 went to clear off the account of Edmund Duke of Somerset up to the 20th April, 1456,—nearly a year after his death,—the rest going to the Earl of Warwick. But this was a great effort made once in a way. The expenditure was really beyond what the Government could defray, and the garrison lived in a state of chronic mutiny.

One word as to the large sums left owing by the Government for wages of war, as for instance to Sir John Fastolf, who claimed £4000 at his death¹. The Indenture of a man-at-arms engaging to serve under the Duke of York in 1441 throws some light on this². The Captain engages to pay over to the recruit the full amount of the first two quarters' pay, always advanced by the Government before the expedition sailed; for his pay after that the soldier practically agrees to be content with what he can get abroad³; thus when the Captains charged the Government with full wages for the whole time, it was well known that they were claiming to be reimbursed for what they had not spent. In fact, it might be said that the war to a considerable extent was carried on at the risk of those who liked to wage it.

By Margaret of Anjou Henry had issue:—

Edward of Westminster; born 13th October, 1453; married Anne Neville, younger daughter of Richard Earl of Warwick, 25th July, 1470⁴; died 4th May, 1471 (killed at Tewkesbury), s. p.⁵

Margaret of Anjou died at Dampierre in Anjou in 1482.

¹ Paston Letters, i. 358, &c.

² Archaeologia, xvii. 214.

³ The strict system of Henry V forbidding requisitions, &c., was not kept up. See preceding vol. p. 320.

⁴ Below, and Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 41.

⁵ Below.

Henry's
Issue.

TABLE I.

CUSTOMS OF HENRY VI.

(All dues included: i.e. Antiqua Custuma, Parva Custuma, Subsidy on Wool, Tonnage and Poundage, and Butlerage.)

From the L. T. R. Enrolled Customs Accounts.

Michaelmas	1-2	Hen. VI.	(1422-1423)	.	.	.	£45,732
"	2-3	"	"	(1423-1424)	.	.	41,972
"	3-4	"	"	(1424-1425)	.	.	30,720
"	8-9	"	"	(1429-1430) ¹	.	.	30,347
"	9-10	"	"	(1430-1431)	.	.	31,366
"	10-11	"	"	(1431-1432)	.	.	40,217
"	20-21	"	"	(1441-1442)	.	.	24,519
"	21-22	"	"	(1442-1443)	.	.	41,614
"	27-28	"	"	(1448-1449) ²	.	.	26,080
"	29-30	"	"	(1450-1451)	.	.	28,314
"	30-31	"	"	(1451-1452)	.	.	32,020
"	37-38	"	"	(1458-1459)	.	.	30,014
"	38-39	"	"	(1459-1460)	.	.	32,674

TABLE II.

REVENUES OF HENRY VI.

(Estimated yearly average.)

Period I: Mich. 1422-Mich. 1428.

1. *Old Crown Revenues:*

Sheriffs' and Escheators' Accounts, &c.	Gross.	Net.
Duchy of Cornwall	15,000	7,000
Earldom of Chester	3,000	1,500
Wales (North)	700	330
Wales (South)	1,300	900
Lancaster Estates	1,585	975
	3,594	2,500

2. <i>Customs</i>	25,179	13,205
	39,000	38,500

3. *Subsidies:*

Lay Grant	800?	800?
Clerical Tenths (Canterbury and York), say	2,116	2,116

4. <i>Hanaper in Chancery</i>	2,000	1,450
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5. <i>Tower Mint and Exchange</i>	1,700	1,100
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6. *Loans not repaid.*

£70,795 £57,171

¹ From Receipt Rolls, Michaelmas and Easter, 8 Henry VI.

² Receipt Rolls, Michaelmas and Easter, 27 Henry VI.

Period II: Mich. 1428-Mich. 1454.

CHAP. XVI.

1422-1461.

1. <i>Old Crown Revenues:</i>		
Sheriffs' and Escheators' Ac-	<i>Gross.</i>	<i>Net.</i>
counts, &c.	13,000	4,000
Duchy of Cornwall	3,000	1,500
Earldom of Chester	700	330
Wales (North)	1,300	900
Wales (South)	1,585	975
Lancaster Estates	4,300	2,800
	23,885	10,505
2. <i>Customs</i>	32,000	31,500
3. <i>Subsidies:</i>		
Lay Fifteenths, &c.	18,000	18,000
Clerical Tenths (Canterbury		
and York)	7,300	7,300
4. <i>Hanaper in Chancery</i> . . .	2,100	1,500
5. <i>Tower Mint and Exchange</i> .	250	50
6. <i>Loans not repaid</i>	750?	750?
	£84,285	£69,605

Period III: Mich., 1454-March 3, 1461.

1. <i>Old Crown Revenues:</i>		
Sheriffs' and Escheators' Ac-	<i>Gross.</i>	<i>Net.</i>
counts, &c.	13,000	4,000
Duchy of Cornwall	3,000	1,500
Earldom of Chester	700	330
Wales (North)	1,300	900
Wales (South)	1,585	975
Lancaster Estates	4,300	2,800
	23,885	10,505
2. <i>Customs</i>	32,000	31,500
3. <i>Subsidies:</i>		
Lay Grants.		
Clerical Tenths.		
4. <i>Hanaper in Chancery</i>	2,600	2,000
5. <i>Tower Mint and Exchange</i> . .	228	
6. <i>Loans not repaid.</i>		
	£58,713	£44,005

CHAPTER XVII.

YORKIST OR PLANTAGENET DYNASTY.

EDWARD IV 'OF ROUEN'¹.

Born at Rouen 2.45 a.m., 28th April, 1442²; began to reign 4th March, 1461; crowned 28th June, 1461; died 9th April, 1483.

Towton Campaign.—Henry VI retires to Scotland.—Coronation of Edward IV.—Royal Progress.

CH. XVII. EDWARD was the second-born son of Richard "Plantagenet", third Duke of York, by Cecille Neville³; an elder brother, Henry⁴, having died in infancy. At the period we have reached he had not yet completed his nineteenth year. He had been carefully brought up, with his brother Edmund, Earl of Rutland⁵, under the faithful, but perhaps somewhat austere, tutelage of one Richard Crofte, apparently a Herefordshire squire⁶.

1461.
Edward
Planta-
genet.

¹ Pol. Poems, ii. 169, 170.

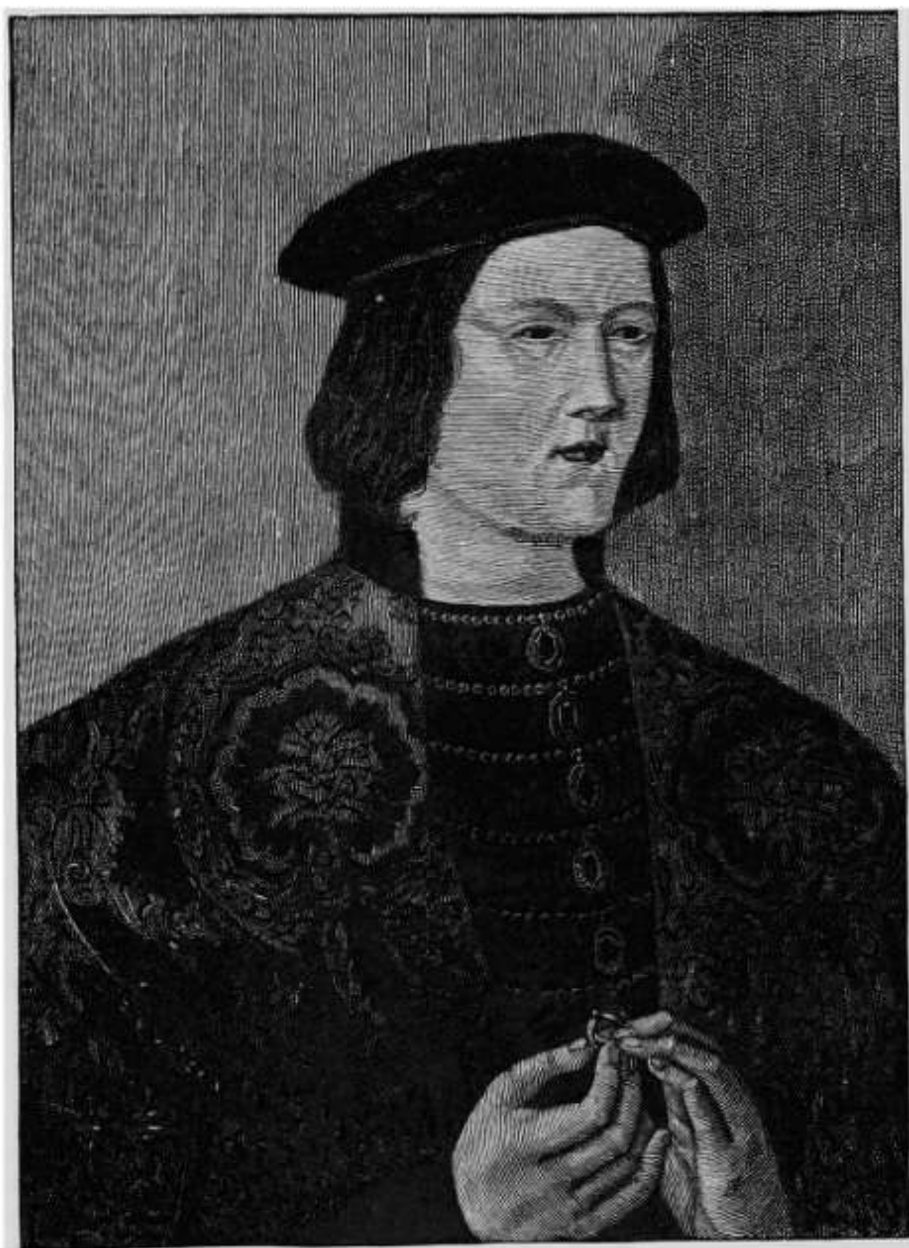
² "XXVIII die Aprilis hora II post mediam noctem in mane diei Lunae". W. Worcester, 442. At p. 525 the writer says that Edward was born XXVII die mensis Aprilis post meridiem hora XIV minut. XIV. "Diei Lunae" must be rejected, as in 1442 the 28th April fell on a Saturday. A Dethick MS., B. M. Add. 6113, cited Gent. Mag., vol. 101, p. 24, gives the 27th April as the day.

³ Youngest daughter of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt; Sandford, Geneal. History; Archaeol. Assoc. 1883, pp. 69, 70. See Tables. The name also appears as Cecile and Cecele.

⁴ Born at Hatfield 10th February, 1441; W. Worcester, 461.

⁵ The titular earldoms of March and Rutland had been conferred upon the brothers by Henry VI in 1445 or 1446; above, p. 239; Rot. Parl. v. 346.

⁶ For letters from the princes to their father assuring him of their attention to their "lernyng," but complaining of Crofte's strictness, see Ellis,



EDWARD IV.

From the original in the Royal Collection at Windsor.

To face page 158.

**

Edward was a young man endowed with a very fine *physique*, tall, strong, and handsome—‘The White Rose of Rouen’¹. His courage and self-confidence were unbounded; his military talents of the highest order. His manners were pleasant; of moral sense he was wholly destitute; he seemed even to lack that *amour propre* that sometimes makes up for want of higher principle. Again, he was no politician; in fact a mere child in politics; wanting in foresight; trustful to simplicity; careless in matters of business. In time of peace his energies were divided between field sports and women². Yet he was not wanting in kindly feelings, and he showed strong attachment to persons who little deserved it. Torrents of blood were shed in his reign; but it must be recorded that a distinct tendency towards mercy shows itself from the time that he became master of the situation, and free from Warwick’s influence. If his first act in life was the execution of old Owen Tudor, the House of Tudor spared no pains to blacken his memory.

CH. XVII.

1461.

His
character
and person.

The change of dynasty involved no change of ministry. The government had been in the hands of the Yorkists since the battle of Northampton, a fact which accounts for the ease with which the civil side of the revolution was accomplished³. A few men who were pledged to the

Change of
Dynasty
without
change of
Ministry.

Letters, First Series, i. 9; Excerpta Hist. 8. Crofte, however, remained a faithful servant to Edward all his days. See Retrospective Review, Second Series, i. 472, Pauli. In 1471 we shall find Crofte Sheriff of Herefordshire.

¹ The White Rose is stated to have been borne by Richard, Duke of York, in right of Clifford Castle; Archaeol. xvii. 226. But Edward IV made it his especial device in conjunction with the radiant sun; see Foed. xi. 480; Archaeol. xxix. 332, 343, 347.

² De Comines, whose opinion was probably that of Louis XI, in whose service he was during half of Edward’s reign, had a poor opinion of Edward’s talents: “Edouart n’estoit point homme de grand ordre, mais fort beau, plus que nul prince que j’aye j’amais veu . . . et très vallant”; Memoirs, ed. Lenglet, i. 152; cf. 156. So too G. Chastellain, v. 499, and Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 292. “Statura procerus, elegans corpore”; Croyland Cont. 532; also Rot. Parl. v. 463. For his indolence, except under pressure, see again Comines-Dupont, ii. 165. When his tomb was opened the skeleton was found to measure 6 ft. 3½ in. in length; Vetusta Monumenta, iii. plate 7 (London, 1796).

³ See e. g. the orders that Henry was made to issue in August, 1460, directing

CH. XVII. Lancastrian side threw up their posts and retired—like Chief
 1461. Justice Sir John Fortescue—but the general machinery of the State was not thrown out of gear. George Neville was still Chancellor; Viscount Bouchier, Treasurer; and Dean Stillington Keeper of the Privy Seal. By them, as a matter of course, the Sheriffs had been appointed in the autumn. The Tower was still under the charge of William Bouchier.

But Edward IV was fully aware that with an undefeated Lancastrian army in the field England had yet to be won, and fighting was altogether in his line. On the day after the coronation we find the Duke of Norfolk going down to 'his country' to take charge of the men, who, in obedience to orders lately issued in Henry's name, had been holding themselves in readiness. Many an other one doubtless was hurried off on a like errand. The country had been virtually under arms for months; accordingly ten or eleven days sufficed to call out, muster, and equip a formidable army—no inconsiderable feat in those days.

Edward leads an army in pursuit of Henry.

Action at Ferry-bridge.

By the 16th March the new King had begun his march, resting at Barkway (Herts). On the 18th he was at Cambridge¹; on Friday, the 27th, he reached Pontefract². Skirmishing with the Lancastrian rear began at Wentbridge, and so on to Ferrybridge, where they took their stand to dispute the passage of the Aire. Next day, being the Eve of Palm Sunday, Warwick and Fitz-Walter were sent against them; but Clifford held them at bay till his position was turned by Fauconberge, who crossed the stream at Castleford, three miles higher up. We may suppose that after that he made his way down the left bank of the Aire by the cross-road from Castleford to Brotherton, where he would strike the main road from Ferrybridge to York. The Lancastrians then retreated northwards to join their

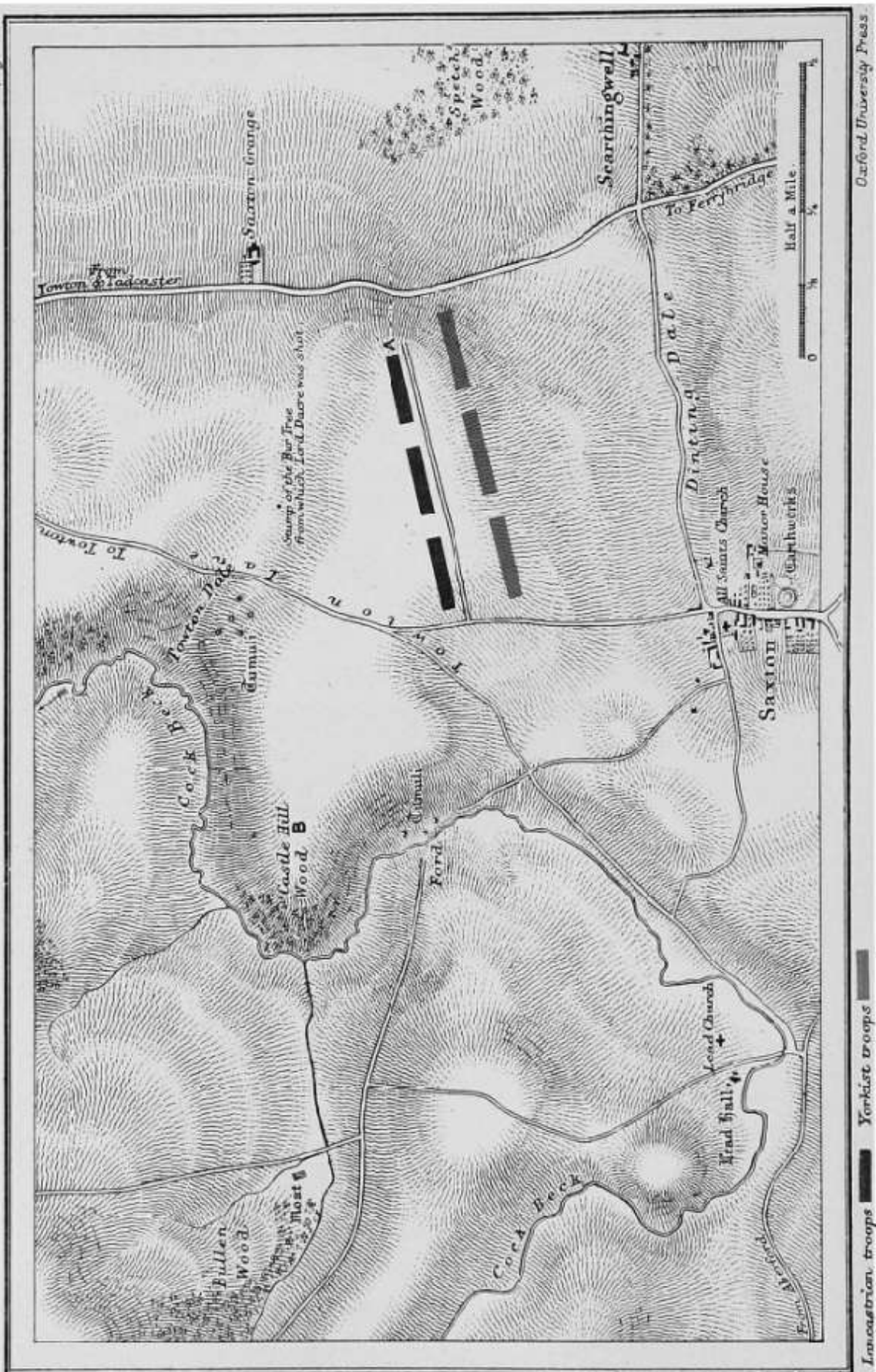
his partisans in Wales to deliver their strongholds to Yorkists; Proceedings, vi. 303, 304.

¹ Privy Seals, 1 Edward IV.

² Croyland Cont. 532; comparing Hearne's Fragment, Chron. White Rose, p 9, where it is stated that Edward reached Towton on the Friday; an obvious mistake.

BATTLE OF TOWTON, 29 MARCH 1461.

Vol. II. To face page 271.



main body ; but Fitz-Walter had been killed, and Warwick wounded in the leg¹.

CH. XVII.

1461.

It is probable that an active pursuit was kept up, as, according to the most detailed account, the Lords Clifford and Neville (Westmorland's brother) were killed at the end of the day at Dintingdale by Saxton².

At all events, by the next morning the Yorkists coming up in force found their adversaries preparing to give battle just beyond Barkston Ash. They occupied a well-defined position on an elevated *plateau* to the west of and commanding the main road from Ferrybridge to Tadcaster. In front they had the little valley of Dintingdale, extending from Saxton to Scarthingwell, with a south-easterly aspect and a frontage perhaps of half a mile. Their left rested on the main road ; their right on the road from Saxton to Towton, with the valley of the Cock Beck beyond. The two roads to Towton seemed to ensure retreat in case of need ; a field-lane defined their front.

Battle of
Towton.

We are told that Henry would fain have kept the feast, being Palm Sunday³, but military necessity knows no law.

The battle was fought out with a determination worthy of the issues at stake. The Yorkists had the ground against them ; but as they advanced to the attack a violent snow-storm set in, presumably from the south-east, blinding the Lancastrians and impeding the flight of their arrows. Inch by inch the Southern men fought their way up the slopes as if to retrieve the laurels lost at St. Albans. When the sheaves were spent, the Yorkists pressed on with swords, battle-axes, daggers, and the deadly mallet of lead⁴ that no skull-cap could withstand.

According to one account the scale was finally turned

¹ W. Gregory, 216 ; W. Worcester, 489 ; E. Hall, 254, 235.

² E. Hall. One writer in the *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles* associates "Charoncross" or "Charyngcross" with Dintingdale, but the name seems now forgotten ; pp. 160, 161. See map.

³ So Polydore Vergil.

⁴ J. Whethamstede, i. 109 ; cf. W. Gregory, 214, "mallys of ledde . . . swyrdys, gleyvys and axys."

CH. XVII. by the arrival of the Duke of Norfolk with fresh troops¹.
 1461. Henry was defeated all along the line. It would seem that his force had been cut in two, and the right wing driven across the Saxton-Towton road, and overwhelmed on the slopes of the Beck². There at any rate the bulk of the dead were buried, the grave-pits being still to some extent traceable from the Castle Farm to the little ravine called Towton Dale, which local tradition specially connects with the battle.

The carnage is described as terrible; many were drowned in the Cock, while along the road to York the snow for miles was stained with blood. Orders had been issued to give no quarter; nevertheless some forty-two knights were taken alive, only to suffer afterwards in cold blood³. On Henry's side, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Dacre of Gillsland, Welles⁴, and de Mauley⁵; Sir Henry Stafford, younger son of the late Duke of Buckingham, and Sir Andrew Trollope, were among the slain; besides the Lords Clifford and Neville, who fell either on that day or the day before. The Earl of Devon⁶ was among the prisoners. On the other side we only hear of Lord le Scrope of Bolton as "sore hurt"; and John Stafford and Robert Horne, the leaders of the men of Kent, as killed.

Henry, Margaret, and the Prince, riding for their lives, got away to a safe distance in the North; Somerset, Exeter,

¹ So Hearne's Fragment, p. 9. The writer was a follower of the House of Norfolk. Hall, however, says that Norfolk was absent, being sick; he died in November. Perhaps the troops were brought by Sir John Howard, who was knighted that day.

² Northumberland and Andrew Trollope are said to have had the command of the van; E. Hall, 256. They would be on the right of the line, and they both fell. Somerset and Exeter must have been with the King in the centre, and they escaped.

³ W. Gregory, 217.

⁴ Lyon or Leon Lord Welles; he was married to Margaret, widow of John Beaufort II, Duke of Somerset; Rot. Parl. v. 310; Foed. xi. 282.

⁵ Ralph Bigot, son or grandson of Sir John Bigot, by Constance, sister and heiress of Peter, sixth Lord de Mauley. The family estates were at Mulgrave, and Sutton-in-Holderness.

⁶ Thomas Courtenay, a young man of twenty-nine; son of the man who waged war against Bonville.

de Roos, Hungerford, and Chief Justice Fortescue escaped with them ¹. CH. XVII.

The overthrow of a Northern by a Southern force seems to call for explanation; especially as Henry had a much greater array of magnates with him than his rival had. To the names already given, those of Wiltshire, Beaumont², and Rougemont³ should be added on Henry's side; while Edward, apart from the Nevilles, had only Norfolk, Berners⁴, and Fitz-Walter with him⁵. Margaret's composite army had probably been demoralised by its long undisciplined march to and from St. Albans; while Henry's presence usually entailed failure wherever he went. But the facts of the campaign point to a more definite agency as the true cause of the result. The rapid concentration of the Yorkist forces, the prompt advance, the unhesitating attack, but above all the determined onslaught by which the Lancastrian centre was shattered, were so characteristic of Edward IV's generalship, that we cannot hesitate to ascribe to his presence the victory of Towton Field⁶. 1461.
Causes of
the Yorkist
success.

Of the numbers engaged we can offer no estimate, but they clearly exceeded those of any domestic battle that we have recorded or shall record. All England had been under arms for two years; but the reader must bear in mind that in those days 5000 men represented a considerable army⁷.

¹ Sunday, 29th March. See W. Worcester, 489; J. Hardyng, 406; Paston Letters, ii. 5; besides the other authorities above referred to. The details are most confused, the actions at Ferrybridge and Towton and their dates being mixed up. Lord Dacre's tomb may be seen in Saxton churchyard. Authentic reports of the result did not reach London till the 4th April.

² William Viscount Beaumont, son of John who fell at Northampton.

³ Thomas Grey, younger brother of Lord Grey of Ruthyn, created Lord Grey of Rugemont or Lord Rougemont-Grey in 1450.

⁴ John Bouchier, fourth son of William Earl of Eu by Anne, Countess of Stafford, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock.

⁵ See, however, the ballad printed *Archaeol.* xxix. 345, which represents Viscount Bouchier and the Lords Grey of Ruthyn, Stanley, and Clinton as having been present. They certainly were Yorkists, and their men may have been present.

⁶ So Wavrin understood; "*la grant proesse principalment du comte*", i. e. Edward; vol. v. 341, ed. Hardy.

⁷ See Appendix to this Chapter.

CH. XVII.

1461.

Henry VI
retires to
Scotland.

Henry clung to England as long as he could consistently with prudence. On the 18th April he was reported to be holding out in a northern fortress, not clearly indicated¹. On the 25th April he surrendered Berwick to the Scots: by that time, we may suppose, he had been driven across the Border. And there, for the time, ended the "trobelous season" of Henry VI, that "goostly man"².

Royal
Progress.

On the day after Towton Field Edward entered York; signalling his entry by the execution of the Earl of Devon, whose head was set up to replace that of the late Duke of York³. He stayed in the Northern Capital till the 16th April, his sojourn being marked by vigorous measures⁴. From York he went northwards to Durham, where he spent the last ten days of April. On the 1st May he paid a visit to Newcastle to witness the execution of the Earl of Wiltshire, who had been taken at Cockermouth⁵, returning next day to Durham. As Warkworth, Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanborough were held against him, a further advance would have been fraught with danger. Leaving Fauconberge and Warwick to keep Northumbria in check, he turned southwards. On the 6th May he was at Middleham; from the 10th to the 14th at York: from thence he struck into Lancashire and Cheshire to overawe those hostile districts. On the 17th May he was at Preston; on the 23rd at Manchester; on the 28th at Chester: on the 30th he moved to Stafford, from whence he journeyed by way of Lichfield, Coventry, Warwick, Daventry, and Stony Stratford to Lambeth, where he took up his quarters on the 14th June to prepare for his coronation⁶.

In the North the Yorkists were kept on the alert. In May or June, Margaret and Exeter led a Scottish army to attack Carlisle; while on the 26th of the latter

¹ "Corsumbr—suche a name it hath, or mucche lyke"; Paston Letters, ii. 7.

² I. e. *spiritual-minded* (cf. "ghostly counsel and advice"); E. Hall, 257; R. Fabian, 640.

³ J. Hardyng, 407.

⁴ J. Whethamstede, i. 411.

⁵ W. Gregory, 217; Paston Letters, ii. 7.

⁶ Privy Seals, 1 Edward IV; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 174.

month Henry in person pushed an inroad across the Tyne, advancing as far as Brauncepeth to the South of Durham¹. CH. XVII.
1461.

The coronation, however, was fixed for Sunday, 28th June. Coronation
of Edward.

On the 26th Edward rode from Lambeth to the Tower; the Mayor and Aldermen, scarlet-clad, attended him, besides some 400 commoners "well horsyd and cladde in grene". Eight and twenty 'Knights of the bath' were dubbed in the evening, with four more next morning; the expression 'Knights of the bath' being used to distinguish them from those dubbed with less ceremony, as on the battle-field². Chief of the neophytes were the King's boy-brothers George and Richard Plantagenet, who had already returned from Utrecht³.

In the afternoon of the 27th June came the usual state ride to Westminster, the new knights preceding the King "in blewe gownes, and hoodys upon their shulders lyke to prestys". The hallowing on the Sunday was of course performed by Archbishop Bourchier; the Archbishop of York, William Booth, assisting⁴.

It appears, however, that on the Monday, being St. Peter's Day, Edward went again in state to the Abbey; and that on the Tuesday, being the Commemoration of St. Paul's, he went to St. Paul's; where pageants were exhibited, an angel coming down and 'censing' the King⁵.

The second visit to the Abbey was something wholly new in coronation rites. The meaning of it appears to have been this. Childermas, or Innocents' Day, in 1460 fell on a Sunday. The day of the week on which this dismal anniversary had fallen was always esteemed a day

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 478; Paston Letters, ii. 13; Lords' Report, App. iv. 953. The attack on Carlisle was known in London 13th June.

² So J. Stow's Memoranda, printed in Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 106; q. v. for the rites.

³ Issues, Easter 2 Edward IV, m. 3. George received a pension on the 30th June; Issues, Michaelmas 2 Edward IV, m. 1. They came home in April; J. Duclercq, 169; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 305-307.

⁴ So Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 152. Booth succeeded Kemp in 1452; Reg. Sacrum.

⁵ See MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. xvi. f. 122, Gairdner; Paston Letters, ii. 13, 18; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 174; R. Fabian, 640.

CH. XVII. of ill-omen during the whole of the ensuing year. The
 1461. propriety of hallowing the King on the unlucky day
 having been called in question, the extra rite on the
 Monday was probably performed to purge all doubts¹.

Peerages. The coronation festivities were naturally marked by a
 distribution of titled honours. The King's brothers were
 created Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester². The follow-
 ing peerages were also granted either at the same time
 or shortly afterwards:—Viscount Bouchier, the Treasurer,
 was created Earl of Essex; Lord Fauconberge became
 Earl of Kent; Sir William Hastings was created Lord
 Hastings; Sir William Herbert, of Raglan, Chepstow,
 and Gower, was created Lord Herbert; Sir Humphrey
 the third son of Viscount Bouchier was made Lord Crom-
 well—he having married Joan, one of the nieces of the
 late Treasurer; Sir Humphrey Stafford became Lord
 Stafford of Southwick (Wilts); Sir John Wenlock, Lord
 Wenlock; Sir Robert Ogle, Lord Ogle; and Sir Thomas
 Lumley, Lord Lumley; Sir Walter Devereux being also
 formally recognised as Lord Ferrers³.

The expenses of the coronation were met by a Tenth,
 obtained from the Convocation of Canterbury by Arch-
 bishop Bouchier⁴.

¹ See Mr. Gairdner's note, Paston Letters, sup.; he refers to a paper by Addison in the seventh number of the "Spectator". The second visit to the Abbey explains the uncertainty of the later chroniclers as to the date of the coronation, which half of them place on the 29th June.

² Issues, Easter 2 Edward IV, m. 3; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 78, 162; J. Warkworth, 1 (J. O. Halliwell, Camden Society). The writer of this short chronicle, which only covers 1461-1473, was Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, 1473-1498. The work appears to have been composed during that period. The Issue Roll above cited places the creation of the Princes at the Feast in London on St. Peter's Day, meaning apparently Sunday, 28th June, as it calls the Saturday 'St. Peter's Eve.'

³ See Lords' Report, Append. iv. 956, 26th July; and Historic Peerage. Herbert, Devereux, Hastings, and Wenlock had accompanied Edward in his march to London in February. Humphrey Stafford of Southwick was son of William Stafford killed by Cade's men in 1450. He had sided with Bonville against the Courtenays in their private war; Archbishop Stafford belonged to the same family; Hamilton-Rogers, Strife of Roses, 140-150.

⁴ 15th July; Wake, State of the Church, 373. The assembly was summoned as in continuation or adjournment of that of the previous year.

Edward IV came to the throne as the exponent of strong government ; but his advisers had no intention of dispensing with Parliament. No party could afford to do that. Besides, it was certain that, under existing circumstances, with a little management a Parliament could be got together that would register any political edicts that might be submitted to it ; while for the purpose of obtaining money the intervention of Parliament would be a real necessity. Accordingly writs had been issued as early as May ¹ for a Parliament to meet at Westminster in July. When the time drew near the Scots were besieging Carlisle ; and the country was still in such a state of confusion that men were afraid to travel : the Session therefore was adjourned to the 4th November ².

CH. XVII.
1461.

As things turned out the attack on Carlisle was repulsed by Lord Montagu ; so Edward was spared the trouble of a journey to the Border : but he took the opportunity of making a Progress through the South and West to make his authority felt there. Leaving Westminster on the 12th or 13th of August he went down to Sittingbourne, and from thence to Canterbury, where he stayed from the 14th to the 16th of the month. Advancing to Sandwich and Ashford, he was at Battle Abbey on the 21st, at Lewes on the 22nd, and at Arundel on the 25th August. Two days later he rested at Bishop's Waltham, where he found William of Waynflete in trouble with his tenants of the manor of East Meon, who were refusing to pay their rents. The tenants were ordered to lay their case before Parliament, and, the Bishop's authority having been restored, the King resumed his progress ³. On the 4th September he entered Bristol in state. Sessions were held in honour of his visit, and two rebels executed, Sir Baldwin Fulford one of them ⁴. Advancing to Gloucester, Ross, and Hereford, Edward rested in his old home at Ludlow from the 20th to the 26th September. On the 29th he was at Birmingham ;

Royal
Progress.

¹ 23rd May ; Lords' Report.

² Id., 13th June ; Paston Letters, ii. 18, and Id. xiii. 22, 26.

³ Privy Seals, 1 Edward IV ; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 174 ; Rot. Parl. v. 475.

⁴ Ellis, Letters, First Series, i. 15.

CH. XVII. on the 30th at Coventry. From that point he returned by
 1461. Warwick, Daventry, and Stony Stratford to London, which he reached about the 6th October. Pending the opening of the Session he went down to Greenwich¹.

The Royal Progress was reported to have been attended by excellent results. All "castelles and holdes" in North and South Wales had been given up. "The moost part" of the gentry and "men of worship" had come in. Exeter and Pembroke had been driven to the mountains; Harlech alone still held out².

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLEFIELD OF TOWTON.

IN several of our battles the exaggerated estimates of the chroniclers are refuted by the limits of the areas within which the actions must have taken place. At Towton we cannot positively fix the area of the engagement. The ground could have held almost any number of men, especially if the Lancastrian line was drawn up further North and West than we place it; say between A and B. But had they been so posted all the advantages of the very commanding site would have been thrown away. The Yorkists would have been allowed to ascend the slopes, and then engage on equal terms. The position we assign to the Lancastrians is the one that singles itself out as that on which to resist an enemy advancing from Ferrybridge; and the spots specially identified by tradition, namely, Lord Dacre's tree and the grave pits in Towton Dale, both suggest a force driven backwards from that line. Allowing two feet for each man in line, 1400 men would cover our front: 5000 men would hold it in strength. All estimates of 20,000 men, 30,000 men, or 60,000 men a side we utterly reject.

¹ Privy Seals, 1 Edward IV.

² So Paston Letters, ii. 52, 54; Rot. Parl. v. 486; vi. 30. The new Lords Herbert and Ferrers led the fighting in Wales. Pembroke Castle surrendered to them 30th September; Rot. Parl. vi. 30.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Parliament.—Recognition of Edward's title and attainder of the Lancastrians.

ON the 4th November Parliament was opened by Edward CH. XVIII.
in the Painted Chamber. Writs had been issued to forty- 1461.
five lay peers, including eight of Edward's own creation. Parlia-
ment.
If we turn to the list of those summoned to the Parliament
of 1453, "the last which was called before the great struggle
began", we shall find fifty-six names included. The roll of
forty-five names therefore now summoned "shows perhaps a
smaller falling off than might have been expected." Of
the barons who had actually borne arms with Margaret
within the last two years, Lords Grey of Codnor, Grey-
stock, Fitz-Hugh, and Scrope of Masham had made their
peace and come in ¹.

The Chancellor, Bishop Neville, delivered an address in
due form, taking his text from Jeremiah vii. 3, 'Amend
your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in
this place'. Under the circumstances the words might be
thought to breathe somewhat of the spirit of a Rehoboam ².

The business of the Session was practically limited to
two things—the recognition, we can hardly say the con-
firmation, of the King's title; and the attainder of the
Lancastrians.

¹ Stubbs, iii. 194; Lords' Report, iv. 932, 954. Lord Rivers must have made
his peace shortly after, as he received money from the Treasury, 11th December;
Issues, Michaelmas 1 Edward IV.

² Rot. Parl. v. 461. Sir James Strangways was elected Speaker.

CH. XVIII.

1461.

Recog-
nition of
Edward's
title.

The recognition of Edward IV was so managed as to keep clear of the smallest admission that his title stood in any need of Parliamentary confirmation; his position throughout being laid down as that of one succeeding by indefeasible hereditary right.

Two petitions were presented by the Commons in this matter; the first a mere complimentary address, which however struck the keynote of what was to follow by thanking 'the King's grace' for having been pleased 'to take upon him' "the Reigne and Governauce of the seid Reame whereunto ye be rightwisely and naturally born"¹. The second, or operative petition, began with the King's pedigree, tracing his descent in blood from Henry III, through Edward I, and showing him 'cousin and heir' to Richard II, the last King 'lawfully seised' of the Crown²; of which Crown he had retained seisin till forcibly ousted, and put to death by 'Henry late Earl of Derby'. The late Duke of York, the King's father, having died, Edward on the 4th March had 'taken upon him to enter into the exercise of' his rights, and 'amove' Henry "late called Kyng Henry the sixt", the usurping descendant of John of Gaunt. The petition then went on to say that the Commons having "evident knowledge" of the usurpation of the said late Earl of Derby, and of the "right and title" of their Lord Edward, "take, accept and repute" him and his heirs to be Kings of England for ever. The petition then prayed for a declaration that Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI were mere 'intruders', and that Edward IV on the 4th March last became lawfully seised and possessed of all Crown property, rights and prerogatives vested in Richard II on the 21st September, 1399; 'saving to all subjects such title and right as they had in any of the premises otherwise than by grant of either of the said

The Lan-
castrian
kings
declared
'intruders',

and their
Parlia-
ments
invalid.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 462.

² This was in accordance with the old rule that one claiming an estate by inheritance had to make himself heir to the person last actually seised of the lands, and show himself of the blood of the "purchaser"; see Stephen's Blackstone, bk. ii. ch. xi.

Henries, or by authority of any pretended Parliament holden in any of their days'. The Commons, however, besought the King not to call for a refund of issues and profits of Crown lands prior to the 4th of March. But again, on the other hand, they prayed that all Statutes and Ordinances made to 'hurt' or 'avoid' the rights of Richard II and his heirs should be declared null; that the Coventry attainders of 1459 should be again reversed; and the heirs of the body of Henry IV declared for ever incapable of holding or inheriting any estate, dignity, or possessions within the realm.

CH. XVIII.

1461.

Henry VI of course fell under this ban; but the "convention and concord" of the 25th October, 1460, might have been pleaded by the Lancastrians as a release by the late Duke of York of his rights during Henry's life. The petition therefore went on to deal with that matter, detailing the facts fully, and then charging Henry with having broken the compact by 'procuring' Richard's death at Wakefield, and making war on his son; concluding at last with a prayer for a final declaration that "long afore the seid fourth day of Marche" Edward had been relieved of any obligation to respect the concord¹.

But the lawyers who had framed this petition, of whom the celebrated Thomas Lyttelton must have been one², fully appreciated the portentous consequences involved in the theory that the late dynasty were usurpers, and all their acts null. Not a dignity or office, not a piece of preferment or an acre of land would have been safe. Accordingly a further roll of petitions was presented, asking for confirmation of judicial and ministerial acts 'not done by authority of Parliament', and so free from political taint. Among the acts which had to be thus protected and confirmed were all Fines and Recoveries; all charters and franchises of municipalities, guilds and crafts; all Patents of creations

Saving clauses.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 463-467.

² He was a King's Sergeant-at-Law, and is named in the Parliament Roll of the Session, p. 476; he received a pardon for past offences in this year; Foss.

CH. XVIII. of titles ; all licenses to aliene or purchase lands ; all pre-
 1461. sentations to benefices ; all liveries of seisin, assignments of
 dower, grants of wardships or marriages ; all judicial com-
 missions, *congés d'élire*, pardons, releases, records, and
 recognizances.

Without the maintenance of these civil society could not have been "held together"; and, with one or two exceptions, the petitions were granted¹. The King, moreover, produced a roll of exemptions of his own, in favour of officials whom he had either instituted or retained in office, and other favoured individuals: among these we may mention the dowager Duchesses of Bedford, Somerset, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Buckingham ; the heirs of the late Duke of Buckingham ; and Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of the future Henry VII².

The only important petition rejected by Edward was one for ratification of the security held by the Merchants of the Calais Staple for advances made for the wages of the garrison ; a most disgraceful act, of sinister augury. He would not even pledge himself to recognise the payments already made to them by the Customs officials³.

It should be noticed that while carefully stigmatising the Lancastrian Parliaments as "pretensed" the Act stopped short of repealing all their Statutes.

Attainder
of the Lan-
castrians.

The Bill for the attainder of the Lancastrians was not left to the initiative of the Commons, but was sent down to them from the Lords ready drawn. The names of about

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 489-493 ; Statute, 1 Edward IV, c. 1 ; Stubbs.

² Rot. Parl. 467-475. The Duchess of Bedford, of course, was Jaquette of Luxemburg, widow of the Regent: her second husband, Lord Rivers, went over to Edward's side about this time. The Duchess of Somerset was Margaret Beauchamp, widow of John Beaufort II ; her second husband, Lyon or Leon Lord Welles, had fallen at Towton. The Duchess of Norfolk was Catherine Neville (Edward's aunt), widow of John Mowbray I ; her second husband, Viscount Beaumont, had fallen at Northampton. The Duchess of Suffolk was Alice Chaucer, widow of the murdered Duke. The Duchess of Buckingham was Ann Neville (another aunt of the King), widow of the man who fell at Northampton.

³ Rot. Parl. 491. For the repudiation of a debt of £18,000 advanced to Edward himself when at Calais in 1450, see R. Fabian, 635, 652.

133 persons, living and dead, were put down to be voted CH. XVIII.
guilty of high treason against their liege lord King Edward 1461.
IV. The list opened with the names of the "late Kyng"
Henry the "Usurpours"; Margaret "late called Quene of
England"; and "hir son" Edward "late called Prynce of
Wales". Henry was again charged with having broken
the "Convention and Concorde", and "rered" (*raised*) war
against Edward. Stress was laid, not unfairly, on the mis-
conduct of Margaret's troops, and on the surrender of
Berwick to the Scots.

The list of the living included the names of Somerset,
Exeter, Pembroke, Beaumont, Roos, Hungerford, and
Rougemont-Grey; and that of the deceased those of
Northumberland, Devon, Wiltshire, Clifford, Welles, Neville,
and Dacre of Gillesland. These names were included in
accordance with established custom, to ensure the proper
"corruption" of their blood, whereby no inheritance could
ever be traced through them to the end of time. To make
doubly sure of the Lancaster estates they were specially
declared forfeit, and annexed to the Crown for ever¹,
Lancashire being declared a County Palatine. Among the
proscribed we also find Sir John Fortescue, the well-known
Chief Justice and jurist, and the equally celebrated John
Morton, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury².
The Lancaster estates annexed to the Crown.

It is worthy of notice that only thirty-seven names were
put down as connected with the battle of Wakefield; and
only eighty-seven as connected with that of Towton. Nor
were all the proscribed men of rank; humble names swell
the lists³. The slenderness of these numbers tells strongly
against the large estimates of those engaged given by the
chroniclers.

"Parallel with the attainders" of the deceased Lancastrians,
were the reversals of the attainders enacted by Lancastrian
Parliaments. Among these were the attainder passed on

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 478.

² See Rot. Parl. 476-486; cf. W. Worcester, who makes the number come
up to 153, giving several names that do not appear on the Parliament Rolls.

³ Of the eighty-seven names connected with Towton, eleven were those of
mere yeomen, &c.

CH. XVIII. Edward's grandfather, Richard Earl of Cambridge, in
 1461. 1415; and those passed in 1400 on John Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Lord le Despenser, and Ralph Lord Lumley¹. These measures were brought up for the Royal assent on the 21st December, when Edward himself graciously thanked the Speaker and Commons as follows:—

The King
 returns
 thanks.

“James Strangways, and ye that be commyn for the Common of this my Londe, for the true hertes and tender considerations that ye have had to my right and title, that Y and my Auncestres have had unto the Coroune of this Reame, the which from us have been longe tyme witholde, and now, thanked be almyghty God, of whos grace groweth all victory, by youre true hertes and grete assistens Y am restored unto that that is my right and title; wherefore Y thanke you as hertely as Y can, also for the tender and true hertes that ye have shewed unto me in that that ye have tenderly had in remembraunce the correction of the horrible murdre and cruell deth of my Lord my Fader, my Brother Rutlond, and my Cousyn of Salysbury, and other, Y thanke you right hertely: and Y shall be unto you with the grace of Almyghty God as good and gracious Soverayn Lord as ever was eny of my noble Progenitours to their Subgettes and Liegemen; and for the faithfull and lovyng hertes, and also the grete labours that ye have born and susteyned towards me, in the recoveryng of my seid right and title, which Y now possede, Y thanke you, with all my herte; and if Y had eny better good to reward you withall then (*than*) my body, ye shuld have it; the which shall alwey be redy for youre defence, never sparyng nor lettyng for noo jeopardie, praying you all of youre herty assistens and good contynuaunce, as Y shall be unto you youre veray rightwisse and lovyng Liege Lord”.

General
 business of
 the Session.

The Chancellor then declared the Parliament prorogued to the 6th May, 1462². The business of the Session included one piece of legal reform, namely, the abolition of

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 486. These last reversals were for the benefit of the Earl of Warwick and of Sir Thomas Lumley who had just been restored.

² Rot. Parl. 487.

the criminal jurisdiction of the Sheriffs in their "Turns", and its transference to the Justices in Petty Sessions. This was apparently done at the request of the county gentry, who would no longer submit to the corruption of the Sheriffs and their subordinates¹. The old Acts against distributing badges and liveries, except to regular household retainers, were republished, with some modifications; but as this emanated from the King he did not think it necessary to trouble the Houses for their concurrence, merely notifying to them his pleasure in the matter. Edward also thought it proper to forbid all dicing, and playing at "the cardes", except during the twelve days of Christmas. This seems to be the first notice of playing cards in English history².

Lastly, we note that with all the willingness to vote effusive addresses and pass or reverse attainders, the devoted Commons did not offer one penny of grant; not even the Customs' duties were renewed; perhaps the Crown lawyers held that as the duties had been voted for the term of Henry's life the grants would "enure" for the benefit of the rightful King³.

As the year 1422 had witnessed the accession of the two adversaries, Henry VI and Charles VII, so, by a curious coincidence, the year 1461 saw both their reigns brought to a close. On the 22nd July Charles died at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, his favourite residence, where nine and thirty years before he had been proclaimed King. History has been perplexed by the strange discrepancy between the character of this most contemptible of kings and the great things done in his reign. His own age indicated its opinion by styling him "*Charles le Bien Servy*". That he was not unpopular appears from the alternative designation of "*Le Bien Amé*"⁴. The restoration of France was emphatically

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1461.

Death of
Charles
VII of
France.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 494; Statute, 1 Edward IV, c. 2.

² Rot. Parl. 487.

³ The Convocation of Canterbury, however, had granted a Tenth, as above noticed, 15th July; Wake, State of Church, 373.

⁴ M. d'Escouchy, i. 4; and ii. 425. The "très victorieux prince" of J. Chartier, iii. 113, is mere panegyric. D'Escouchy, sup., T. Basin, i. 312, and

CH. XVIII. France's own work ; her King merely offering no impediment. With all his selfishness, sensuality, and contempt of duty, he was a shrewd judge of character, and must be allowed the credit of having known how to choose good servants. He also shewed sound kingcraft in taking his instruments from the *Bourgeoisie* rather than the *noblesse* ; a policy more fully carried out by his son.

1461.

J. Le Clercq give Charles a full measure of credit for the successes of his reign ; but Basin, who goes fully into his character, fails to bring home to him any personal qualities except good faith and aversion to bloodshed, both, however, very signal virtues in a King.

CHAPTER XIX.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Efforts by Margaret to retrieve the situation.—Invasion of Northumberland by French and Scottish forces.—Margaret retires to France.

THE exiled Lancastrians, having paid their footing by the surrender of Berwick, met with a fair reception in Scotland; but parties there were in a state of keenest antagonism.

CHAP. XIX.

1461.

Henry and Margaret in Scotland.

To go back to January, 1461. When Warwick heard of Margaret's visit to Lincluden he communicated with the Duke of Burgundy, who, without delay, sent Louis of Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse, to remonstrate with the Queen of Scots on her friendship to the House of Lancaster. On the other hand, Charles VII, equally well informed, requested Bishop Kennedy, who happened to be in Flanders, to return to Scotland to look after the interests of Henry VI. Gruthuyse's mission was successful so far as the Queen of Scots was concerned; and she and her friends from that time abandoned the Lancastrian alliance¹. Kennedy however worked vigorously in the opposite direction. He had returned to Scotland in time for a Parliament which was opened at Edinburgh on the 23rd February, 1461; when, as he himself tells us, the contention between his party and that of Queen Mary ran so high that they almost

Parties in Scotland.

¹ For Gruthuyse's mission, see Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 302; J. Duclercq, 169; G. Buchanan, 372. The first two seem to place the mission before the cession of Berwick.

CHAP. XIX. came to blows¹. The question of the Regency was the
 1461. chief bone of contention, but relations to England must
 also have been discussed.

English
 relations
 with them.

The cession of Berwick would strengthen Kennedy's hands; but Warwick² could work upon two out of the three Scottish factions. He could openly hold out the right hand of fellowship to the Queen and her young lords, while giving covert encouragement to the Highlanders and the exiles with his left hand. Accordingly in June we have the Earl of Douglas sent from England to treat with the Earl of Ross. In October English protection was offered to all Scotsmen who would join Douglas against their country: while on the 13th February, 1462, a treaty of homage and retainer was signed in London by which Edward gave permission to John of the Isles and his subordinate Donald Balloch to conquer and divide all "beynde Scottishe See", i. e. all Scotland beyond the Forth; the King further undertaking to reinstate Douglas in his possessions, if the Lowlands also should be conquered; and in the meantime granting liberal pensions to all three³. Concurrently with this affair a truce for a year had apparently been signed with the Queen's party⁴.

Queen
 Margaret,
 France,
 and Bur-
 gundy.

Margaret had soon been driven to the conclusion that for substantial help she must look to her own countrymen. In July, 1461, she had despatched Somerset and Hungerford to France to make application to Charles VII. They landed in Normandy to hear that Charles was dead, and that his son was on his way to Rheims to be crowned. Louis XI was well enough disposed towards Henry and

¹ Chron. Auchenleck, 22; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, vii. xxxix; G. Buchanan, 373-381; and especially Kennedy's despatch to Lord Monypenny the Scots *chargé d'affaires* in France; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 165.

² For Warwick's position at this time, see "Edouart en la vertu du comte de Warwic régnoit maintenant"; G. Chastellain, iv. 159. "Warwyk conduiseur dudit royaume d'Angleterre dessoubz le dit roy, &c."; Kennedy, Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 173.

³ Foed. xi. 483-487; Rot. Scot. The Earl of Ross had already laid hands on the Crown revenues at Inverness, but it is not clear that he went any further; Exchequer Rolls.

⁴ September-November, 1461; Foed. 476, 477.

Margaret, both of them his own first cousins; but he had been living since 1456 at the Court of the Duke of Burgundy; the Duke was in attendance on him at this very time, and to please the Duke he ordered Margaret's agents to be arrested¹. After a while, however, he sent for them to Tours, and from thence again sent them back to Scotland laden with fair promises².

CHAP. XIX.
1462.

During their absence Margaret, as a set-off to Edward's treaty with the Earl of Ross, had made a treaty with the Earl of Angus—the Douglas who was loyal to Scotland—promising him a Dukedom with estates to the value of 2000 marks a year in the North of England³.

Thus the year 1462 opened in England with rumours of impending French invasions on the largest scale. Some were to land on the east coast; some in Wales; some were to come over from the Channel Islands⁴.

Alarm of
French
invasion of
England.

But Edward's Government was quite on the alert.

On the 12th February the Earl of Oxford (John de Vere II), his eldest son Aubrey de Vere, Sir Thomas Tuddenham, and three others were arrested in Essex on a charge of plotting for a landing on the east coast. They were brought to London, tried by the summary procedure of the Constable's Court at Westminster, and condemned as a matter of course. They suffered at the Tower on different days between the 20th and 26th, one of the subordinates being spared⁵. That they had been intriguing for Henry's return may be fairly assumed.

Execu-
tions.

¹ 3rd August, 1461; Martin, *France*, vi. 522, citing MS. Legrand. The Burgundian alliance was carefully nursed by the Yorkists. Wenlock was under orders to go to Burgundy on the 9th June; Issues, Easter 1 Edward IV; and he certainly went there in October on a mission, of which more below.

² G. Chastellain, iv. 64; J. Du Clercq, 190. Somerset was allowed to sail from Flanders through the interest of Philip's son Charles, who was his personal friend, having made friends with him when he was at Guisnes.

³ So Hume of Godscroft, *Houses of Douglas and Angus*, ii. 21 (ed. 1743), who cites the Indenture dated in 1462.

⁴ Paston Letters, ii. 45, 91, 93.

⁵ Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 78, 175, 162; MS. Vitellius, sup. f. 123; Chron. White Rose, 11; R. Fabian, 652. Tuddenham had been Keeper of the Great Wardrobe. He was a great adversary of John Paston and the Yorkists

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* 1462.
Defensive
measures.

To guard against invasion Warwick took a naval command on the west coast¹, while Edward went down to East Anglia to keep a watch there. On the 2nd and 3rd March he was at Cambridge, going from thence to Peterborough; from the 9th to the 17th March we find him at Stamford. During that time Somerset and Hungerford sailed down the coast on their way back to Scotland, one of their vessels being captured. From Stamford the King went as far northwards as Newark and Lincoln, returning apparently to Leicester for Easter (18th April). By that time the alarm of invasion had passed away².

Margaret
sails to
France.

Disappointed with the results of Somerset's mission to France, Margaret went over there in person, landing in Brittany on Good Friday (16th April). Mary of Guelders had lent her £290 for the expenses of her journey; and then, being thus quit of her, had a friendly interview at Dumfries with the Earl of Warwick, who suggested that she might marry Edward IV³. Later again, in June, she took her son to Carlisle, and had another meeting with Warwick and others⁴; the result being that Douglas was ordered to discontinue his ravages. Again we hear of the Scottish Queen meeting Englishmen at Coldingham; and of English envoys coming to Scotland, one of them apparently the son of Lord Scrope of Bolton⁵. Kennedy,

in Norfolk. The Constable was the Earl of Worcester, who had been appointed as if in contemplation of these proceedings on the 7th February; Foed. xi. 581. He had been Constable of the Tower since December 12, 1461; Issues, Michaelmas 2 Edward IV. The prompt adherence given by this man to the House of York was most discreditable: both he and his father, John Tiptoft, owed everything to the House of Lancaster.

¹ 13th February; Foed. xi. 488.

² See Paston Letters, ii. 91-94: the dates being given by Mr. Gairdner from the Privy Seals; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 175. In March the Earl of Kent (Fauconberge) was sent to the North. Lord Lumley was keeping Newcastle and George Lumley Tynemouth; Issues, Michaelmas 1 Edward IV.

³ W. Worcester, 493; J. Duclercq, 196; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, vii. 63, 80. The money was advanced 17th March.

⁴ Paston Letters, ii. 103, 110; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 167; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 159; Davies, York Records, p. 18.

⁵ Exchequer Rolls, 147, 152. The Bishops of Ely and Durham and the

however, was still able to stave off any agreement for the extradition of Henry¹.

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1462.

Warwick being thus otherwise engaged the reduction of the Northumbrian strongholds was left to subordinates. In July Alnwick and Naworth were taken by Hastings and Montagu²; Bamborough and Dunstanborough holding out.

From Brittany Margaret had passed into Touraine: her efforts with Louis XI did not prove altogether fruitless. ^{Treaty with Louis XI.} On the 23rd June he advanced 20,000 francs (£2,223 &c.) on a mortgage of Calais³; and five days later signed a treaty declaring for Henry VI as against Edward late Earl of March⁴. Then, as if anxious to realise his security, he declared war against England, and gave orders for calling out Ban and Arrier Ban for an attack on Calais. The execution of the scheme, however, if it was ever really contemplated, was arrested by Duke Philip, who again interfered to thwart Margaret and support the House of York⁵.

Louis then released from prison the veteran Pierre de Brézé, the ablest captain in France, who was in disgrace, ^{An armament supplied to her.} and ordered him to raise an army for the restoration of Henry VI. This was done in the hope, as was generally understood, of getting rid of him⁶. De Brézé, an old follower of the House of Anjou, accepted the mission, as in honour bound, but feeling himself sent very much as a new Jason to another Colchis.

About the month of September he sailed from Nor-

Earl of Essex were under orders to go to Scotland 8th July; Issues, Easter 2 Edward IV.

¹ For a demand by Edward for the delivery of Henry, see Davies, York Records, 32; from MS. Harl. 543, f. 148.

² W. Worcester, 493; R. Fabian, 652; cf. Paston Letters, ii. 111.

³ Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 176.

⁴ P. de Comines, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy, ii. 367; T. Basin, ii. 48.

⁵ G. Chastellain, iv. 225, 274; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 168.

⁶ G. Chastellain, 227; T. Basin, ii. 49; J. Duclercq, 201; (August?) Comines-Lenglet, ii. 373. Margaret was supposed to be at Boulogne in September; Paston Letters, 110, 118.

CHAP. XIX. mandy, with a paltry force of some 800 fighting men¹;

1462. Margaret accompanying him. Evading the Earl of Kent, who had been sent to cruise in the Channel², they made their way to Scotland, and, having picked up Henry, came

Landing in North-umberland. back to the coast of Northumberland, where they landed near Bamborough³. Advancing to Alnwick they found their hopes of a rising disappointed; but they were able to recover the place, which was not victualled for a siege. Reports of Edward's advance in strength having reached them they retired to their ships, leaving strong garrisons in Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanborough. But even the winds and the waves conspired against Margaret. Four of her vessels were wrecked by a storm. The crews, who had taken refuge on Holy Island, were surrounded in the church, and either killed or taken prisoners by John Manners, a follower of Warwick⁴; while she and de Brézé only escaped in an open boat to Berwick⁵.

Edward marches to the North.

At the first report of Margaret's expedition, Warwick had been sent forward with troops, Edward himself following shortly (3rd November)⁶. Levies were called out from far and near. By the 11th December the three fortresses were fully invested. Kent and Scales⁷ directed the operations against Alnwick; while Worcester and Sir Ralph Grey 'lay' at Dunstanborough; and Montagu and Ogle blockaded Bamborough. The King being detained at

¹ So G. Chastellain, 230, who had the number from de Brézé himself, his friend and former employer, 250; also T. Basin, ii. 50.

² Kent was appointed Admiral of England 30th July; Foed. xi. 490: he made descents in Brittany and on the Isle of Rhé; G. Chastellain, iv. 270; J. Stow, 416; cf. Paston Letters, ii. 113, 118.

³ MS. Vitellius, sup. f. 124; W. Gregory, 218; the former gives the 3rd November as the day of Margaret's landing in Scotland; the latter the 25th October as that of her landing at Bamborough.

⁴ Collins, Peerage, i. 425.

⁵ W. Gregory; MS. Vitellius; and R. Fabian, sup. Among the prisoners was Louis Malet, Sire de Gravelle; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 320.

⁶ Paston Letters, ii. 120; W. Worcester, 494; Excerpta Historica, 365. Edward was at Durham before the 16th November; Issues, Michaelmas 2 Edward IV.

⁷ Anthony Wydeville, eldest son of Rivers, who had married Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Lord Scales.

Durham by an unfortunate attack of measles¹, Warwick acted as commander-in-chief, with his quarters at Warkworth. We are told that he rode daily from one encampment to another to 'oversee' the men and supply their wants, their base of supplies being at Newcastle².

On Christmas Eve the Duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Percy³ signed articles for the surrender of Bamborough and Dunstanborough, agreeing to become Edward's men on condition of being fully reinstated. The Earl of Pembroke and Lord de Roos, unable to obtain the same terms, elected to return to Scotland⁴.

Alnwick, where Hungerford commanded the defence, still held out, relief from Scotland having been promised. On the 5th January, 1463, the Earl of Angus and de Brézé appeared with an army. Warwick's force should have been considerable, as, besides the leaders already named, we hear of the young Duke of Norfolk⁵, and the Lords Cromwell, Grey of Codnor, Scrope, Greystock, Dacre (of the South), Hastings, and others as being with him⁶. But the troops had been so "greved with colde and rayne"⁷ that they had no heart to fight, and withdrew to a position by the river-side⁸. Hungerford, with the bulk of the garrison, then sallied out, and joined his friends. The allies, by all

¹ "Sykenesse of masyls"; MS. Vitellius, sup. fol. 125. Edward remained at Durham till the end of the campaign.

² Paston Letters, ii. 121; Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 131.

³ Eldest surviving son of the second Earl of Northumberland who fell at St. Albans, and brother of the third Earl who fell at Towton. He had estates near Alnwick, and had been steward to his father; Collins, Peerage, ii. 360.

⁴ W. Worcester, sup.; W. Gregory, 219; Davies, York Records, 33. Somerset's pardon is dated March 10, 1463; Rot. Parl. 3 Edward IV, m. 18; Plummer. Somerset had been in communication with Warwick in September, 1462; Paston Letters, ii. 112, 113.

⁵ John Mowbray III, fifth Duke of Norfolk; he was about eighteen years old: his father died 6th November, 1451; Inquis. Post M., 1 Edward IV, No. 46; Paston Letters, sup. xxii. 121. His mother was a Bouchier, and his grandmother a Neville.

⁶ So the letter printed Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 131, and Excerpta Historica, 365; cf. Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 157.

⁷ J. Warkworth, p. 2.

⁸ "In quodam campo inter castrum et le mariscum ibidem"; W. Worcester.

CHAP. XIX. accounts, ought to have overwhelmed the Yorkists; but
 1463. the Scots were in a cautious mood, and afraid of being lured
 and Aln- into a snare; so, for once overcoming the temptation of a
 wick. bout with the English, to the intense mortification of de
 Brézé, they marched off, leaving Alnwick to surrender
 next day¹.

Edward's triumph now seemed complete, the petty
 castle of Harlech being the only unsubdued hold. John
 Hardyng, writing this very year, makes an appeal to the
 King for clemency to the defeated². But clemency could
 only be extended to the submissive: submission was the
 last thing that Margaret thought of, and elements of dis-
 affection to encourage her were not lacking³.

Bam-
 borough
 and Aln-
 wick re-
 taken by
 the Scots.

His health having improved, and the rebellion seeming
 crushed, Edward returned to London, where a Parliament
 was awaiting him. Warwick remained in the North to
 check any movement on the part of the Scots; but ere long,
 thinking that his presence could be dispensed with, he too
 turned south. Thereupon Sir Ralph Percy allowed the
 Scots to retake Bamborough. His example was followed
 by Sir Ralph Grey of Heton⁴. The latter had expected
 to be reinstated as Captain of Alnwick, which he had helped
 to recover in the previous summer. But he was only
 appointed Constable, with Sir John Ashley as Captain
 over him. Grey, as the man of local influence, soon
 found means of expelling his rival, and declared for
 Henry VI⁵.

¹ W. Worcester, 495; *Excerpta Historica*, sup.; *Three Fifteenth Century Chron.* 175; J. Hardyng, 407; J. Stow, 417; G. Buchanan, 373; cf. G. Chastellain, iv. 278, &c.

² P. 409-411.

³ See e.g. the grumbling, *Three Fifteenth Century Chron.* 176.

⁴ He was the grandson of Sir Thomas Grey who was beheaded at Southampton in August, 1415, for complicity in the Earl of Cambridge's plot; so that the family were old Yorkists.

⁵ W. Gregory, 219, 220; R. Fabian, 653; J. Hardyng, 407; *Three Fifteenth Century Chron.* 176; W. Worcester, 496, 497. The news of Grey's defection reached London 31st May; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 159; that of Percy preceded it. Ashley was taken prisoner by Percy and sent to France; J. Warkworth, 38, notes.

When the news reached London, Montagu was posted off to Newcastle to guard against a threatened attack in that quarter; Warwick and others following on the 3rd June, with authority to call out the men of Westmorland to resist the impending Scottish invasion¹. Parliament was brought to a close (18th June); and then Edward once more followed Warwick northwards.

He was at Northampton from the 8th to the 28th July²; going no further, as matters had again taken a turn.

The men of Newcastle had repulsed a Lancastrian attack without help; also capturing some French vessels destined for the relief of Bamborough. Warwick found the Scots pressing the siege of Norham; at his approach they recrossed the Border, while the Lancastrians withdrew to their strongholds, which he could not venture to attack³. On the West March the Earl of Douglas had kept up active warfare against his countrymen all through the spring and summer. At the last, however, it would seem that he lost his brother and companion in exile, Lord Balveny, who, falling into the hands of the Scots, was executed as a traitor⁴.

But though Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanborough were still hers, Margaret, by the month of August, had again been brought to the end of her resources. Parting from her husband, never again to meet on earth, she sailed from Bamborough, with de Brézé, her son, and some 200 others; and then, throwing herself on the generosity of an adversary, landed at Sluys in the latter part of the month. The heroic woman, for such she was, landed in a destitute condition; without a change of raiment between herself

CHAP. XIX.
1463.

Operations
in the
North.

Margaret
sails to
Flanders
with her
son.

¹ See the Letter, J. Wavrin, sup. The commission is dated the 2nd June; Foed. xi. 501.

² Privy Seals; Gairdner, Paston Letters, ii. 135.

³ W. Gregory, 220; J. Wavrin, sup. 162. It was stated in Convocation on the 15th July that the Scots were then besieging Norham; Wake, State of Church, 377.

⁴ See the despatches, Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 163, 173, the latter being from Bishop Kennedy; also Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 159.

CHAP. XIX. and her seven attendants, depending for her daily bread on
1463. the purse of de Brézé. In Northumberland, a herring a day
had sometimes been her ration ¹.

¹ G. Chastellain, iv. 279; W. Worcester, 496. The former speaks as if the antagonism between Philip and Margaret had been very marked, and in fact the main cause of the Duke's adherence to the Yorkists. So too Du Clercq. According to Worcester, Margaret's suite included the Duke of Exeter, Sir Henry Roos, Sir John Fortescue, and John Morton.

CHAPTER XX.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Parliament.—Truces with France and Scotland.—Fresh rising in the North.—
Battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham.—Marriage of the King.

WRITS had originally been issued for a Session of Parliament to meet at York on the 5th February (1463). The Parliament had been adjourned to the 7th March, at Leicester; and then again, the Government, being dissatisfied with the course the elections were taking, had issued fresh writs for a Session to begin at Westminster on the 29th April. Forty-two lay peers were summoned; among them Lord Rivers, who had made his peace since the last Parliament was summoned. Somerset, however, did not receive a writ, though he had come to London with the King, and had been greatly caressed by him ¹.

The Session lasted till the 18th June, when the Commons at last announced the grant of an Aid, as they preferred to call it, of £37,000, being the estimated yield of an ordinary Fifteenth and Tenth, without the deductions which had obtained since 1433. The grant was made payable by moieties on the 1st August and the 22nd November. But before the latter day came the Commons obtained a postponement of the second term of payment to the

CHAP. XX.
1463.
Parliament
at West-
minster.

Money
grants.

¹ Lords' Report, iv. 956-964; W. Gregory, 219; W. Worcester, 496. Edward gave Somerset £100 in January, and £40 in June, bestowing the money on the latter occasion with his own hand; Issues, Michaelmas 2, and Easter 3 Edward IV.

CHAP. XX. 25th March, 1464, with a remission of £6000; so as to
 1463. reduce the 'Aid' to an ordinary Subsidy as voted of late years¹.

The clergy, under the influence of Archbishops Bouchier and Booth, had been beforehand with grants. In March, 1462, the Convocation of York had given a Tenth; their first contribution since 1453. The southern assembly had followed their example in July; while York had added a further half Tenth in September². This liberality had been followed by a confirmation by Edward to the fullest extent of all ecclesiastical privileges and immunities whatsoever, 'all statutes to the contrary notwithstanding'³.

Commer-
 cial legis-
 lation.

The legislation of the Session was purely commercial: the measures passed being apparently the work of the London merchants and craftsmen who had access to the Royal ear; their aim being to foster native industry by excluding foreign competition. Thus alongside of very legitimate provisions for keeping up the standards of native cloth and native wool, and for securing the full payment of workmen's wages in money and not in kind, we have absolute prohibitions on the importation of foreign woollens and foreign silks; with a renewal of an existing prohibition on the purchase or export of native wools by foreign merchants⁴. The Staple regulations were re-enacted; while natives were forbidden to ship goods in foreign bottoms if native "freight" could be procured: the old prohibition on the importation of corn, except when wheat was above 6s. 8d. the quarter, was also renewed. The artificers and "handcrafty" men, on the other hand, com-

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 496-498. John Say was elected Speaker.

² Wake, 373, 374; Wilkins.

³ 2nd November, 1462; Feod. xi. 493. The grant included entire exemption from all criminal jurisdiction, the right to decide who was and who was not a cleric, and the right to decide tithe suits.

⁴ The prohibition on the importation of woollens and silks does not seem to have been wholly new, as on the Receipts Rolls of the 37th year of Henry VI (1st September, 1458-1459) we have entries of forfeitures for contravention of some unrecorded prohibition, possibly the work of some of the Grand Councils of which we know so little. There were keen discussions between England and Burgundy, May-July, 1458.

plained of the competition of foreigners settled in England ; and of goods imported "full wrought and redy made" ; being for the most part, as they alleged, "disceyvable and nought worth." They obtained the prohibition of a long string of miscellaneous articles, including woollen caps, lace, fringe, thread, saddlery, and leather work of all sorts ; cutlery and hardware ; "peynted ware" (*crockery* ?) ; hats and brushes ; pins, playing cards, and tennis balls¹. CHAP. XX.
1463.

Throughout these regulations it should be noted that Ireland was treated as part of England ; the King also claimed regard for the special privileges of the merchants of the Teutonic "Guildehalla" which had just been confirmed and extended by him².

Less intelligible at first sight than the trade enactments were the sumptuary regulations prescribing the apparel and personal adornments to be allowed in each social grade from the knight to the labourer ; noble lords only and their families being left unfettered by any restrictions. It would be interesting to know for certain at whose instance these regulations were brought forward or carried ; but, to judge from internal evidence, they were apparently dictated by the same protective spirit as the trade measures, the object being simply to encourage home products by keeping out exotic finery. Long toes had not yet gone out of fashion, as the Act forbids the "pykes" of shoes and "boteux" to exceed two inches in length ; while men's cloaks and gowns were required to be long enough to cover the person³. Sumptuary
Regula-
tions.

On the 18th June the Parliament was prorogued to the 4th November, but it did not actually meet again till the 21st January, 1465.

Much about the time that Margaret landed at Sluys, an English embassy went over to Calais for an international Diplomatic
affairs.

¹ Rot. Parl. 501-507 ; Statute, 3 Edward IV, cc. 1, 2, 3, 4. The provision for payment of artificers' wages in money does not, however, appear on this Statute, but in 4 Edward IV, c. 1.

² 9th March ; Foed. xi. 498.

³ Rot. Parl. 504, 505 ; Statute, c. 5.

CHAP. XX. Congress at St. Omer. Chancellor Neville headed the
 1463. delegation, and Edward IV himself went down to Dover to see them off and take charge of the Great Seal¹.

Margaret
and the
Duke of
Burgundy.

The meeting had been arranged by the Duke of Burgundy² to restore friendly intercourse between England, France, and Burgundy. Margaret's appearance at this juncture, therefore, was very embarrassing, and Philip at first refused even to see her. Finding, however, that she would not be put off without a personal interview, he appointed a meeting at St. Pol. Leaving her son at Bruges with her friend the Count of Charolais, she drove in a common four-horse wain to the meeting-place, not without risk of capture by the English at St. Omer. The Duke spent a pleasant evening in her company; listened courteously to her tale of woes, but listened in silence, without offering one word in answer. Next morning he took his leave, entrusting to his sister, the Duchess of Bourbon, 2000 gold crowns for Margaret, 100 for each of her three ladies, and 500 for de Brézé³. Margaret returned under Burgundian escort to Bruges, where the Duke's son entertained her awhile. From Flanders she was sent to the family possessions in Bar, where her father found her a home at Mighel-en-Barrois⁴.

The tripartite negotiations at St. Omer made little progress during the month of September, the French and English being very stiff towards each other, and the latter insisting that Louis should give no support to Henry. The conferences were eventually adjourned to Hesdin, whither Louis came in person on the 28th September to visit Philip. The English Chancellor followed two days later.

¹ 21st August. The Seal was given to Robert Kirkham, Master of the Rolls, and remained under his charge as Keeper till the 25th October; Foed. xi. 504, 506, 507.

² Burgundian envoys were in London on the 9th May; Issues, Easter 3 Edward IV.

³ September 1, 2; G. Chastellain, iv. 279-299. It was on this occasion that Margaret told the Duchess of Bourbon of her adventure in the forest. Chastellain must have heard it within a few days.

⁴ G. Chastellain, 309-332; Scott Plummer, *Governance of England*, note.

Louis made no stand for his Lancastrian cousins, and a truce for a year, the first since July, 1449, was agreed to; the commercial truce with Flanders being extended to the 1st November, 1464. On the 10th October the English left Hesdin, two days after signing the truce¹.

CHAP. XX.

1463.

Truces
with
France

A truce with Scotland followed, the friends of the House of Lancaster being disheartened by Louis' desertion. Edward, who had been at Pontefract during most of October and November, went early in December to York², to meet envoys from Scotland. Bishop Kennedy did not appear, though named head of the embassy, but he gave his consent. On the 9th December a truce was signed for land and sea to last to the 31st October, 1464; while as an earnest of peaceable intentions on the part of England, the Earl of Douglas was sent off on a special mission to Carrickfergus³.

and Scot-
land.

All this diplomatic work cut the ground from under Henry's feet. Both Mary of Guelders and the Earl of Angus were now dead⁴; but feeling in Scotland ran strongly in favour of definite peace with Edward. The Lancastrian exiles, seeing that Scotland would no longer harbour them, resolved on a last desperate effort. Early in 1464, Bishop Kennedy, having some inkling of their intentions, removed Henry from Edinburgh to St. Andrews⁵. About the same time Somerset (Henry Beaufort II) fled from a castle in North Wales (Holt?), where doubtless he had been living more or less in confinement. He made for Newcastle, where he expected to find friends; but at Durham he was detected, and nearly arrested while in bed⁶.

The Lan-
castrians in
Scotland.

¹ G. Chastellain, iv. 338-388; Foed. xi. 507, 508, 513. The great matter settled at Hesdin was the restitution to France of the Somme towns, Abbeville, Amiens, St. Quentin, &c., for 400,000 *écus d'or*, as stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

² Household Book, Q. R. Misc. 72.

³ Foed. 509, 510, and Kennedy's Despatch, Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 165, &c.

⁴ Mary died 1st December, 1463; Angus had died in the spring of the year; Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vii. pp. liv, 178, 389.

⁵ So his despatch, sup. Henry was still in Edinburgh on the 2nd January, 1464. Edinburgh Charter cited Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vii. p. xxxvii.

⁶ W. Gregory, 221, 223.

CHAP. XX.

1464.

Newcastle was saved ; but risings in Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire followed. At the end of January the King was called from the Midlands to Worcester and Gloucester to overawe malcontents in these parts. The Duke of Norfolk, posted at Holt, had plenty to do to restore order in North Wales. On the 25th February some men were executed at Chester, and the troubles were reported to be over ; but the York Parliament had again to be adjourned¹. From Gloucester the King went over to East Anglia, to have a look at people and things there, returning to London on the 27th February to meet a Burgundian envoy².

Henry VI
invades
North-
umberland.
Risings in
the North.

But the troubles were not over. About March the Lancastrians removed Henry from St. Andrews to Bamborough to be ready for action ; while Norham and Skipton in Craven declared for their cause³. The Craven was the seat of the Clifford influence, while Henry's removal from St. Andrews may have been hastened at the last by fear of extradition.

Action at
Hedgeley
Moor.

On the 10th April Edward sent off the Chancellor to assist his brothers Warwick and Montagu in negotiating for a closer alliance with Scotland⁴. York had been fixed as the meeting-place. Montagu, as the Warden of the East March, was sent forward to bring the Scots envoys to York. On his way to Newcastle he nearly fell into an ambush laid for him by Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and Humphrey Neville, but escaping the snare, reached the Tyne in safety. Having recruited his forces he resumed his journey. On the 25th April he encountered the Lancastrians at Hedgeley Moor, between Morpeth and Wooler : the Lancastrians were worsted, and Sir Ralph Percy killed⁵.

¹ Paston Letters, ii. 147, 151 ; Rot. Parl. v. 499. For Somerset's relations with Wales and the South-West of England, see a letter of this time ; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 179. Edward was at Worcester 1st February ; at Gloucester 4th to 11th February ; Household Accounts, sup.

² Id. ; Foed. xi. 513, 518 ; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 182. Edward remained in Town till the 28th April, when he moved to St. Albans.

³ Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 178 ; and a report to Louis ; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 183 ; 31st March, 1464 ; see also Kennedy's Despatch, id. 171.

⁴ Foed. xi. 514-518. Edward's commission is dated 5th April ; that of James III to the Bishop of Glasgow and Earl of Argyll, 11th April.

⁵ W. Gregory, 224 ; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 156. A stone pillar,

But the Lancastrians were not crushed, and the Govern-
ment in alarm called for mass levies from Yorkshire and
fifteen Midland counties; no writs being addressed to
Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire,
or Cheshire.

CHAP. XX.

1464.

On the 14th May Montagu made a fresh start from
Newcastle, with the Lords Greystock and Willoughby¹.
Next day they found the enemy some two or three miles
from Hexham, on the south side of the Tyne, encamped at
the Linnels, in a meadow of some fifteen or twenty acres
on the banks of the Devil's Water; a nice sheltered camp-
ing-ground, if concealment was the object, but a very bad
battle-field, a mere trap, in fact, with one entrance and no
outlet, the meadow being enclosed on one side by the
bushy banks of the river, and on the other side by steep
wooded heights.

Battle of
the Linnels
(Hexham).

Montagu having secured the one entrance at the east
end of the field, boldly charged² the Lancastrians in their
position, and, after a stout struggle, drove them bodily over
the stream into the West Deepton Wood, where the bulk of
them had to surrender at discretion. Henry was not in
the action, but at Bywell Castle, on the north side of the
Tyne, where his "bycoket", or coroneted cap³ and other
personal relics were afterwards found, he himself by that
time having been secretly removed to the loyal district of
the Lakes⁴.

Few of those who had fought on his side at the Lin-
nels were equally fortunate. Somerset was captured and

called Percy's Cross, marks the spot; "a little to the north-east of the
twenty-fourth milestone on the Morpeth and Wooler road"; Lewis, Topog.
Dict.

¹ Both of these had fought on Margaret's side at the second battle of
St. Albans; neither apparently was at Towton, though Willoughby's father,
Lord Welles, fell there. Willoughby was admitted to grace by Edward at
Gloucester in September, 1461; Rot. Parl. v. 617.

² "Subito insiliens."

³ "Bycoket richely garnysshed with ii crownys"; MS. Vitellius, sup. f.
125.

⁴ See Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 178, 179; R. Fabian, 654; E. Hall,
260 (the fullest account); J. Stow, 417, 418.

CHAP. XX. executed on the spot. De Roos, Hungerford, and many
 1464. others were taken in the woods next day. The prisoners
 Execu- were executed in batches, at different times and places,
 tions. doubtless to enhance the effect. On the 17th May
 Hungerford, Roos, and Sir Thomas Findern suffered at
 Newcastle: on the 18th Sir Philip Wentworth and Sir
 William Penington were executed at Middleham: on the
 26th some fourteen individuals, personal attendants of
 Henry and Margaret, were beheaded at York in Edward's
 own presence. Next day, being Trinity Sunday, Montagu
 received his reward in the shape of the investiture of the
 vacant earldom of Northumberland, while on the Monday,
 the Bloody Assize wound up its work¹.

Reduction of the North-umbrian strongholds. The last embers of resistance were quickly stamped out. All minor places having been recovered, Warwick and Northumberland made a grand advance in June against the three outstanding holds. Edward, still content to leave the leading parts in the hands of others, remained quietly in Yorkshire². On the 23rd June Alnwick yielded to the Nevilles: Dunstanborough succumbed next day. Bamborough, and Bamborough alone, stood a siege, the Captain, Sir Ralph Grey, having been specially excepted from all amnesty. But the King's great guns soon knocked the crumbling walls to pieces, and then Bamborough was carried by storm, Grey being severely wounded in the assault. Weak and wounded as he was, the hapless prisoner was dragged off to Doncaster, where the King was, to undergo the process of being sentenced by the High Constable, the Earl of Worcester³.

It is probable that this formality, though only recorded in Grey's case, was nevertheless equally observed in the cases of the other Lancastrian victims.

¹ See W. Worcester, 498, 499; W. Gregory, 224-226; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 79, 178; J. Warkworth, 4. Among the sufferers was the turbulent Sir William Tailboys, now styled Earl of Kyme.

² Household Accounts, sup.

³ W. Worcester, 499; W. Gregory, 227; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 180; Foed. xi. 527, and esp. Warkworth, notes, 35. Edward was at Doncaster 13th-15th July; Household Accounts, sup.

Edward was now fairly master of England, "at what-
ever cost the land was won"; and Europe hastened to
show its recognition of the fact. Pope Pius II, though
offended at Coppini's original precipitancy, had soon seen
fit to recognise Edward IV¹. On the 1st June (1464) a
further truce for fifteen years was signed with Scotland².
Louis XI was bidding for England's goodwill, and using
the Duke of Burgundy as a catspaw to effect an alliance
intended mainly against Burgundy³. With Burgundy
intercourse from the first had been thoroughly cordial:
treaties with Denmark, Castile, and Brittany show the
position the new Dynasty had established⁴.

At the same time the fortunes of the House of Neville
reached their zenith by the translation of the Bishop of
Exeter, the Chancellor, to the Northern Primacy⁵. The
Nevilles had done the work: the young King, self-in-
dulgent and fond of pleasure, had contributed little since
the day of Towton to his own success. The Governor of
Abbeville, reporting news from Calais to Louis XI in
March of this year, writes as follows: 'They tell me that
they have but two rulers ("*chefs*") in England—Monsieur
de Warwick and another, whose name I have forgotten'⁶.
The forgotten name, however, clearly could not be that of
the King.

The records of the domestic expenditure so far reveal
two facts which seem to bear on the King's character: one
a heavy drain on a moderate Revenue for the King's

¹ 22nd March, 1462; Foed. xi. 489.

² Foed. 525.

³ G. Chastellain, v. 110; Duclercq. 247. A French embassy was in London
in April; Issues, Easter 4 Edward IV. The Burgundian de Lannoy had
come over in March at Louis' request to prepare the way for them; Foed.
511; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 182. The ostensible object of the negotiations was
to extend the truce of Hesdin to operations by sea, omitted at first. This was
done; Foed. 513, 518, 521, 523.

⁴ Foed. 522, 531, 536, 537.

⁵ Archbishop William Booth died 12th September, 1464; Stubbs. The
congrès d'élire for the election of George Neville was dated the 27th September;
Foed. 533.

⁶ Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 184.

CHAP. XX. Chamber or Private Purse ; the latter a singular expenditure
 1464 on drugs and medicines. The former might be attributed to a special mode of keeping the accounts ; the second, in the case of a young man in his prime, seems very mysterious¹.

Marriage
 of the
 King.

But, as if to show how little political considerations weighed with him, the King had already committed a signal act of indiscretion, distasteful to the nation², and doubly so to the Nevilles. On the 1st May, when on his way to suppress the rising in the North, he had contracted a private marriage with a subject. The lady was Elizabeth Wodeville, or Wydeville³, eldest daughter of Lord Rivers and the Duchess of Bedford, and widow of Sir John Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby, who fell on the Lancastrian side at the second battle of St. Albans⁴.

On the 30th April the Court had been at Stony Stratford : early in the morning of the 1st May the King rode over to Grafton Regis, Rivers' residence, as if on a hunting expedition, rejoining the Court at night at Northampton. But in the interval he had married Elizabeth in the presence of two or three witnesses only. The Court remained at Northampton till the 4th, when it moved on to Leicester ; but in that time it was said that the King managed to spend two or three nights at Grafton⁵. But the secret was so well kept that even Warwick did not find it out till towards July, he being all the time

¹ Issue Rolls, *passim*. The £17,161 drawn in the first year for the Chamber probably covered the coronation expenses ; but £9827 were drawn in the second year ; £6017 in one term of the fourth year ; £664 were drawn in the sixth year ; and £19,592 in the seventh year. But part of the money had to be refunded for the necessary expenses of the Household, which were very moderate. To the apothecary we have payments of £40 and £87 at a time.

² See Croyland, Cont. 539 ; and Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 326-329.

³ Both forms appear on the public records of the time, but Wydeville predominates.

⁴ E. Hall, 252, 264, 365 ; J. Stow, 418.

⁵ See W. Gregory, 226 ; R. Fabian, 654 ; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 180 ; Chron. White Rose, 15, 16. For the dates see Household Book, Q. R. Miscell. 72. Grafton is not five miles from Stony Stratford, and about ten miles from Northampton.

engaged in active negotiations for the hand of a suitable Queen¹. CHAP. XX.
1464.

As for Elizabeth's parentage, her mother was a Luxemburg, daughter of the Count of St. Pol; but the Regent Bedford was considered to have stooped somewhat in marrying her; while she again had incensed her aspiring relations by condescending to Bedford's steward, Sir Richard Wydeville, accomplished knight though he was².

Warwick naturally had been on the look-out for a political alliance to strengthen Edward's Throne and his own position. His first thoughts had turned towards Burgundy. In the autumn of 1461 Lord Wenlock had gone over to Valenciennes to propose for the hand of Catherine of Bourbon, the Duke of Burgundy's niece³. This match would have given a connexion both with France and Burgundy. But the Duke, with the family propensity for intermarriage, preferred to bestow the young lady on her cousin the young Duke of Guelders⁴. Perhaps Philip was actuated by a wish to please his son, who, in a spirit of perversity, had declared for the house of Lancaster. Perhaps the antagonism between Charles and Warwick, which afterwards became so marked, had already begun. The proposal for the Queen Dowager of Scotland in 1462 was probably not seriously meant⁵. Isabella of Castile was then thought of⁶, but destiny reserved her hand for Ferdinand the Catholic. Lastly, Louis XI came forward with a proposal. His policy was essentially domestic.

¹ So a letter of Lord Wenlock to Burgundy, Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 326, which marks its own date by reference to a conference fixed for the 1st July.

² J. Duclercq, 246; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 326, 327. The Duchess of Bedford had two sisters, Isabella married to the Count of Maine; and Catherine, third wife of the Constable de Richemont, who became Duke Arthur III of Brittany for one year, 1457-1458; G. Chastellain, v. 216.

³ G. Chastellain, iv. 155; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 309-313; cf. Foed. xi. 478, 481. Wenlock was under orders to go to Burgundy as early as the 9th June, 1461; Issues, Easter 1 Edward IV.

⁴ They were married 18th December, 1463; J. Duclercq, 227; G. Chastellain, 436-448.

⁵ W. Worcester, 492; cf. E. Hall, 262.

⁶ Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 182; E. Hall, 262; Ellis, Letters, Second Series i. 152.

CHAP. XX. Between Burgundy and Brittany, he said, France had a
 1464. horn goring her on either flank. To enable him to deal with these troublesome feudatories peace with England was of the first importance¹; and as a pledge of peace he suggested the hand of Bonne, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and sister of his own Queen. The French embassy, already noticed as being in London in April², must have come mainly on this errand, and Louis was doing his utmost to win over the great Earl, 'without whom nothing could be done in England'. He had fully expected to see Richard at Hesdin with Wenlock in July, when the Queen of France and Bonne were brought to Dampierre to be introduced to Warwick. The Earl being detained in the North of England by the war, another appointment was made for a meeting to be held on the 1st October, when
 His disap- Warwick found that all his schemes had been baffled "by
 pointment. the arts of a woman or the infatuation of a boy"³. Worse than all, as the Queen's connexions were all Lancastrians, Warwick might anticipate the rise of a hostile party in the innermost circle of the Court. However, there was nothing for it but to swallow his mortification, and hold patiently on his course.

The formal announcement of the King's marriage was reserved for the meeting of a Privy Council held at Reading in September⁴. On Michaelmas Day Elizabeth was brought into the Abbey chapel by the King's brother the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, and presented to the Lords in Council as their Queen. From that time she took her position openly at Court⁵.

¹ G. Chastellain, iv. 494; J. Duclercq, 235-247; T. Basin, ii. 94.

² Issues, Easter 4 Edward IV.

³ See T. Basin, ii. 51, 85, 86; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 326; G. Chastellain, v. 13-25, 93, 94; Comines-Dupont, iv. 212; Foed. xi. 520; E. Hall, 263; Stubbs.

⁴ The Court was at Reading 23rd-29th September; Household Accounts, sup.

⁵ W. Worcester, 500, 501; W. Gregory, 226. In December the Queen's jointure was fixed at 4000 marks (£2333 6s. 8d.) a year.

CHAPTER XXI.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Parliament.—The Currency.—Coronation of the Queen.—Apprehension of Henry VI.

ON the 21st January, 1465, the oft-adjourned Parliament of 1463 was again brought together at Westminster to conclude its work. The Customs duties were granted for the King's life; the grant for Henry's life, under which they had been hitherto levied, being revoked. Tonnage and Poundage were kept at 3s. the tun of wine and 12*d.* on the £1 value of general merchandise. The wool duties from natives were voted at 40s. the sack; that being the amount previously levied in practice; the extra 10s. imposed at Reading in 1453 having been remitted since 1454. The preposterous dues imposed on foreigners in 1453, amounting with "cocket" dues and "Calais devoirs" to no less than 111*s.* 4*d.* the sack of wool, were also repealed: a reduced 'subsidy' of 66*s.* 8*d.* being substituted: but as this, with the hereditary incidents of Magna Custuma, Parva Custuma, and Cocket and Calais dues, would make a total of 78*s.* the sack, the rate was to all intents and purposes as prohibitive as before; and the export of wool by foreigners was still restricted to a few transactions by Italians who were able to compound with the King for a remission of duty¹.

CHAP. XXI.

1465.

Parlia-
ment.

Grant of
Customs.

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 507, 508; and Enrolled Customs Accounts, Henry VI and Edward IV, *passim*.

CHAP. XXI.

1465.

Garrison
of Calais.

For securing the more regular payment of the wages of the garrison at Calais an arrangement was made vesting a certain proportion of the wool duties in the Merchants of the Calais Staple upon trust to pay the wages and certain other charges, including one in favour of themselves¹; but as the duties assigned were found inadequate, and the scheme had subsequently to be revised, the reader need not be troubled with the details.

Resump-
tion Act.

No direct grant was offered, but the Commons thought that the time for another Resumption Act had come. They knew that if the number of forfeiting traitors had been large, the number of deserving lieges looking for recompense was larger still, and so of necessity it always was. The political troubles that brought rich estates 'into hand' brought also partizans with services to be recognised. None but men with the grip of a William the Conqueror or a Henry II could hold their own under such circumstances. The Act was agreed to²; but in the first place its operation was restricted to old Crown lands, and estates formerly held by the House of York, all the lands recently forfeited and given away again being kept out of the Act. Then, again, the measure of course was made subject to the King's right of granting exemptions, which as on former occasions let in all persons with any interest at their backs. Accordingly 288 clauses of special exemption were introduced, independently of general clauses protecting the rights of public bodies and Crown officers.

The value of the land grants protected by the clauses of exemption it would be impossible to estimate, as they included every sort and kind of estate, from the lordship with castle and forest to the cottage with a three-acre croft: but the money pensions specially protected came to more than £4000 a year³. On the other hand all the returns from the estates in hand prior to the Act do not figure on the Royal Accounts for half that amount; although apparently in-

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 509, 550. For previous measures in the same direction, see above, 89, 191.

² Id. 498.

³ Id. 514-548.

cluding the domains of the Houses of Exeter, Buckingham, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, and Roos of Hamelake¹. So successful were the lawyers in protecting estates from confiscation by the devices of entails and Feoffments to Uses.

The business of the Session naturally included a fresh Act of Attainder against the persons implicated in the risings of the previous year². On the other hand, John de Vere, younger son of the late Earl of Oxford, was admitted to the earldom as held by Robert de Vere, Richard II's favourite³; while young Harry of Buckingham, grandson of the man who fell at Northampton, was recognised as Duke⁴; his grandmother being a Neville and the King's aunt.

The public Acts of the Session were of the same narrow character as those of the previous Parliaments of the reign. The provisions of 1463 for the "aulnage" of cloth were repeated; the prohibition on the importation of foreign cloth being renewed, but not the prohibition on the purchase of English wool by foreigners. The requirements of cordwainers, "horners" and pattern-makers received attention; and the town of Dover was confirmed in its old monopoly of all passenger traffic to or from Calais⁵.

A matter which, according to our ideas, ought to have been brought before Parliament, but which apparently was

¹ The figures for one year appear to be—

Buckingham estates	. . .	£23
Exeter	. . .	190
Hamelake, say	. . .	80
Northumberland	. . .	665
Shrewsbury	. . .	40
Small sundry estates, net	. . .	1000
		<u>£1993</u>

Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 1-6 Edward IV.

² Rot. Parl. v. 511.

³ Id. 449. The attainder of Robert de Vere, which had been reversed in the Parliament 1397-8, and revived in 1399, was again reversed.

⁴ Id. 450.

⁵ Id. 567-568; Statute, 4 Edward IV. The Dover privilege dated from the Statute 9 Edward III, Stat. 2, c. 8; confirmed 13 Richard II, Stat. 1, c. 20.

CHAP. XXI. not, was a change of currency, effected partly in 1464 and
 1464-65. partly in 1465. If we except a debasement of halfpence
 Reduction of the and farthings ordered for two years in 1444¹, the coinage
 currency. had remained unaltered since 1411; the 'sterling' or silver
 penny, the standard unit, containing 15 grains Troy; while
 the pound Tower of gold (5400 grains Troy) yielded 50
 nobles, weighing 108 grains and worth 6*s.* 8*d.* each; the
 ratio in value of gold to silver being thus as 1 to 11 $\frac{1}{4}$.
 The penny was now reduced to 12 grains Troy, so that the
 pound Tower of silver would yield 450 pennies (37*s.* 6*d.*)
 instead of 360 pennies (30*s.*) as before. The gold currency
 had to be altered also. At first the existing noble was
 ordered to pass for 8*s.* 4*d.* of the new silver, which would
 have kept the ratio exactly as it was: but a new gold
 coinage was shortly ordered, the pound being made to
 yield 45 rose-nobles or royals of 120 grains each, and
 worth 10*s.* of the new silver; the ratio of gold to silver
 being thus brought up to 1 to 12. New nobles worth
 6*s.* 8*d.* of the new silver were also introduced, sixty-seven
 and a half of these going to the pound Tower. The re-
 duced nobles being marked with an angel became known
 as 'noble-angels', and later as 'angels' simply².

We have already laid before the reader a suggestion that
 the inducement to kings to debase their currencies was
 mainly if not solely the profit to be made by the Crown on
 recoinage the money³; the point of the debasement being
 that it forced all holders of currency to bring their money
 in to be recoinage, as otherwise they would be losers by
 having to utter it at the value of the new reduced coinage.
 In the present case the seignorage or charge for minting
 was largely raised, but the charge was so managed as to
 offer a seeming profit both to Crown and subject. Hitherto
 the charge for coining a pound of silver had been 1*s.*, of
 which 9*d.* went to the Master of the Mint and 3*d.* to the

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 109.

² The Cotton MS. Vitellius A. xvi. f. 126, speaks of an "aungelet" as well
 as of "the aungell."

³ See Financial Review of the reign of Henry IV, preceding vol., p. 153.

King; the merchant who brought a pound of silver to be coined receiving 29s. out of the 30s. struck from his silver. Now the deduction was to be raised to 4s. 6d., but as the pound would yield 37s. 6d. of the new currency, instead of 30s. as before, the merchant after deduction of the 4s. 6d. would still have 33s. (of the new currency) for his pound of silver¹:—"iiii shillings . . . more than he had byfore"².

It is possible also that a wish to efface the memory of the Henries from the very coinage had something to do with the measure³.

The fiscal results at any rate were most satisfactory. Between the 1st September, 1464, and the 29th September, 1466, the Crown netted £15,428 by the operation⁴.

The month of May (1465) was marked by the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. The rites were celebrated with all possible pomp, the Queen's uncle, James of Luxemburg, coming over with a brilliant suite⁵.

On Friday, the 24th, the Mayor and citizens met Elizabeth at Shooter's Hill, and led her to the Tower. On the Saturday she rode in a horselitter to Westminster; on Sunday, 26th May, she was crowned by Archbishop Bourchier. Eight and thirty "Knyghtes of the Bathe" were dubbed in honour of the occasion⁶. The young Duke of Buckingham, the new Earl of Oxford, the young Viscount de L'Isle⁷, the eldest sons of the Earls of Arundel and Kent⁸, and two young Wydevilles were among the number;

¹ See Ruding, *Annals of Coinage*, i. 268, 272, 282, 283; cf. 276.

² W. Gregory, 227; R. Fabian, 655.

³ So Croyland, Cont. 533.

⁴ Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 7-12 Edward IV. During the time 12,489 lbs. of gold and 55,334 lbs. of silver were brought in; this bullion doubtless representing the bulk of the metallic currency of the country.

⁵ J. Duclercq, 246.

⁶ William of Worcester gives the names. The Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles and Stow raise the numbers to forty-seven and forty-eight without giving the names.

⁷ Thomas Talbot, son of the viscount who fell at Castillon in 1453.

⁸ Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthyn, was created Earl of Kent at this very time (30th May); Lords' Report, v. 367. William Neville, the late Earl, died in January, 1463; H. Nicolas, J. E. Doyle. Arundel was married to the Lady Joan, Warwick's sister.

CHAP. XXI.
1464-65.

Profit on
the re-
coinage.

Coronation
of the
Queen.

CHAP. XXI. which also included, to the great pride of the Londoners,
 1465. the Mayor, Ralph Joscelyn ("Jossalyne", "Jossalyn"),
 and four Aldermen. Jousts at Westminster closed the
 festivities¹.

Warwick managed to keep clear of the festivities, going over to Boulogne to confer with agents of the Count of Charolais. And here the Wydeville connexion might be expected to come in usefully; as the Luxemburgs were Charles' confidants². Charles, however, did not come to Boulogne, and no treaty was signed. Either he was too busy, or he had not yet been able to overcome his antipathy to the House of York. Yet he had every reason for seeking England's friendship, as he was preparing to draw the sword on behalf of a coalition of French magnates marshalled against Louis XI.

Rising in
France.

*Ligue du
Bien
Public.*

The movement was entirely akin to the *Praguerie* of 1440 fomented by Louis himself when Dauphin; being a mere rising of the feudal Houses against the growing power of the Crown: but the confederates showed a sense of the tendencies of the age by styling themselves the League of the Common Weal (*La Ligue du Bien Public*)³. Both the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, no doubt, had reason to be afraid of Louis' intentions; and the Count of Charolais could not forgive his father for having restored the Somme towns, bound in honour though they were to do so. The movement included the King's young brother Charles, Duke of Berri, and his brother-in-law John, the Duke of Bourbon; the Duke of Calabria, son of old René; the Duke of Nemours; the Counts of Nevers, Armagnac, and Dunois; and the Sire d'Albret.

The rising began in Bourbonnais and Auvergne; but Louis marching promptly against the malcontents, obliged them to sign a truce at Riom on the 4th July; the House

¹ W. Worcester, 501-503; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 80, 180, &c.

² W. Worcester, 503, 504; Foed. xi. 540, 543; J. Duclercq, 255; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 330.

³ The conspiracy was settled in the church of Notre Dame at Paris during the Christmas services of 1464; Sismondi, France, xiv. 160; Martin, vi. 553, from Olivier de la Marche.

of Foix and the large towns having remained faithful¹. CHAP. XXI.
1465.
 But by that time the Burgundians were at Saint-Denis ;
 intriguing for admission to Paris. Turning northwards
 with all speed Louis encountered them at Montlhéri on Battle of
Mont-
lhéri,
 the 16th July. A curious action ensued, the French running
 away on one wing, and the Burgundians running away
 on the other wing : but as Louis drew back to Corbeil,
 while the Count of Charolais remained on the ground,
 victory was adjudged to him². The fruits of victory also
 eventually fell to his side. The Bretons came up in a few
 days. Louis maintained his hold on Paris ; but Normandy,
 in spite of a personal visit from him, began to show signs
 of disaffection. On the 21st September Pontoise was de-
 livered to the Bretons ; on the 27th the widow of de Brézé,
 who had fallen on the King's side at Montlhéri, delivered
 Rouen to the Duke of Bourbon³. Louis at once came to
 terms. On the 1st October a truce was signed at Conflans ; Louis XI
makes
terms.
 during the month successive treaties were made with the
 insurgents ; Louis acting on the advice said to have been
 given him by his ally Francesco Sforza of Milan not to be
 chary of promises. The Count of Charolais got back the
 territory on the Somme ; the Duke of Berri received the
 appanage of Normandy in all its old ducal entirety ; Brittany
 obtained a release of divers regalian rights, while lands,
 money, and offices were lavished upon all. The final
 treaty was signed at Saint-Maur-les-Fossés on the 29th
 October⁴.

Louis had begun in too high-handed a manner, breath-
 ing vengeance against all who had thwarted him when
 Dauphin ; trusting entirely to his own talents, and doing
 nothing to secure popularity with any class. He had
 acted as if he had had a standing army at his back.

¹ Sismondi, 162-170 ; Martin, 554, 558.

² See the report of the Duke of Burgundy, Comines-Lenglet, ii. 484 ; and de Comines' own account, Id. i. 25.

³ T. Basin, ii. 125, and notes ; Sismondi, 187, &c. Basin himself was im-
 plicated in this matter, though he is silent on the point.

⁴ Martin, 569 ; Sismondi, 191. For the several treaties, see Comines-Lenglet,
 ii. 499-533. The old Oriflamme figured for the last time in this war ; Martin,

CHAP. XXI. In July, however, while the struggle was at its height, he
 1465. had signed a treaty with Warwick securing the neutrality of England¹.

While France was thus undergoing a wave of reaction, affairs in England seemed to flow all in favour of Edward IV.

Discovery
and apprehension of
Henry VI.

In July Henry VI was discovered and apprehended on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire. He had been so completely lost to sight for months that men wondered whether he were dead or alive. It would seem that after the battle at the Linnels he had retired to the Lake District. At one time he was with John Machell, of Crackenthorpe, near Appleby²; at another time he found a refuge in Furness; again he was protected by Sir Richard Tunstall of Thurland³ in Lancashire; lastly, he moved to the neighbourhood of Clitheroe, where he must have been for some time under the protection of Sir John Tempest of Bracewell, and his connexions, the Talbots of Bashall and Salesbury. At Bolton, in that neighbourhood, a well is still shewn which is said to have been enlarged to serve as "King Harry's bath". Three personal relics of the ex-King are also preserved there; a spoon, a boot, and a glove⁴; the two latter of diminutive size.

Henry's place of concealment having been divulged by one William Cantelowe⁵, an Abingdon monk, the ex-

¹ So W. Worcester, 504. He names "Dominus de la Barde" as the French agent. He was in Louis' service at the time; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 27, 28, 30, but he seems to have been in Paris from July onwards: perhaps the truce may have been signed earlier. Somerset was with Charolais' army; Id. 38. Worcester gives the truce as made to last to the 1st March, 1468, apparently running two truces into one; cf. Foed. 543, 568. De la Barde and the Bastard of Bourbon came over in April 1466 to arrange a truce; Comines-Lenglet, 56.

² Foed. xi. 575.

³ "Donnestal" Wavrin-Dupont, v. 344.

⁴ Engravings of these are given in the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1785; and again in Whitaker's History of the Craven, p. 106. J. O. Halliwell, Warkworth, 43, notes: the sole of the boot measures only eight inches in length; the glove is small in proportion.

⁵ A man of the name of Cantelowe is mentioned as an active Lancastrian; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 103.

King's protectors made a virtue of necessity, and secured rewards by surrendering him. He was arrested at Waddington Hall, near Clitheroe, during dinner time. Sir James Haryngton, of Brierley, a Yorkist, must have taken the leading part in the affair, as he received the Tunstall estates at Thurland and in Lonsdale and Kendal for his services; while Tempest and the Talbots only got money¹. Henry was taken on horseback to London with his feet tied to his stirrups. Three attendants had been taken with him; namely, "young Ellerton"² a valet, and two chaplains, these being Dr. Beadon and Thomas Manning, formerly Dean of Windsor. On the 24th July Warwick met the party at Islington on their way to the Tower, and escorted them through the City, doubtless to guard against any manifestation of sympathy for the fallen King³.

Henry was committed to the Tower, there to remain for five years; but he was shewn as much indulgence as was consistent with his safe-keeping, visitors being now and then allowed to see him. "When pressed by some impertinent person to justify his usurpation he used to answer, 'My father had been King of England, possessing his crown in peace all through his reign; and his father, my grandfather, had been King of the same realm. And I, when a boy in the cradle, had been without any interval crowned in peace and approved as King by the whole realm, and wore the crown for well-nigh forty years, every lord doing royal homage to me, and swearing fealty as they had done to my forefathers. . . . My help cometh of God, who preserveth them that are true of heart'"⁴.

¹ Foed. 548. Haryngton's father and brother had lost their lives at Wakefield; above. For the rewards paid to Tempest and Talbot, see Devon Issues, 489.

² J. Stow, 419.

³ See W. Worcester, 504; W. Gregory, 232; J. Warkworth, 5, and notes, 40-43; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 80; R. Fabian, 654; Leland, Coll. ii. 500; J. Blakman, 304-305. For the date see Devon Issues, 490. A chaplain was paid to perform mass for Henry from the 25th July onwards; Issues, Easter 8 Edward IV, m. 9.

⁴ Stubbs, iii. 201; from J. Blakman, 305.

CHAP. XXI.
1465.

He is sent
to the
Tower.

CHAP. XXI.

1466.

Foreign
Relations.

A treaty of amity with Christian I of Denmark and Sweden¹, and a further extension of the Scots truce², marked the continued *prestige* of the new government.

So again during 1466 we have meetings, truces and treaties with France, Burgundy, Brittany³, and Scotland⁴; and we have a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Henry IV of Castile and Leon⁵. Till the accession of Louis XI Castile had been reckoned among England's enemies. The treaty with Castile was drawn up at the English Court and probably under Edward's own eye; but in all the other cases Warwick is named as the chief plenipotentiary.

The divided state of France gave England a very commanding position as between France, Burgundy, and Brittany⁶; but while friendly relations were cultivated with all three, the really cordial alliance was that with Burgundy: thus while offers of territory at the expense of Burgundy, made by Louis, were passed over⁷, Warwick was instructed to offer to Burgundy a revocation of the prohibition on the import of Burgundian goods so strangely passed in the last Parliament; he was instructed to accept the offer made by the Count of Charolais, who had just lost his wife⁸, to marry the King's sister Margaret; and he was also instructed to

¹ Hamburg, 3rd October, 1465; Foed. xi. 551.

² Newcastle, 12th December, 1465; Id. 557. The extension was to cover all the period down to the year 1519.

³ March-June, 1466; Foed. 562-568; J. Duclercq, 293; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 56, 58.

⁴ Oct.; Foed. 573.

⁵ 6th August; Foed. 569-572. The alliance was aimed against France; G. Chastellain, v. 339. The alliance was renewed in July, 1467; Foed. 583-590.

⁶ See T. Basin, ii. 177; J. Duclercq, sup.

⁷ See the letter of the Count of Charolais, written in August 1466, asking Louis if he really had offered Abbeville to the English; Duclos, Louis XI, iv. 1.

⁸ Isabella of Bourbon, sister of the Duke of Bourbon: she died 25th September, 1465; T. Basin, ii. 167, notes. The proposal to marry the Lady Margaret emanated from Charles himself; it was brought to England in March, 1466; he made it from motives of pure policy, as he admitted that by ties of blood he was bound to the House of Lancaster; G. Chastellain, v. 311, 312, 419; Comines-Lenglet, i. 37, 38; T. Basin, ii. 182; Croyland, Cont. 551.

suggest another marriage, namely, between the Count's daughter Mary and the Duke of Clarence. But Warwick apparently gave no real support to either of these proposals ¹.

CHAP. XXI.

1466.

¹ The Croyland writer states that Warwick opposed the Burgundian marriage because he hated Charles, and that the marriage was Edward's own doing. Warwick and Charles were not friends; see Comines-Dupont, iii. 201, 213, 214; i. 249. Yet the proposal for the marriage of the King to Catherine of Bourbon in 1461 must have emanated from Warwick; and on the present occasion (spring of 1466) he went over to St. Omer in person, without going on to France.

CHAPTER XXII.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

The Nevilles and the Wydevilles.—Growing estrangement of the King and Warwick.—Dismissal of the Archbishop of York.—Parliament.—Renewal of war with France threatened.—Marriage of the Lady Margaret to Charles Duke of Burgundy.

CH. XXII.

1464-66.

The
Nevilles
and the
Wyde-
villes.

EDWARD'S position now seemed fully established. But, as often happens, just as external opposition had disappeared, symptoms of internal weakness began to develop. From the time of the King's marriage the rivalry of the Nevilles and Wydevilles gives the keynote of English politics. As Warwick had shunned the Queen's coronation, so in September 1465, when George Neville the Chancellor was enthroned Archbishop of York, the King and Queen were the only conspicuous absentees¹. Edward, "tired of the domination" of the men who had made him King, "had perhaps conceived the notion common to Edward II and Richard II of raising up a counterpoise . . . in a circle of friends devoted to himself"². At any rate, he was indefatigable in promoting his wife's relations. Her eldest brother Anthony was already a Baron in right of his wife the heiress of Lord Scales. The announcement of the King's marriage in September, 1464, was immediately followed by the betrothal of the Queen's next sister Margaret to Thomas Lord Maltravers, eldest son of the Earl of Arundel³. In January, 1465, Warwick's aunt,

¹ W. Worcester, 505.

² Stubbs, iii. 201.

³ W. Worcester, 500. The marriage was not celebrated till 1465 or 1466; Paston Letters, ii. 257.

Catherine Duchess of Norfolk, was made to accept as her fourth husband John Wydeville, a boy of twenty. This preposterous match must have been a sore trial to the Nevilles¹. In February, 1466, the Queen gave birth to her first child by Edward, a daughter, Elizabeth Plantagenet, England's future Queen. Warwick accepted the compliment of standing godfather; but the christening gave occasion to three more matches. The Queen's sister Catherine was married to the young Duke of Buckingham²; sister Anne was married to William Viscount Bouchier, son of the Earl of Essex³; and sister Eleanor to Anthony Grey of Ruthyn, son of the new Earl of Kent⁴. In March, Lord Rivers was appointed Treasurer vice Sir Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy; and on Whitsunday, 25th May, he was made Earl Rivers⁵. He was a man of years and experience; but that probably did not mend the matter in Warwick's eyes. In September, Mary Wydeville was married to William, eldest son of Lord Herbert, "the King's most confidential friend"⁶; while in October the hand of

CH. XXII.

1466.

¹ "Maritagium Diabolicum"; W. Worcester, 501; Rot. Parl. v. 607. The lady was the grandmother of the existing Duke. Her three previous husbands were the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Thomas Strangways, and Viscount Beaumont.

² W. Worcester, 505.

³ Id.; Collins, vi. 350.

⁴ W. Worcester, 506; cf. Foed. xii. 14, 15. Mr. C. W. Oman (Warwick the King-Maker, p. 165) supplies the lady's name; but he marries her to George Grey, the second son, who eventually married Anne Wydeville, widow of Wm. Bouchier; Doyle.

⁵ W. Worcester, sup.; Lords' Report, Append. v. 370; Household Account, Q. R. Miscell. 7². The Treasury had changed hands several times since the King's accession. At that time the post was held by Viscount Bouchier, who shortly became Earl of Essex. On the 14th April, 1462, the Earl of Worcester became Treasurer; Issues, Easter 2 Edward IV. On the 27th June, 1463, Lord Grey of Ruthyn replaced him; Receipts, Easter 3 Edward IV. On the 27th November, 1464, Sir Walter Blount became Treasurer; Receipts, Michaelmas 4 Edward IV; and Rivers followed on the 4th March, 1466. The Rolls were better kept under him than under any of his predecessors. Walter Blount was raised to the Peerage as Baron Mountjoy of Thurveston co. Derby, in June 1465; Historic Peerage. 1 Augt.; Lords' Report, v. 407.

⁶ W. Worcester, 506. Young Herbert was created Lord Dunster on the occasion. Warwick had a claim to the title of Lord Mohun of Dunster as heir of Salisbury. The Dunster estates in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon were conferred on the elder Herbert; Receipt Roll, Michaelmas 9 Edward IV: he had received the title of Lord Dunster in 1463; Doyle.

**

Y

CH. XXII. another heiress, the King's niece Anne Holland, daughter
 1466. of the Duke of Exeter, was bestowed upon one more scion
 of the never-ending family, the Queen's brother, Thomas
 Wydeville¹. At each and all of these arrangements, we
 are told, Warwick chafed in secret, the last match again
 being specially irritating, as he had applied for the hand of
 the Lady Anne Holland for one of his own nephews, the
 son of his brother John, late Lord Montagu, now Earl of
 Northumberland.

Relations with France and Burgundy. The Wydevilles, however, wisely clung to the Burgundian
 connexion; Warwick from opposition resisting it, urging
 a French alliance as preferable, and finally intriguing on
 his own account with Louis.

On the 23rd October, 1466, the Count of Charolais signed
 a private league with Edward IV; and shortly after his
 natural brother Anthony, a considerable personage at the
 Burgundian court, was instructed to carry on the treaty for
 the matrimonial alliance, which apparently had been kept
 back by Warwick's covert opposition²; while another em-
 bassy was instructed to treat for freedom of commercial
 intercourse³.

Mission of Anthony the Bastard of Burgundy to England. Feats of arms. The Bastard of Burgundy came ostensibly to perform
 friendly feats of arms, to which he had been challenged by
 Lord Scales as far back as April, 1465. He reached London
 on the 30th May, 1467; Edward coming to Town to receive
 him on the 2nd June⁴. On the 11th and 12th June the two
 champions fought it out in lists at Smithfield. On the first
 day, when they fought on horseback, the Bastard's horse
 was killed under him⁵; on the second day, when they fought
 on foot with pole-axes, Scales cut through the "sight" of his
 opponent's helmet, whereupon the King again cried "Hold!"
 'And this battle was very fine. I never saw better'⁶.

¹ At Greenwich; W. Worcester, 507.

² Foed. xi. 573; J. Stow, 419. For Warwick's opposition, see Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 333.

³ Foed. 574; J. Duclercq, 303; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 341.

⁴ Excerpta Historica, 176-198.

⁵ O. de la Marche, quoted Excerpta, 209; W. Gregory, 236.

⁶ See Excerpta Historica, 171-212, a contemporary English account with

Other jousts followed, but within a few days *Monsieur Anthoine* was recalled by the news of his father's death, which happened at Brussels on the 15th June¹. CH. XXII.
1467.

The death of Philip the Good made little change in the aspect of politics. He had been failing for a couple of years; the government had been in the hands of his son; and the marriage with the Lady Margaret was understood to be a settled affair². Death of
the Duke
of Bur-
gundy
(Philip the
Good).

Not a Neville is mentioned as playing any part in the gorgeous performances in Smithfield on which the eyes of all England were fixed. The men who attended Scales in the lists were all of the King's personal circle, and mostly men connected with the Wydevilles by recent marriages; such as the Earls of Arundel and Kent; the young Duke of Buckingham; Lords Herbert and Stafford of Southwick:—while the Bastard received the attentions of the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Mountjoy, and Sir Thomas Montgomery³.

Warwick was again out of the country. He was at Rouen, being entertained by Louis XI with perfectly royal honours⁴. Thus he was not present at the opening of a Session of Parliament which met at Westminster on the

extracts from the account of Olivier de la Marche, who was also present. The enormous drawings for the Chamber in this year, amounting to £19,362, may have been occasioned by this tournament.

¹ W. Worcester, 509; J. Duclercq, 306, &c.

² Chron. White Rose, 19; E. Hall, 267. On the 15th July Charles ratified his league of the previous October with Edward; Foed. xi. 580. On the 24th August Margaret's pension was raised to £400 a year in view of her increasing expenses; money for her outfit also was given; Issues, Easter 7 Edward IV, m. 4, &c.

³ Excerpta Hist. 205, 210. John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was the son of Margaret's favourite, and married to the King's sister, Elizabeth. John Talbot III, third Earl of Shrewsbury, was son of the Earl killed at Northampton; he had been admitted to terms after Towton. Lords Herbert and Stafford had been created at the coronation; above 272. For Mountjoy, see 321, note.

⁴ Warwick apparently entered Rouen on Saturday the 6th June (given as the 7th June); Chron. Scandaleuse, Comines-Lenglet, ii. 61. Warwick had been commissioned to treat with France 6th May; Foed. xi. 578. Michelet suggests that the commission was issued without Edward's sanction; but this is a mistake. Warwick received £100 for his embassy to France on the 8th April, Rivers being Treasurer; Issues, Easter 7 Edward IV.

CH. XXII. 3rd of June: nor apparently was his brother John of
1467. Northumberland¹; nor, most significant absence of all,
was the other brother, George, the Chancellor.

Parlia- In his absence, the Session was opened by John Chad-
ment. worth, Bishop of Lincoln².

The Seal The Chancellor's absence foreshadowed his dismissal:
taken from on the 8th June, the King went in person to the Arch-
the Arch- bishop's 'Inn' at Charing Cross, and relieved him of the
bishop of Great Seal. After a few days' interval the Chancellorship
York (George was given to the Bishop of Bath, Robert Stillington, hitherto
Neville). Keeper of the Privy Seal; that office now devolving on
The Bishop of Bath Thomas Rotherham, Archdeacon of Canterbury³.
Chancel- lor.

Resump- A fresh Resumption Act was announced as the business
tion Act. of the Session, the King with his own mouth declaring
himself anxious "to lyve uppon my nowne, and not to
charge my Subgettes but in grete and urgent causes"⁴.
Not two years and a half had elapsed since the last measure
of the sort was passed; but the Crown was in need, and the
lieges showed no disposition to give in any other way.

Besides, a change in the state of parties had taken place.

The consideration of the details seems to have occupied
nearly the whole of the short month that the Session lasted.
If the clauses of resumption were more sweeping than ever,
the general clauses of exemption were also more carefully
worded and comprehensive, the Parliamentary draftsmen
acquiring skill by practice. The special clauses of exemp-
tion, however, only numbered 281, as against 288 in the last
Act; while the pensions must have been cut down con-
siderably; the Act also was made applicable to all lands
by whatever title vested in the Crown since the beginning
of the reign⁵. Leasehold grants made to Warwick were
resumed, probably a paltry resumption; but otherwise all

¹ He was not named a Trier of Petitions.

² Rot. Parl. v. 571.

³ Foed. xi. 578; W. Worcester, 508; Issues, Easter 7 Edward IV, m. 5.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 572.

⁵ The former Act only revoked grants of Crown lands and lands belonging
to the York estates; Rot. Parl. 572-613. The present Act included private
estates fallen in and then granted out again.

grants to the leading magnates were respected, as on former occasions. CH. XXII.

1467.

A sounder measure, to which the Commons were asked to give a bare sanction and nothing more (the matter having been previously settled by Royal letters patent), was a revised arrangement for securing the more regular payment of the wages of the garrison of Calais¹. The merchants were to receive the whole of the wool duties on all wool shipped from England, except wool going through 'the Straits of Marrok', i.e. wool going to the Mediterranean which was stapled at Southampton. Of the proceeds they were to pay £10,022 4s. 8d. a year in payment of current wages, and £5000 a year in reduction of £32,861 due to themselves for advances, thus making a total of £15,022 4s. 8d. a year, which it was thought would probably exhaust the funds. To carry out the arrangement, the Mayor of the Staple received the double appointment of Treasurer and Purveyor of Calais during the period². The garri-son of Calais.

A few petitions, reflecting mostly the conflicting interests of persons engaged in the manufacture of different sorts of cloth, were presented³, and then Parliament was prorogued on the 1st July, the Speaker humbly inviting the King's attention to the urgent need of measures for the maintenance of the peace, and the suppression of crime, still very prevalent⁴.

As Parliament rose, Warwick came back from Rouen, bringing with him a French embassy instructed to do their utmost to defeat the Burgundian alliance. They were authorised to tempt Edward with the offer of a French

Opposition of Warwick to the Government. A French embassy in London.

¹ See above, p. 310.

² Rot. Parl. 613-616. The scheme was settled by a Patent of the 13th December, 1466, and was to take effect retrospectively as from the 6th April, 1466. The receipts are duly accounted for in the Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 7-12 Edward IV.

³ For the Act passed, 7 Edward IV, see Statutes of the Realm, ii. 418.

⁴ 1st July; Rot. Parl. 618-621. For the disorderly state of the country, see Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 181; Croyland, Cont. 539. The Pastons had been waging war with the Duke of Suffolk and Lord Scales for the possession of Sir John Fastolf's property. Two of their places, Hellesdon and Drayton, were stormed and sacked by Suffolk; see Paston Letters, ii. 212-252, A.D. 1465.

CH. XXII. pension of 4000 marks a year, and to dangle before his
1467. eyes a possible reopening of the question of his pretensions
in France, under cover of a reference to the Pope¹.

Warwick might have saved himself the humiliation of a certain rebuff. The breach between him and the Court party must have been pretty complete when the Great Seal was taken from his brother. His closetings with Louis at Rouen had been viewed with much suspicion²; and in fact Edward had been preparing for a trial of strength for a full year back³. In the words of Sir William Monypenny, the French envoy, it was now a mere question of being 'master or man'⁴.

Under these circumstances the French embassy was received in London with scant courtesy. Edward gave them one formal audience at Westminster, and then went off to Windsor, promising to send an answer, which was never sent⁵. The French remained in London a whole month, receiving elaborate attentions from Warwick and the Duke of Clarence.

Engage-
ment of
the King's
sister Mar-
garet to
the Duke
of Bur-
gundy.

The Burgundian match was now formally announced, the Lady Margaret being brought before a Grand Council to intimate her acceptance of the Duke's offer, which was laid before her⁶.

The Duke
of Cla-
rence.

Warwick was not present; he had retired in disgust to Middleham. In his machinations against the Government he had found a tool in the Duke of Clarence, who "following the policy of heirs presumptive, took on every possible occasion a line opposed to that of the King". Warwick

¹ Foed. xi. 580; W. Worcester, 510; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 343, 344; T. Basin, ii. 179, 180.

² Chron. White Rose, 21, and the authorities above.

³ From the autumn of 1466 onwards (Michaelmas, 6 Edward IV) we find on the Rolls a novel practice of allowing the sheriffs to retain considerable sums of money for secret service: "propter dampna . . . gravia et anxia . . . prodiones", &c. The sums run from £40 to £200 and £300.

⁴ "C'es de tout estre maistre ou varlet"; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 195.

⁵ See W. Worcester, sup.; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 344-348; iii. 191; Chron. Scandaleuse, sup. ii. 63. Edward went to Windsor 6th July, remaining out of Town till the 14th August; Privy Seals, 7 Edward IV.

⁶ 20th September; Foed. xi. 590; W. Worcester, 511; G. Chastellain, v. 312.

proposed to marry his daughter to the Duke ; but a Papal dispensation was necessary, and the King's interest at Rome was exerted to prevent its being given¹. On the other hand it would seem that Louis was at work endeavouring to arrest the dispensation which was apparently requisite for the marriage of Charles and Margaret². CH. XXI
1467.

Warwick and the King were on such bad terms that the Court party endeavoured to fasten on the King-Maker a charge of plotting with the Lancastrians. Late in the year a courier was arrested with letters from Margaret to the unsubdued garrison of Harlech. Lord Herbert sent the man to London, and he, to save himself, made statements incriminating various persons, and among them Warwick. Richard repelled the charge, but refused to come to Court even under safe-conduct³. Warwick
and the
Lancas-
trians.

Edward now found an excuse in the troubled state of the country for adopting the most unpopular of Richard II's precedents by setting up a bodyguard of 200 archers. Surrounded by these he rode from Windsor to Coventry, for Christmas, doubtless to keep an eye on Warwick's movements⁴. About this time, Louis was sending Monypenny to help Warwick in his intrigues. Prevented by contrary winds from making the Yorkshire coast, he landed at Sandwich on the 20th December. He conferred in London with Lord Wenlock and others of Warwick's 'council'. They were trying to discredit the Government policy by spreading rumours of a Franco-Lancastrian alliance. By their advice Monypenny paid a visit to Coventry on his way North. Edward, who was beginning to look more after his own affairs, received him at once, and, after the first greeting, asked if he brought him any letters. 'No, Sire'. 'Have you any for my lord of Warwick?' 'Yes, Sire'. 'Know you aught of their contents?' 'No, Sire ; unless that my master marvels greatly that his last embassy had no answer from your Highness'. Sir Wil-
liam Mony-
penny
again in
England.

¹ W. Worcester, *sup.*

² So Monypenny ; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 192.

³ W. Worcester, *sup.*

⁴ *Id.* 512.

CH. XXII.

1468.

Monypenny reported to his master an attack on Rivers' estate in Kent by a mob on New Year's Day (1468); and that in Suffolk there were 300 archers under "Robin" [of Redesdale]¹ waiting to rise at Warwick's call. He had also been given to understand that Warwick had resisted a second summons to Court (7th January); and that he meant to draw the sword if the King should advance further North².

Pacifica-
tion be-
tween
Warwick
and the
Court
party

But matters were not yet ripe, as Louis' agent himself could see. Warwick was induced to accept of the mediation of his brother George, the Archbishop, who had a meeting with Earl Rivers at Nottingham. Their personal differences having been adjusted, the Earl of Warwick came to Coventry in January, and made his peace with Edward. The Lords Herbert, Stafford of Southwick, and Audley were included in the pacification. Warwick had demanded their dismissal, as well as that of the Wydevilles and Lord Hastings, the Chamberlain³.

Treaties
with Bur-
gundy and
Brittany.

Warwick having received a check, the Government was enabled to prosecute its foreign policy, which was becoming more and more distinctly hostile to France. On the 5th January, 1468, Edward ratified a treaty, settled at Brussels in November, for securing freedom of commercial intercourse with Flanders and Brabant for thirty years⁴. On the 16th February the marriage contract between Charles the Bold and Margaret was signed⁵. On the 24th a treaty of defensive alliance as against all Powers was signed with Burgundy⁶; while on the 1st of the month a similar treaty had been arranged with Duke Francis II of Brittany, to be followed in the course of the summer by an offensive

¹ The second name is left blank, but Mdle. Dupont seems right in supplying 'of Redesdale'.

² See his despatch; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 186-196, dated 17th January, 1468.

³ Id.; W. Worcester, 512, 513. The pacification must have happened after the 17th January, as Monypenny had not heard of it. Hastings had been King's Chamberlain since the beginning of the reign; Doyle.

⁴ Foed. xi. 591-609.

⁵ Comines-Lenglet, i. 38, note.

⁶ Foed. 615.

alliance, and a commercial treaty parallel to that with Burgundy¹. CH. XXII.
1468.

Duke Francis was still harbouring Louis' discontented brother the Duke of Berri: the Bretons were holding sundry towns in Normandy in his name, and all three Dukes were leagued against Louis².

Edward now felt strong enough to allow the Parliament, which had been standing over for ten months, to meet again for the despatch of business³. The Session was opened at Westminster on the 12th May, but Chancellor Stillington did not deliver his address till the 17th. Parliament.

He began by dwelling on the importance of Justice as the 'well root of all prosperity, peace, and politique (i. e. *constitutional*) rule'; intimating on behalf of the King that "his entent fynall was to ministre Lawe and Justice, and to plante fixe and sette peas thorough all this his Reame; . . . and also to provyde an outward pease for the defence and suerte" of the same. The Bishop then pointed out how much the King had already done since the troubled time of his accession: he "had laboured a Stablisement and Peas" at home, and had also concluded treaties "with entrecourse of Marchaundise" with the Kings of Spain, Denmark, Scotland, and Naples; while another such treaty was in course of settlement with Arragon⁴. "And over that he had made an Amyte and Confederation with that high and myghty Prynce the Duke of Burgoyne, which shuld wedde the Lady Margarete the Kynges Suster; and also an Amyte and Confederacion with the Duke of Bretayne; which two Dukes been the myghtyest Prynces that holden of the Croune of Fraunce; all which labours

¹ Foed. 615, 618, 624, 625, 626.

² See T. Basin, ii. 185; G. Chastellain, v. 415; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 67, 70. In connexion with Edward's foreign policy we may note that in June he gave pensions of £200 a year to Lord Boyd and "Dykon" of Dundas, the leading men in Scotland; Issues, Easter 8 Edward IV. Monypenny, however, was also invited to London, and came.

³ The Parliament had first been prorogued to the 6th November, 1467, at Reading; then to the 5th May, 1468, at the same place; and then to the 12th of the month at Westminster; Rot. Parl. v. 618, 619.

⁴ A treaty was in fact sealed in October; Foed. xi. 631, 633.

CH. XXII.

1468.

An inten-
tion of
renewing
the war
with
France
announced.

. . . . and matiers he had used and done at his propre charge as meanes to a principall entent, that is to sey, to mynnyssh and lesse the power of his olde and auncient Adversary of Fraunce, the Frensshe Kyng, wherby his seid Highnes shuld mowe (*be able to*) the lightlyer and rather recovere his right and title to the Crowne and Londe of Fraunce, and possession of the same: wherfore his seid Highnes was fully sette and purposed with the myght and helpe of Allmyghty God, and with advis and assistens of his Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, and also of the Common of this Londe, to procede and perfourme his seid principall entent for the defence of this Londe, that is to sey, to goo over the See into Fraunce, and to subdue his grete Rebell and Adversary Lowes, usurpaunt Kyng of the same, and to recovere and enjoy the title and possession of the seid reame of Fraunce forthwith his Duchies and Lordships of Normandie, Gascoyn, Guyen and other". The two allied Dukes were urging prompt action, "for they sey and certifie daily that in their conceytes there was never noon of the Kynges progenitours or predecessours that ever had such a convenient season for the recovere therof as he then had yf it were used in tyme" ¹.

It was perhaps also intimated informally that the King would cross the Channel in the ensuing year ².

The announcement of a warlike policy was a new departure on Edward's part. The truce with France, no doubt, had expired on the 1st March: but in November he had instructed agents to treat for a renewal ³; and in January he had offered to support Louis against his contumacious brother, the Duke of Berri ⁴.

But Rivers was old enough to recall the fact that the domestic troubles of Henry VI dated from the adoption of Suffolk's pacific policy; on the other hand the announcement must to a great extent have been made from financial motives, as the best mode of appealing to the pockets of the nation. From this point of view the move was entirely

¹ Rot. Parl. v. 622, 623.

² Foed. xi. 591.

³ W. Worcester, §11.

⁴ Monypenny's despatch, sup.

successful, as the Parliament voted two whole Subsidies, to be raised by half-yearly instalments beginning in November¹. This was the business of the Session; the only other measures at all worthy of notice being the confirmation of the Queen's jointure²; a confirmation of the Acts against the giving of illegal 'liveries' or badges, i. e. to any persons not regular household retainers or legal advisers; and an Act to relieve the Sheriffs of the first three years of the reign (but not after) of penalties incurred for outstaying the legal year of office; the remission being grounded on the exceptional circumstances of the period³.

CH. XXII.
1468.
Money
Grants.

On the 7th June Parliament was dissolved⁴.

The marriage of the Lady Margaret was now pushed on without further delay. On the 18th June⁵ she made her start from the Great Wardrobe at Blackfriars on horseback, with Warwick and other lords riding before her, and the Duchess of Norfolk and other ladies riding after her. Edward escorted her to the coast: on the 24th June she took leave of him at Margate, and next day landed at Sluys, her suite including the Duchess of Norfolk and her youthful husband, Sir John Wydeville; Lord and Lady Scales, Lord Dacre (of the South), and Sir John Howard⁶. Early in the morning of Sunday, 3rd July, she was married to Charles at Damme, the Bishops of Salisbury and Tournay officiating. In the course of the day the Duchess made her state entry into Bruges⁷.

Marriage
of the
Lady Mar-
garet and
Charles
the Bold.

¹ Rot. Parl. 623. In May the Convocation of Canterbury granted a Tenth; Wilkins, Conc. iii. 606.

² She received £1046 a year in money charged on the Old Crown Revenues, with estates in sixteen counties, probably intended to make up £4000 a year; Rot. Parl. 624-628.

³ Rot. Parl. v. 631; Statute, 8 Edward IV, cc. 2 and 3.

⁴ W. Worcester, 514.

⁵ 'Saturday after Corpus Christi'; MS. Vitellius, sup. f. 126.

⁶ £1030 were paid to Margaret for her journey and outfit on the 10th and 13th June; Issues, Easter 9 Edward IV.

⁷ See the contemporary account in O. de La Marche, ii. 300-331; also the Herald's record, Excerpta Historica, 227-239, where, however, the dates are all placed a week after the proper times; Paston Letters, ii. 317.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Struggles of the Government to repress conspiracies.—Manifesto of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence.—Risings in the North.—Battle of Edgecote.—Capture and release of Edward IV.

CH. XXIII. THE celebration of the marriage ushered in a season of
1468. troubles; the hopes of the Lancastrians rising, not so much through their own strength as through the unpopularity of the Wydevilles.

Lancas-
trian
movement.

In June, before the Lady Margaret had left England, a servant of Sir Robert Whitingham, one of the exiles attainted in 1461, was arrested at Queenborough bringing letters to friends in England. Being subjected to torture¹ he gave information against Sir Gervaise Clifton, formerly Treasurer of Calais, Alderman Sir Thomas Plummer, and others, among them John Hawkins, a servant of Lord Wenlock; and Hawkins again was induced to incriminate his own master and Alderman Sir Thomas Cook. The latter had been Mayor in 1462-1463; had been employed by the King as a financial agent; and both he and Plummer had been knighted at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.

Nothing was done to Wenlock, who was deep in Warwick's secrets; and the Lady Margaret interceded for the others; but after her departure some ten of them were brought to trial at the Guildhall before a special Commission, headed by Clarence, Gloucester, Warwick, and Northumberland. With a tribunal of such mixed composition

¹ Fire was applied to his feet: "pedibus comburitur"; Worcester.

Wenlock's informing servant was the only man who suffered, besides one John Norris, not previously mentioned¹; but Cook was fined to the uttermost penny².

CH. XXIII.

1468.

Executions.

Of the measure of the guilt of these men no decided opinion can be ventured: but the probability is that all had been dabbling more or less in intrigues for the House of Lancaster, as all their names will occur again. "The Queen's blood" seemed almost the only men that Edward could trust, and they were ready to grab everything. The Prior of St. John, Sir Robert Botyll, having died in September, the Hospitallers elected Sir John Langstrother, a Lancastrian, as subsequent events shewed. But the only alternative that Edward could lay before them was Richard Wydeville, a boy and a layman, whom the Knights would not accept³.

While these things were happening in London Jasper Tudor had again landed in North Wales with a trifling force. Unable to make his way into Harlech, which was beleaguered by Lord Herbert, he retired to the hills; "and helde many cessayons and cysys in Kyng Harrys name". He even captured and sacked the King's town of Denbigh, but was ultimately defeated in the field by the Herberts; again, however, escaping in safety, through the good-will of the people⁴.

Jasper
Tudor in
Wales.

The heroic garrison of Harlech had now to submit; on the 14th August they surrendered at discretion. Herbert brought them to London to the number of about fifty souls. Two were executed by Rivers, who was now Constable of England as well as Treasurer⁵. On the 8th September

Surrender
of Har-
lech.

¹ W. Worcester, 515, 516; W. Gregory, 237; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 182; J. Warkworth, 5; R. Fabian, 656.

² Cash, plate, and tapestry from Cook's fine were poured into the King's Chamber receipts; Issues, Easter and Michaelmas 8 Edward IV. £394 in plate and £984 in tapestry; but this was stock-in-trade; R. Fabian; see also J. Stow. Chief Justice Markham was dismissed because the prisoners were not found guilty of high treason.

³ W. Worcester, 517; "Rege volente subito in religionem et priorem prae-ficere Ricardum Wideville," &c.

⁴ W. Worcester, 516; W. Gregory, 237.

⁵ W. Worcester, 517; W. Gregory, sup. Rivers took the Constable's staff

CH. XXIII. Herbert received his reward in the shape of the earldom of Pembroke¹.

1468.

The York-
ists in
Ireland.

In Ireland too the Yorkists were divided among themselves. Edward and his father were under great obligations to Thomas Fitz-Gerald, eighth Earl of Desmond, through whom the Lancastrian Butlers had been crushed. In 1464 he had been appointed Deputy, the Lieutenancy being apparently kept in hand². But Desmond became obnoxious to the Wydevilles, being understood to sympathise with Warwick. In the spring of 1467 the Earl of Worcester was appointed to replace Desmond as Deputy³: he lost no time in attainting his rival, and finally had him beheaded at Drogheda on the 14th February, 1468; an excess of zeal which greatly annoyed the King⁴.

Abortive
expedition
to Brit-
tany.

The alliance with Brittany took a definite shape. On the 3rd August Edward signed an engagement to send 3000 archers to Brittany, half at his own and half at the Duke's expense; all conquests made from the demesne of the Crown of France being reserved to Edward⁵. The force was raised in September, Lord Mountjoy being appointed to command the troops; while Scales was named Captain of the Fleet. But before the force was ready for sea all call for their services had passed away. Louis, as usual, had found means of pacifying his adversaries, who signed treaties in September and October⁶; whereupon the Breton transports were recalled from Portsmouth.

from Worcester on the 24th August, 1467; Foed. xi. 581. The siege cost a large sum; £7177 were paid to Herbert for it; Issues, Easter and Michaelmas 9 Edward IV.

¹ W. Worcester, sup.; Lords' Report, Append. v. 374.

² On the 10th May, 1465, Clarence was appointed King's Lieutenant; Rot. Parl. vi. 228; but the appointment was merely nominal.

³ He was at Chester preparing to sail the 8th April; Issues, Easter 7 Edward IV. But, according to William of Worcester, he did not cross till September; p. 510.

⁴ See Gilbert, Viceroys, 376-386; W. Worcester, 513. Irish tradition laid the blame of Desmond's death on Queen Elizabeth.

⁵ Foed. xi. 626. The treaty was ratified by Francis 26th August; p. 628.

⁶ The treaty with Brittany was signed at Ancenis 10th September; that with Burgundy at Peronne 14th October; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 9, 22: with

This was most annoying. To save the appearance of utter failure advantage was taken of a rumour that Margaret was at Harfleur to send the fleet to cruise in the Channel in October. Late in November they returned to the Isle of Wight without having achieved the smallest success in return for all the trouble and all the outlay ¹.

In London the arrests continued. Humphrey Hayford, one of the Sheriffs, "lost his cloke; and many loste moche goode for such maters". The Earl of Oxford, second son of the man beheaded in 1462, was committed to the Tower; but not for long ², as he was willing to give information against others. On the 17th November one Richard Steers or Steers suffered at Tyburn for treason ³. On the 28th of the month two more were executed for the same offence. Steers was a follower of the Duke of Exeter, and no doubt a Lancastrian; but the other two, by name Poynings and Alford, were followers of the House of Norfolk, and had accompanied the Lady Margaret to Bruges. They were charged with having held treasonable intercourse with exiles while at Bruges. The next day, again, Sir Thomas Tresham, the Speaker of 1459, was arrested, with Thomas Hungerford, son of the late Lord Hungerford; Henry Courtenay, heir to the earldom of Devon; "and many others" ⁴.

Of these only Hungerford and Courtenay were brought to trial; they were landless men, but still in popular

respect to the Duke of Berri, Louis at first promised to establish him in Champagne, but shortly induced him to take Guienne instead; *id.* i. 131.

¹ Foed. 630; W. Worcester, 518; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 132. The force apparently mustered 20th September. £9784 are entered as paid to Scales, and £4803 as paid to Mountjoy; Issues, Easter and Michaelmas 9 Edward IV.

² He was at liberty 7th January, 1469; Paston Letters, ii. 336.

³ MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. xvi. fol. 127. Steers had been an agent of Margaret for transmitting letters to her friends in England; Rot. Parl. vi. 292.

⁴ Plumpton Correspondence, 18-20; W. Gregory, 237; cf. R. Fabian, 657. Edmund Beaufort, the next in succession to the Duke of Somerset executed in 1464, was at Bruges at any rate the day before Margaret's entry; Paston Letters, ii. 319.

CH. XXIII.
1468.

Arrests
and exe-
cutions.

CH. XXIII. estimation men of mark. They were arraigned at Salisbury on the 16th January, 1469: Gloucester, Arundel, Scales, Audley, Southwick, and Stourton sat in judgment. The King was in the town with Justices in attendance¹. The two were charged with having committed some act of conspiracy on the 21st May preceding. Courtenay had received a pardon for all acts previous to the 15th April. Next day both were condemned and executed, protesting innocence². Southwick, who was aspiring to the earldom of Devon, was commonly held responsible for Courtenay's death³.

These strong measures on the part of the Government must be viewed in the reflected light of subsequent events.

Under-
ground
movements
at work.

In fact two dangerous movements had been developing, both directed by Warwick. The one was a simple Lancastrian plot for the restoration of Henry⁴: the other a Neville agitation for Warwick's restoration to power. Edward had information as to the one, and it had been nipped in the bud; but he was utterly in the dark as to the other. Thus in the spring we find him employing Lord Wenlock and Robert Neville, two of Warwick's especial agents, on confidential missions to the Continent⁵; while the Duke of Clarence was allowed to draw his salary as King's Lieutenant of Ireland. Again, in April, Warwick applied for and obtained a naval command, which gave him an excuse for residing at Calais. He had friendly meetings with the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy at Ardres and Saint-Omer; and left them quite satisfied with his attitude and disposition⁶.

Warwick
at Calais.

¹ Paston Letters, ii. 338, and note. Choke and Lacon were the Judges; Issues, Easter 9 Edward IV.

² See the Record; Rot. Parl. vi. 306.

³ J. Warkworth, 6.

⁴ "Since 1466 the relics of earl Thomas of Lancaster had been sweating blood and working miracles"; Stubbs, iii. 211 (ed. 1890), citing Chron. Abbrev. (Camb. Antiq. Soc.), p. 10.

⁵ February-April; Issues, Easter 9 Edward IV; Foed. xi. 645.

⁶ 21st April-6th May; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 193; Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 401, 402.

For Warwick action would be premature till the bond of solidarity with the Duke of Clarence had been sealed. The requisite dispensation having at last been obtained from Paul II¹, Clarence and the Archbishop of York joined Warwick at Calais early in July. On Tuesday, the 11th, Duke George and Isabella Neville were married in the Church of Our Lady, the Archbishop officiating².

CH. XXIII.

1469.

Marriage
of the
Duke of
Clarence.

On the day after the marriage, Warwick, Clarence, and the Archbishop unmasked their battery, issuing a manifesto in which they announced their intention of being at Canterbury on the 16th July, and called on all "trewe subgettes" to join them in strength, for the purpose of presenting to the King certain 'reasonable and profitable articles of petition'. The manifesto enclosed a copy of the Articles in question, which were referred to as the spontaneous utterance of the people of England; both articles and petition, however, being palpably the work of one pen.

Declara-
tion of
Warwick
and Cla-
rence
against the
Govern-
ment.

As a political move the course of tendering a humble petition at the point of the spear was a mere repetition of the course adopted by the late Duke of York in 1452, and 1455, and 1459. As for the grievances in themselves we have again the old complaint, doubtless well founded, of the partial and inefficient administration of the law; coupled with the old calumny of the imposition of "gret and inordinat" taxes. Again we have the outcry against the too fortunate holders of Crown grants; the only novelties being complaints of the change in the currency, and of the interception of contributions intended for the Pope, "for the wheche cause this lond stondith in juberdie of Enterdytynge" (*Interdict*). But the true bearing of the movement as a mere struggle for office and emolument is transparent throughout; the Wydevilles, Pembroke, South-

¹ Pius II died 14th August, 1464; Creighton; 15th August; J. Duclercq, 240. Pietro Barbo, Cardinal of St. Mark, was elected on the 31st August, and took the style of Paul II; H. Nicolas.

² Dugdale, Baronage, i. 307, cited Dupont; and Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 403; J. Warkworth, 6; Stubbs.

**

Z

CH. XXIII. wick, and Audley¹ being denounced by name ; while
 1469. pointed allusion is made to the cases of Edward II, Richard II, and Henry VI, who had ventured to 'estrangle the great lords of their blood from their Privy Councils'. Articles and manifesto alike breathe the discontents of intriguing magnates². But English society in those days was so essentially aristocratic that the popularity or unpopularity of a ruler simply reflected his relations to the leading nobility.

Neville
 rising in
 the North.

Warwick's friends in the North were already on the move, provided with copies of the Articles for circulation³. They had been rallied to the standard of "Robin of Redesdale", a person of doubtful identity, the name however serving as a watchword⁴. Sir John Conyers of Hornby, an old soldier, was the chief captain, the ostensible command being divided between Sir Henry Fitz-Hugh, eldest son of Lord Fitz-Hugh ; Sir Henry Neville, eldest son of Lord Latimer ; and his brother-in-law Sir John Sutton, eldest son of Lord Dudley. We may remark that the last-named lord, though at this time Constable of the Tower, had originally been a Lancastrian, so had Lord Fitz-Hugh. Young Fitz-Hugh and young Neville, however, were respectively nephew and cousin-german to Warwick⁵, while Conyers was married to a cousin of Warwick, Alice, daughter of Fauconberge, the late Earl of Kent⁶.

Rising of
 Yorkshire
 Farmers.

But before these men had actually drawn the sword an independent rising, which seems to have had something of a Lancastrian character, broke out in Yorkshire. The out-

¹ According to Monypenny's despatch above, Warwick was demanding the dismissal of these same men in 1467-8.

² See these printed ; J. Warkworth, notes, 46-49.

³ "Quasi petitionarii petentes multa corrigi in regno"; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 182.

⁴ Warkworth identifies him with Sir John Conyers, Stow with Robert Hillyard, a confusion as I think (see below); Hall points to yet another person.

⁵ See E. Hall, 273 ; J. Warkworth, notes, 45. George Lord Latimer was of course Warwick's uncle ; and Sutton had married his daughter. Lord Fitz-Hugh had married Warwick's sister Alice. See Tables.

⁶ Historic Peerage ; J. G. Gough, Camden Miscell. i. 28.

break was occasioned by the resistance of the Northern farmers to the exaction of tithes of corn by the Hospital of St. Leonard's, York, an old claim and an old grievance, the right being carried back to the days of Athelstan; while the opposition had been condemned by Act of Parliament under Henry VI¹. The leader in this matter was one Robert Hillyard, or Hildyard, who took the name of Robin of Holderness, presumably in contradistinction to the Neville captain "Robin of Redesdale"². He led a tumultuary force to the walls of York, demanding among other things that the earldom of Northumberland should be restored to the Percies³. John Neville, the actual earl, could have no sympathy with this demand, so he came forward to suppress the movement, scattering the rioters and beheading their leader⁴.

CH. XXIII.
1469.

The various elements of disaffection then gathered round Robin of Redesdale for a march to the South.

The Government was completely taken unawares. Edward, always remiss except under pressure, had not at all realised Warwick's talents for intrigue, and he had a strong personal liking for the Earl of Northumberland. During May the Court had been at Windsor: on the 13th a Chapter of the Garter was held, and the Duke of Burgundy elected a Brother of the Order⁵. On the 21st of the month, being Whit-Sunday, Lord Stafford of Southwick was invested with the vacant earldom of Devon⁶. A pilgrimage to Walsingham was then resolved upon, as a

Movements of
the Court.

¹ Statute, 2 Henry VI; Pauli; Lingard.

² "Post eum surrexit alter nomine Robin of Holderness"; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 183. This must be the same man as the "Robertum Holder-num" of Polydore, 655, the leader beheaded by John Neville. Stow supplies the name "Hilliard", but as equivalent to Robin of Redesdale. The identity of Hillyard with Robin of Holderness seems clinched by the appearance of young Hillyard next year.

³ Three Fifteenth Century Chron. sup.

⁴ Three Fifteenth Century Chron.; Polydore, sup. copied by Hall. The date of the 28th May, given by the first of these writers for the rising of Robin of Redesdale, seems much too early.

⁵ Comines-Lenglet, iii. 99. The Garter was sent in January, 1470.

⁶ Paston Letters, ii. 351. The Patent is dated 17th May; Lords' Report.

CH. XXIII. cover no doubt for a Progress through East Anglia, to
 1469. check the disaffection, of which the Government must have heard something. On the 15th June the King was at Bury, his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and the Lords Rivers and Scales, and Sir John Wydeville being with him. A day or two later they were at Norwich, where Edward was well pleased with his reception, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk being on his side. On the 21st he paid his visit to Our Lady of Walsingham; from thence advancing by Lynn, Wisbeach and Croyland to the ancestral castle of Fotheringhay, where he rested a few days at the end of June and beginning of July. By that time his friends were becoming seriously alarmed at the rumours that reached them, and called for men in all directions. The Wydevilles went off to look after their own possessions. Edward, however, who never shrank from danger, calmly resumed his march northwards. On the 5th July he had reached Stamford, going on to Grantham and Newark. There the attitude of the people became so hostile, and reports so unfavourable, that he turned back to Nottingham. By that time he must at last have heard what Clarence and Warwick were preparing to do, as on the 9th July he sent Sir Thomas Montgomery with letters to them and the Archbishop requesting their early attendance 'in usual peaceable wise'¹. Edward appears to have stayed at Nottingham some ten days or a fortnight waiting for troops. During that time Clarence was married, and Robin of Redesdale started for the South.

The
Nevilles
march to
the South.
Advance
of Royalist
forces.

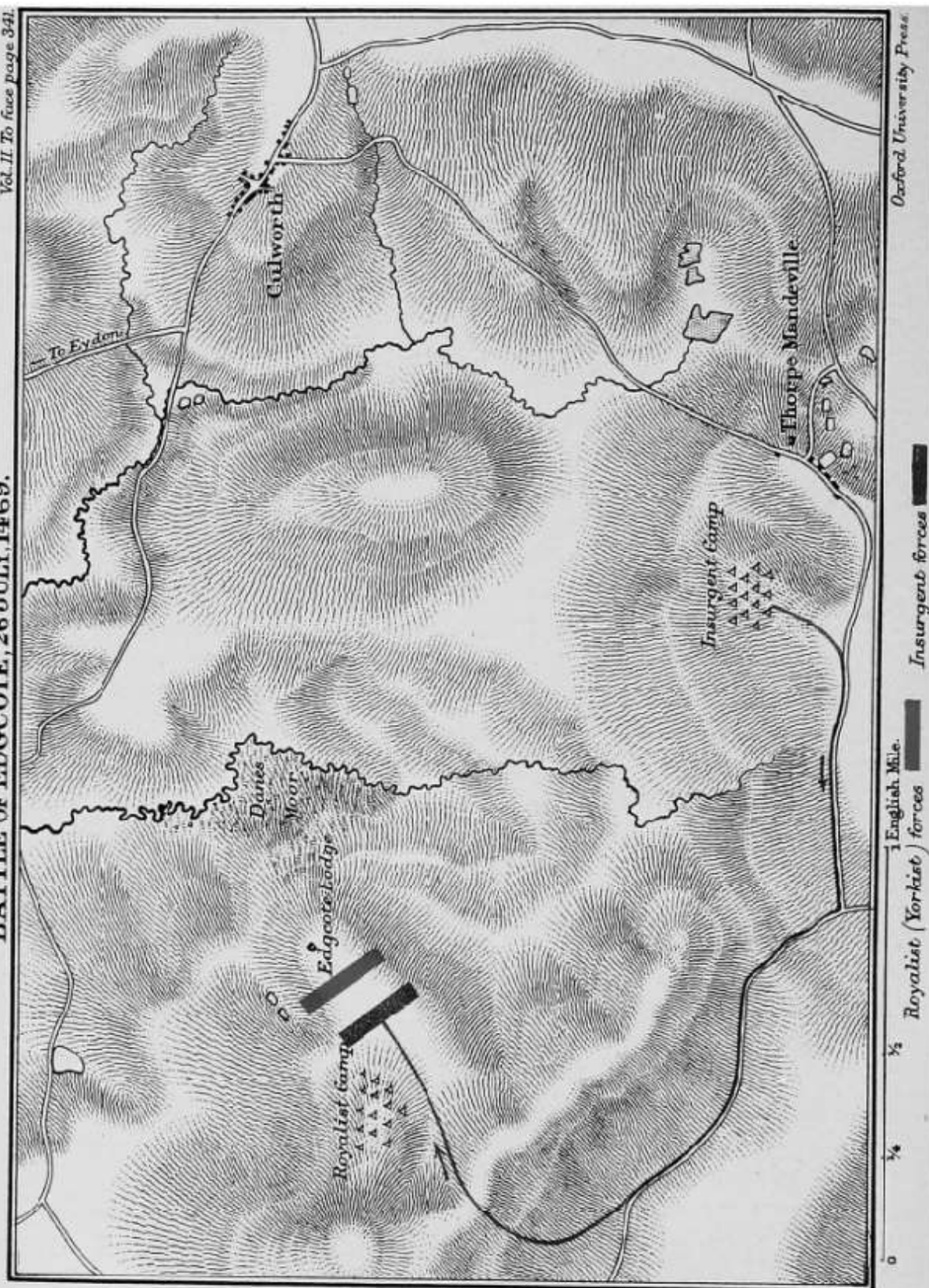
But Pembroke and the new Earl of Devon were hastening to join the King with forces raised in Wales and the South of England. Having effected a junction on the Cotteswolds², they marched together on Northampton, the point for which the insurgents were reported to be making. On nearing the enemy at some place whose name has not been recorded, perhaps Daventry, Pembroke and Devon attempted a *reconnaissance* in force, but were repulsed and

¹ See Paston Letters, ii. 353-361, and notes; Croyland, Cont. 452.

² "At Cottishold"; E. Hall, 273.

BATTLE OF EDGCOTE, 26 JULY 1469.

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driven back to Banbury. We are told that the Northern men did not follow up their advantage, but that they moved in the direction of the town of Warwick, as if in hopes of finding friends there. But they must soon have resumed their southward march, as within a day or two a second and more decisive action ensued at a spot known as Danes Moor in Northamptonshire, between Edgecote¹ and Culworth.

CH. XXIII.
1469.

The scene of the operations is well described as "a faire plain . . . wherin be three hilles not in equal distaunce, nor yet in equall quantitic, but liyng in maner, although not fully, triangle"².

Battle of
Edgecote.

We are told that the armies met "by chaunce", but their relative positions and other circumstances suggest that the Royalists were making a fresh advance along the road from Banbury to Daventry, while the Northern men (having left that road perhaps at Byfield) were moving southward from Daventry along a parallel line by cross roads through Eydon, Culworth, and Thorpe-Mandeville. At any rate it seems pretty clear that they were at or near the last-named place when they were descried by Pembroke's men on the 25th July. On the previous evening Pembroke and Devon had quarrelled about lodgings, and a fair damsel, at Banbury; and Devon, having been ousted by his rival, had gone off with all his archers, leaving Pembroke very weak in that arm. Under these circumstances Pembroke ought to have waited for the King to join him³, but the Welshmen, who were inspired by prophecies of national restoration⁴, were bent on action, and so "gat first the West hill, hopyng to have recovered the East hil, whiche if thei had obtained, the victory had been

¹ We may note that all writers of the time write the name with an initial "h", "Hedgescote".

² E. Hall, 273. See map. The three heights forming the triangle are obviously those at Edgecote Lodge, Thorpe-Mandeville, and Culworth.

³ Polydore Vergil, 656; E. Hall, sup. Hall's words seem to imply that Pembroke and Devon left their men in the field on the 25th to return for the night to Banbury, but we can hardly attribute such misconduct to them without a very explicit statement.

⁴ E. Hall, sup.; Croyland, Cont. 543.

CH. XXIII. theirs, as their unwise Prophesiers promised them before.

1469. The Northern men incamped themselves on the Southe hill" ¹. Here, by the West hill we must understand the high ground to the west of Edgecote Lodge, by the South hill the heights of Thorpe, and by the East hill those at Culworth, from whence a high-level road leads to Thorpe.

In the skirmishing of the day Sir Henry Neville, Lord Latimer's son, greatly distinguished himself, but having gone too far was taken prisoner and put to death in cold blood. On the 26th the Northern men took the initiative, and making a circuit to the West attacked the Royalists at Edgecote Lodge, and through their superiority in archers drove them bodily down the slopes into the low-lying meadow "Danes Moor". But there the tide was turned by the personal prowess of the Welsh gentlemen, headed by Pembroke and his brother Sir Richard Herbert, who twice cut their way through the enemy's "battaill" with poleaxes. The Northern men were practically beaten when the balance was finally turned in their favour by the appearance of a fresh force descending "the east hyl" in the Royalists' rear. Over their heads floated the banner of the White Bear, while loud cries of 'a Warwick! a Warwick!' echoed from afar. The new-comers were in fact a mere motley gathering of "the rascal" ² of Northampton and other villages, gathered by one John Clapham; but their appearance at such a juncture was decisive. The Welshmen, thinking that the great Earl had come up in person, broke and fled ³. One hundred and sixty-eight Welshmen of name were said to have fallen ⁴. On the other side, besides Latimer's son, there fell Sir John Sutton, Sir James

Defeat of
the Royal-
ists.

¹ E. Hall, sup.

² French *rascaille*?

³ E. Hall, 273, 274, the only account; cf. J. Warkworth, 6, &c. The leader of the motley reinforcement, John "Clappam", is described as a servant of Warwick; John Clapam of Skipton was a Lancastrian who fought at Towton.

⁴ So W. Worcester, *Itinerary*, 220, 221; q. v. for notices of some of these men who had served in France with the Duke of York and Matthew Gough; cf. Warkworth and Stow, sup. The reader will note that the action must have taken place within an area of half a mile, or three-quarters of a mile at most, in depth, by a quarter of a mile in width.

Conyers (Sir John's son), and Sir Roger Pigot¹. Pembroke and his brother Richard found themselves prisoners (26th July)². Two days later they were executed at Northampton, by the orders of Clarence and Warwick. CH. XXIII
1469.

Edward was found at Honiley, or Olney, three miles west of Kenilworth, and placed under the charge of Archbishop Neville³. Rivers and his son John were found at Chepstow, brought to Kenilworth, and executed on the 12th August, perhaps in the King's presence, as he was certainly not further from Kenilworth than the town of Warwick on that day⁴. The Earl of Devon was taken in Somersetshire, and executed at Bridgewater⁵. The King
a prisoner.
Exe-
cutions.

It is superfluous to remark that for not one of these executions could a shadow of legal justification be found. Warwick, and Warwick alone, was responsible for them.

"England exhibited at this time the extraordinary spectacle" of a country with two Kings, both in prison⁶. Henry occupied the Tower. What was to be done with Edward? He was taken in the first instance to Coventry, then to Warwick; from thence again for greater safety he was removed to Middleham, Warwick's paternal seat in Wensleydale⁷. Edward
carried off
to Middle-
ham.

But even in Yorkshire the people could not understand why the King should be deprived of his authority when the unpopular Ministers had been brought to justice. Then the Lancastrians, who must have contributed largely to the recent success, began to get unmanageable. Sir

¹ J. Warkworth, *sup.*, and notes.

² J. Warkworth and E. Hall, *sup.* For Pembroke's will, dated 27th July, see Collins, *Peerage*, iii. 113.

³ E. Hall, 275; Croyland, *Cont.* 551; *Gentleman's Magazine*, xii. 616 (December, 1839).

⁴ Wavrin-Dupont, ii. 406; *Three Fifteenth Century Chron.*, *sup.*; *Lords' Report*, *Append.* v. 398.

⁵ J. Warkworth, 7; 17th August, *Dugdale*, i. 173; 16th September, *Archæol.* xxix. 138.

⁶ Lirgard.

⁷ Edward signs at Coventry on the 2nd August, at Warwick on the 9th, 12th, and 13th, and at Middleham on the 25th and 28th August; *Paston Letters*, ii. xlix, note. On the 17th August he appointed Warwick Justiciar and Chamberlain of South Wales, *vice* Pembroke; *Foed.* xi. 647.

CH. XXIII. Humphrey Neville, who had given such trouble in 1464 raised the standard of revolt on the Border. Warwick called for men, but men would not come at his mere personal summons. He was obliged to exhibit the King at York as a free man before the necessary forces could be raised. Then the Lancastrian rising was put down, and Humphrey Neville and a brother Charles were brought to York and executed (29th September)¹.

Edward at liberty. Surrounded by men who had risen in his name, Edward now found himself able to dispose of his own movements, and, quitting York without loss of time, hastened to London, which he reached about the 13th October. Gloucester, Suffolk, Arundel, Essex, Buckingham, Northumberland, Dacre, Hastings, and Mountjoy entered the city with him, in themselves the nucleus of a respectable party. The civic authorities and craftsmen received them in due form. Archbishop Neville had accompanied the King from York, but remained at Moor Park, his seat in Hertfordshire. The Earl of Oxford too received a hint to keep aloof. In public, we are told, Edward spoke of Clarence, Warwick, and the Archbishop as 'his best friends . . . his Household men have other language'².

Warwick's attack, so far, had resulted in a drawn battle. He had failed to reinstate himself, but Edward's position had been seriously shaken, and the country in general reduced to a state of disorganisation.

As Warwick had not entered London he had been unable to instal a Ministry of his own. The Great Seal therefore remained in the hands of the Bishop of Bath, Robert Stillington, and the Privy Seal in those of Thomas of Rotherham, now Bishop of Rochester. But the vacancy at the Treasury caused by the death of Rivers was filled

¹ See Croyland, Cont. 551, 552; J. Warkworth, 7. The relationship of these men to the rest of the Neville family does not appear. Humphrey was attainted in 1461 as H. N., 'late of Brauncepeth, Esquire'. He was committed to the Tower; was pardoned and knighted; and again rose in 1464. Rot. Parl. v. 478, 480, 511. Since 1464 he had been in concealment on the Derwent; Lingard, iv. 85.

² Paston Letters, ii. 389.

by the appointment of Sir John Langstrother, a Lancastrian, whom the King had refused to accept as Prior of St. John. He entered office on the 12th August¹. For himself, Warwick had taken the Justiciarship of South Wales, *vice* Pembroke, as already mentioned (17th August)².

The disordered state of England finds an illustration in the affairs of the Paston family at this time. The present head of the family, Sir John Paston, had inherited from his father the castle and lands of Caistor, late the property of Sir John Fastolf. John Paston, the father, being one of Fastolf's executors, had made a title to Caistor by forgery and breach of trust. But the job was too big for a man in his position, and rival claimants arose, among them the Duke of Norfolk, who made a counter-title through a collusive purchase from another executor who had no power to sell. When the Court passed through East Anglia in June, the Pastons pressed the Wydevilles for support against the Duke of Norfolk; but Edward finally told them frankly with his own mouth that he could not interfere between Sir John and the Duke, and that the law must take its course; naturally, as the Duke of Norfolk was one of the men on whom he depended in East Anglia³. Toward the end of August the Duke laid formal siege to Caistor. Sir John Paston then turned to the Nevilles, pressing for orders for the Earl of Oxford to intervene. But the Nevilles could give no effectual aid, and the garrison of Caistor had to capitulate on the 26th September⁴.

CH. XXIII.
1469.

The Paston family.

Private war between them and the Duke of Norfolk.

¹ Issues, Michaelmas 9 Edward IV.

² Foed. xi. 647.

³ So again Edward refused to look when they called his attention to the state of Hellesdon Lodge, which had been sacked by the Duke of Suffolk, another supporter.

⁴ See Paston Letters, ii. 355, 361-383; W. Worcester, Itinerary, 321-325. For Fastolf's wills, see Paston Letters, i. 445, 467; ii. 113, 128, 154, 323. The death-bed will giving Paston the residuary estate seems to have been fabricated by him and Friar Howes; cf. Id. ii. xxxvi, xliii.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Grand Council.—Rising of the Welles' in Lincolnshire.—Flight of Clarence and Warwick.—They retire to France and return to Devonshire.—Flight of Edward IV.—Henry VI taken from the Tower.

CH. XXIV. UNDER present circumstances the Lancastrians held a certain balance of power between the King and Warwick.

1469. Position of the Lancastrian party. One of Edward's first acts after coming to Town was to release Henry Percy from the Tower and receive his homage. Three weeks later he consented to admit Sir John Langstrother as Prior of St. John¹, but not to continue him as Treasurer, that post being given to William Gray, Bishop of Ely². On the other hand, Gloucester became Constable (17th October) in succession to Rivers.

Warwick temporizes. A Grand Council. Clarence and Warwick did not shrink from appearing at a Grand Council held in November. Of the stormy discussions³ we have no record; but a certain compromise was effected; the King publishing an amnesty for all offences up to Christmas; while Warwick allowed writs to be issued for the collection of the second Subsidy voted by Parliament in 1468⁴.

The exaction of unnecessary taxes had been one of Warwick's charges against Rivers.

¹ Foed. xi. 648, 650.

² 30th October; Receipts, Michaelmas 9 Edward IV.

³ See E. Hall, 277; Polydore, 658.

⁴ Croyland, Cont. 552; J. Warkworth, 7; R. Fabian, 657; Rot. Parl. vi. 233; Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire (Camden Miscellany), i. 5. This is an official account penned by some one in the King's service: it was copied by Wavrin in his chronicle.

Another matter taken up was the prospective disposal of the hand of the Lady Elisabeth, the King's eldest daughter; a matter of some dynastic importance, as the Queen as yet had borne no son. With the consent of all the great lords, the little Princess was engaged to George Neville, eldest son of John Neville, the present Earl of Northumberland, the boy being raised to the Dukedom of Bedford, in honour of the alliance¹. The prudence of securing Warwick's hesitating brother was obvious; but with Edward personal feeling probably had more to do with the matter than mere policy, as he had a great partiality for Northumberland.

CH. XXIV.
1470.

Another act in which Warwick was induced to concur was a Minute acquitting the widowed Duchess of Bedford of a preposterous charge of sorcery².

But in spite of all efforts by friendly lords and prelates to bring Warwick and Clarence to a dutiful disposition towards the King they persisted in their intrigues. About February, 1470, fresh troubles, fomented by them, began to break out in Lincolnshire. The disturbances are spoken of in the first instance as if they had grown out of private hostilities between Richard Lord Willoughby, now Lord Welles, and Sir Thomas de Burgh of Gainsborough, similar to those between the Duke of Norfolk and the Pastons at Caistor³. But de Burgh belonged to the Royal Household; and Edward promptly intervened on his behalf, sending for Welles and his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Dymock, the King's Champion. They went up, it was said, under promise

Disturb-
ance in
Lincoln-
shire.

¹ Lords' Report, Append. v. 377. The match was settled in Council on the 6th November: the title granted 5th January, 1470.

² 20th January–10th February, 1470; Rot. Parl. vi. 232. It was charged that she had made leaden images of the King and Queen—the old story—the suggestion being that she had bewitched Edward into marrying her daughter. The charge was preferred by one Thomas Wake, a Northamptonshire squire, when the King was at Warwick in August.

³ See J. Warkworth, 8; J. Stow, 422. Welles' father, Lyon Lord Welles, fell on the Lancastrian side at Towton, but he himself had been summoned to Edward's Parliaments from the first as Lord Willoughby, in right of his wife, Joan Willoughby, as already mentioned. In 1467 he had been reinstated in his father's title and estates; Rot. Parl. v. 617.

CH. XXIV.

1470.

Rising
under Sir
Robert
Welles.Duplicity
of Clare-
nce.

of safety¹. But Warwick's agents improved the opportunity by spreading alarming reports of the King's intended severity to the common folk of Lincolnshire². The troubles continuing Edward fixed to leave London for Lincolnshire on Sunday the 4th March; but having heard that Clarence would come to Town that day he waited to see his brother; and on the 6th had a friendly interview with him at Baynard's Castle, Blackfriars, their mother's residence. The two then went to St. Paul's to offer in public as brothers and friends; the King ending the day at Waltham Abbey. Next day, however, reports came in that Sir Robert Welles, Lord Welles' son, had called out all the men of Lincolnshire to meet at Ranby Hawe, seven miles north of Horncastle. Edward marched off at once, ordering Lord Welles and Dymock to be sent after him from London. On the 8th, a letter from Lord Cromwell's³ steward at Tattershall was brought to the King, confirming the reports of the rising; while in the evening, at Royston, a letter was received from Clarence, couched in most dutiful terms, and offering to bring Warwick to support the King. So completely was Edward taken in that he then and there sent off commissions that had been sealed the previous day, authorizing Clarence and Warwick to raise troops in his name; they being all the time in close correspondence with the rebels⁴. In fact, Clarence had gone to London

¹ So J. Warkworth and the Vitellius MS., fol. 128; *contra* Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 6; "whiche were come thidre by the Kinges prive seales". This of course is Edward's own account.

² So Sir Robert Welles' confession; *Excerpta Historica*, 283, "the cause of oure grete rising . . . was grounded upon this noise": that implies a previous minor disturbance; see also Rebellion, 6. The Vitellius MS., sup. expressly states that there was "moche to doo" in London in February with bills set up by Warwick and Clarence. On the 9th February Edward was calling for men to meet him at Grantham on the 12th March; Rebellion, notes, 24. Sir Robert tried to anticipate him by fixing his own muster for the 6th March; Rebellion, p. 6.

³ Humphrey Bouchier, summoned to Parliament as Lord Cromwell, in right of his wife, Joan Stanhope, niece of Lord Cromwell the Treasurer. Lord Welles was married to the daughter of the elder sister, Maud Stanhope.

⁴ Rebellion, 6, 7, 8; MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. xvi. fol. 127, 128; Foed. xi. 652. For misgivings in London as to Warwick's intentions, see Paston Letters,

to concert measures with Lord Welles; at any rate to CH. XXIV.
manœuvre on his behalf. 1470.

On the 9th March the King rested at Huntingdon: Lord Welles and Dymock were "examined", and admitted a guilty knowledge of the intended rising; whereupon Edward warned them, at the penalty of their lives, to get the movement suppressed at once. On Sunday, the 11th, the Royal forces advanced to Fotheringhay; and there they were informed that Sir Robert, marching southwards, had passed Grantham, and that he appeared to be making for Leicester. In fact, Warwick had ordered him to avoid an engagement with the King, and make for Leicester, where he would join him on the 12th March. On the 12th Edward began by advancing to Stamford. While halting to 'bait himself', he was informed for certain that Sir Robert had neither disbanded nor given in his submission; but that he was hastening back on Stamford. It would seem that being in a great strait, and uncertain how best he could save his father's life, he had resolved to take the bold course, and face Edward single-handed; in the wild hope of surprising that most wary soldier in night quarters at Stamford¹. Lord Welles' last word to his son before parting had been to hasten to the rescue if he heard of his being in danger².

Edward's first step was to order Lord Welles and Sir Thomas Dymock to immediate execution³; his next step was to march out in quest of the enemy. He found them in a field about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Stamford⁴. One salvo of the Royal artillery was enough to scatter the Lincolnshire men. Their flight was so precipitate that the action gained the name of *Lose-coat Field*. Late at

Action at
Emping-
ham.

ii. 394. He went down to Warwick on the 7th March; Carte, ii. 779, cited Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 8. Clarence joined him there after a secret conference with Lord Welles and the Prior of St. John's.

¹ Rebellion, 9, 10.

² So Sir Robert's confession; Excerpta Historica, 284.

³ They suffered before the Queen's Cross, Stamford, one of the Eleanor Crosses; 46 D. K. Report, Append. ii. 67.

⁴ "The place . . . retains the name of Bloody Oaks to this day"; Blore, History of Rutland, p. 142, cited J. G. Nichols.

CH. XXIV. night the King returned to Stamford. Sir Thomas de La
 1470. Lande, another brother-in-law of Lord Welles, had been
 taken prisoner; young Welles escaping for the time¹.

Clarence
 and War-
 wick keep-
 ing aloof. Before the battle Edward had received letters from
 Clarence and Warwick, informing him that they were at
 Coventry, and that they expected to be at Leicester on the
 12th March. His suspicions must have been roused after
 the battle, as we are told that men had been taken wearing
 Clarence's livery; and that among the war cries of the day
 "*a Clarence!*" and "*a Warwick!*" had been heard. Next
 morning (13th March) Edward wrote to the two, informing
 them of his victory, and desiring them to disband their
 levies and join him with suitable escorts, and nothing
 more². Of course they promised obedience; but without
 waiting to see the Royal messenger fairly out of Coventry,
 they took the road to Burton-upon-Trent.

The King then advanced to Grantham, remaining there
 over the 15th March. During that time Sir Robert Welles
 and other leaders were brought in. Their confessions
 revealed the depth of treachery with which Edward was
 Warwick's surrounded. Warwick was preparing to make Clarence
 plot. King³. Reports also came in that Warwick was endeavour-
 ing to revive the old disturbances in "Richemondshire"
 and Holderness, Lord Scrope lending a hand. Yet the
 conspirators still endeavoured to mask their intentions,
 promising appearance, but keeping at arm's-length. Thus
 from Burton they advanced to Derby and Chesterfield;
 Edward the King holding on to Newark and Doncaster (16th-18th
 sends an *ultimatum*. March). On the 18th, Garter King at Arms was sent to

¹ See Rebellion, sup.; J. Warkworth, 8; R. Fabian, 658; E. Hall, 277; Croyland, Cont. 553. According to the Act of Attainder the battle was fought "at Empyngham in a felde called Hornefelde"; Rot. Parl. vi. 144. De La Lande, a Gascon by birth, was executed on the 15th March; Paston Letters, ii. 395.

² Rebellion, 9, 10, 11. All existing commissions of array were cancelled; Warkworth, notes, 52, from the Close Roll.

³ See Excerpta Historica, 283. Welles does his best to incriminate Clarence and Warwick, but his statements are very specific and do not seem open to much doubt.

Chesterfield with an *ultimatum*, requiring the immediate attendance of the Duke and Earl, but promising "indifference and equite" on the part of the King¹. CH. XXIV.
1470.

Unable to shuffle any longer they refused to come except under safe-conduct to come and go, with a free pardon for all implicated with them².

On the 19th Sir Robert Welles was executed, and on the 20th the King at last marshalled his forces for an attack on the malcontents at Chesterfield. "Wer never seyn in Ingland so many goodly men and so well arreiyed"³. On reaching Rotherham next day, the King was informed that his opponents had fled to Manchester, hoping for support from Lord Stanley, who had married Warwick's sister Eleanor. Flight of
Clarence
and War-
wick.

Unprovided with supplies for so arduous a march, Edward turned off to York to make sure of the North country. On the 22nd March he entered the city, remaining there five days. "And ther camme in to hym all the gentiemen of the shire"⁴. Among those who deemed it prudent to appear were Lord Scrope of Bolton⁵, Sir John Conyers, "yong Hilyard of Holdrenes", and, worst case of all, John Neville, Earl of Northumberland. Conyers and Hillyard of course represented the Robin of Redesdale and Robin of Holderness of the previous year⁶. John Neville was the man to whom Edward had most looked for support in the North⁷. It would seem that he was fully implicated in his brother's proceedings, but that the King on his protestations of repentance forgave him⁸. Common prudence, however, forbade his being retained in an office of supreme importance. The Earldom of Northumberland

¹ Rebellion, 12, 13; Rot. Parl. vi. 233.

² Rebellion, 13-15.

³ Paston Letters, sup.

⁴ Ib.; Rebellion, 16, 17; E. Hall, 278.

⁵ See Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 18.

⁶ William Hillyard or Hildyard of Winestead, near Pocklington, was a Lancastrian who fell at Towton; Rebellion, notes, 28. He may have been the grandfather of the 'young Hillyard.'

⁷ Rebellion, 12.

⁸ So G. Chastellain, v. 449. 500: a most trustworthy writer, whose detailed account of the events of this year is unfortunately lost.

CH. XXIV. was taken from him, and restored to Henry Percy, who
 1470. had followed Edward throughout the campaign, Neville
 being consoled with the promotion to the barren dignity of
 Marquis Montagu¹. In like manner Clarence was deprived
 of the Lieutenancy of Ireland, which was given to John
 Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (23rd March).

The levies of the Western Counties were then called out,
 and a final summons addressed to Clarence and Warwick:
 failing appearance by the 28th, rewards would be given for
 their apprehension as rebels and traitors².

Disappointed of their hope of support in Lancashire,
 Clarence and Warwick hastened down the Severn Valley
 into Devonshire, Edward making for the same point by a
 shorter route. Leaving York about the 27th March, and
 marching by Nottingham, Coventry, and Burford, he had
 reached Exeter by the 14th April³. But the fugitives had
 already taken ship from Dartmouth, sailing up the Channel.
 They put in at Southampton, and made a bold attempt to
 cut out the *Trinity*, a big ship belonging to Warwick, but
 were repulsed by young Rivers with some loss. Twenty
 captives of the better class were executed by Worcester,
 who had resumed his old functions as Constable, their
 bodies being impaled after death⁴. "For the whiche the
 peple of the londe were gretely displesyd". Edward's
 executions, intended to deter his adversaries, had certainly
 helped to alienate the sense of the nation. It was just the
 difficulty that Henry IV had to contend with. If he
 pardoned his enemies they rose again; if he punished them
 popularity was lost.

From Southampton Warwick made for Calais, his old

¹ 25th March; Lords' Report, Append. v. 378; Paston Letters, sup. In July Percy was appointed Warden of the East March; and in August Gloucester was made Warden of the West March; Rot. Scot. ii. 422, 423.

² Foed. xi. 654, 655; J. Warkworth, notes, 53-59.

³ Edward was at Nottingham 31st March, at Coventry the 3rd and 4th April, at Burford 6th April; Rot. Parl. vi. 233; Privy Seals, 10 Edward IV.

⁴ J. Warkworth, 9; E. Hall, 278; Croyland, Cont. 553; cf. R. Fabian, 658. Worcester was reappointed Constable, vice Gloucester, 14th March; Foedera. He had been with the King in the Lincolnshire campaign.

stronghold, where Lord Wenlock had charge of the castle as his Lieutenant. But Edward had been beforehand, sending orders to forbid his reception; and he had a faithful servant in Duras, a Gascon¹, who, as Captain of the town of Calais, had the next command to Wenlock. The Staple authorities also were for Edward and unrestricted free trade with Burgundy; and the garrison at this time, as we have seen, were dependant on the Staple Merchants for their pay. The result was that when Warwick appeared the harbour was closed against him. He remained off the bar for some days, during which time the young Duchess of Clarence gave birth to a son on board ship. Finally Warwick sailed off to Honfleur, where he landed on the 5th May².

The failures of the last twelvemonth must have satisfied Warwick that his original scheme of making Clarence King would not work. It was clear that he could not regain his position in England without the help of the Lancastrians, and that to secure them he must go the length of a Lancastrian restoration. But the question was, could Margaret be brought to stoop to an alliance with Warwick? If the sea of blood between them could be effaced, could she as a woman forget the imputations on her honour, the doubts on the paternity of her son, with which Warwick was specially associated³? Louis XI alone could bring the requisite pressure to bear on Margaret, and to him Warwick at once imparted his new views.

Louis was ready enough to abet a scheme of Lancastrian restoration, or any other scheme that would give Edward and the Duke of Burgundy trouble. But for the moment he was placed in a difficulty by Warwick's recklessness. Warwick had been freely indulging in acts of piracy on

CH. XXIV.

1470.

Fresh
plans of
Warwick.Henry VI
to be re-
stored.Warwick
and Louis
XI.

¹ "Galhard de Durfort seigneur de Duras"; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 207, note. Apparently he had been at Calais since 1460; Three Fifteenth Century Chron.

² See Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 28-31; Comines-Lenglet, i. 149-151, ii. 84; G. Chastellain, vi. 488. In Lenglet's edition of Comines, Wenlock's name appears as "Vaucler," a misreading corrected in Dupont's edition, i. 235.

³ See all this clearly put by Basin, ii. 221-223, and Chastellain, vi. 264-267.

**

A a

CH. XXIV. Burgundian shipping: the Duke protested against his reception as an infringement of the recent treaty of Peronne: 1470. if the Burgundians went to war the Bretons would certainly join them; so Louis' first endeavour was to get rid of Warwick and his ships. But Warwick would not quit his snug quarters in the Seine for the Channel Islands, as suggested; and Louis had to put off Duke Charles, as best he could, with promises of compensation¹.

Between this difficulty and Margaret's own reluctance she was not brought face to face with Warwick till the middle of July. As a pledge of his allegiance to the House of Lancaster he proposed a marriage between his second daughter, the Lady Anne, and Margaret's son Edward; the reversion of the Crown, failing Henry's descendants, to be settled on the Duke of Clarence. Margaret was induced to sink her personal feelings out of regard for the combined interests of the Houses of Lancaster, France, and Anjou, but only on condition of an absolute retraction by Warwick of all imputations on herself.

Reconciliation of Warwick and Margaret.

Richard was made to beg Margaret's pardon on his knees: reciprocal pledges of forgiveness and fidelity were then exchanged; the young couple were betrothed; and Louis undertook to supply all that Warwick needed for an expedition to England².

Louis was as good as his word, supplying money³, ships, and men to a moderate amount, and coming down to

¹ T. Basin, ii. 221; G. Chastellain, vi. 447; Comines-Lenglet, i. 150; and the documents printed Id. iii. 120-125; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 37-40; Duclos, Louis XI, iv. 311. Duke Charles was very rough to the French envoys; he as good as told them that their master might go "a tous les cent mille diables d'enfer"; Chastellain, 453; his own followers were shocked.

² See G. Chastellain, vi. 467, 468; and the English contemporary account, Ellis, Letters, Second Series, ii. 132; according to which Warwick was at Angers 15th July-4th August. On the 25th July Louis wrote that the marriage had been performed that day; but on the 11th August he was asking for a dispensation from the French bishops; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 41, notes; see also J. Warkworth, 9, 10. The Lady Anne was recognised as Princess of Wales from the beginning of August; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 45.

³ 467,000 L. T. and 34,000 *escus* are entered as paid to Warwick; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 46: say £5718 sterling (20 *escus* = L. T. £27 10s.; Wavrin, 41).

Honfleur in person to inspect the armament. But the Duke of Burgundy, who considered Edward's cause his own, kept a fleet blockading the Seine all the summer, and Louis forbade an attack on the Burgundian flag. At last, however, the Burgundians had to retire, whether from stress of weather or want of provisions, and the coast was left clear. Warwick seized the opportunity¹, and, crossing the Channel, landed his men partly at Dartmouth and partly at Plymouth, on the 13th September. Clarence, Jasper Tudor, the Earl of Oxford, and Thomas Neville, a natural son of the late Lord Fauconberge, accompanied him².

CH. XXIV.
1470.

Warwick
lands in
Devon-
shire.

Edward was again caught unprepared; but his task was not an easy one, the advantages in a game of conspiracy being all on the side of the assailant. He had remained on the south coast, as if to watch Warwick's proceedings, till the middle of June, when he came to London³. The Duke of Burgundy kept him informed not only of Warwick's doings, but also of underground movements in England⁴. Some arrests were made; the Earl of Oxford had to fly to France; the Archbishop of York was kept a State prisoner at Moor Park. But at the beginning of August, when the news of Warwick's landing was expected in London from day to day, when the Courtenays were understood to be moving in Devonshire, the King allowed himself to be drawn off to the North by a petty rising got up for the purpose by Lord Fitz-Hugh. The rebellious Lord having been driven across the Border, Edward remained at York, as if his chief danger lay in the North⁵. For Warwick personally, we are told, he felt a supreme contempt⁶.

Edward
lured to
the North.

¹ Comines-Lenglet, i. 154, ii. 85, 86; G. Chastellain, vi. 449, 468; T. Basin, ii. 226, 227.

² J. Stow, 422; R. Fabian, 658.

³ Privy Seals, 10 Edward IV.

⁴ G. Chastellain, vi. 491, 492; Comines-Lenglet, i. 154.

⁵ R. Fabian, 658; Foed. xi. 657; Paston Letters, ii. 406. Edward was at York 14th August; at Ripon 16th August; at York again 23rd-27th; Privy Seals, 10th year.

⁶ G. Chastellain, vi. 486; cf. Comines-Lenglet, i. 164; Comines-Dupont, i. 260.

CH. XXIV.

1470.

By the 7th September, however, he must again have begun to feel uneasy, as he wrote to his friends in the South to be prepared for Warwick's landing, directing them in case of need to concentrate on London¹. When the landing was reported he wrote to the Duke of Burgundy, begging him to keep his fleet at sea to intercept Warwick when he had been driven out of England. 'Better have kept him out', was the Duke's remark².

Mani-
festoes of
Clarence
and War-
wick.

Before their landing, Clarence and Warwick had forwarded addresses to the Commons of England again denouncing the "covetous and seditious persons" surrounding the Throne. A new charge was the 'tyranny and manslaughter that reign among you'. Edward's name was not mentioned; but neither was any hint given of a Lancastrian restoration, so careful was Warwick to keep the game in his own hands.

Henry VI
pro-
claimed.

Edward laid hold of the omission of his name, and wrote to the two complaining of "Proclamations . . . to assemble our liege people no mention made of Us"; and, once more, ordered them to come to Court "humbly and measurably accompanied"³. They retorted by proclaiming Henry VI "verrey true undoutyde Kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce"; therewith ordering all men from sixteen to sixty years of age to join their standard⁴.

Flight of
Edward
IV.

Edward advanced to Doncaster: he had a considerable force at Pontefract under Montagu, but from his thus keeping apart with his inner circle of friends we may surmise that perhaps he did not wholly trust him. Thus left free to act, the Marquis declared for King Harry, and made a push to seize King Edward⁵. The latter fled into Lincolnshire, crossed the Wash, and finally got hold of some shipping

¹ Paston Letters, ii. 409.

² De Comines, sup.

³ Ellis, Letters, Second Series, ii. 135-138.

⁴ J. Warkworth, notes, 60.

⁵ So the Croyland writer, and a contemporary report given by Mdle. Dupont; cf. Chastellain, v. 501. Stow says that Edward had reached Nottingham; but the description of the place as a small town protected by a river to which the King owed his safety answers to Doncaster and not to Nottingham.

at Lynn. On the 3rd October he sailed¹ for the Low Countries, his party including Gloucester, Rivers, Hastings², and Say. But the sea had perils of its own. The Royal squadron was chased by vessels belonging to the Hanseatic merchants, who, having quarrelled with Edward about a lawsuit, were at war with England. He escaped them by running through the Helder into the Zuyder Zee, where he landed near Alkmaer. His old ally Gruthuyse, the Governor of Holland, relieved him and took him to the Hague³.

CH. XXIV.
1470.
He sails to
Holland.

Edward's expulsion was the work of a coalition between Warwick's followers and the Lancastrians. Bishop Basin understood that together these parties represented a decided majority of the nation⁴. That might be true of those who from local attachment or personal antipathy felt a distinct preference for either of the contending Houses. The bulk of the nation apparently saw "little to choose between the weak government of Henry and the strong government of Edward". "Whenne Kynge Edwarde iiiiith regnede (*reigned*) the peple looked after alle the forseide prosperytes and peece, but it came not; but one batayle aftere another, and moche troble and grett losse of goodes amonge the comone peple; . . . at yett (*moreover*) at every batell to come ferre oute there countreis at ther awne coste . . . and many menne seyde that Kynge Edwarde had myche blame for hurtyng marchandyse", &c. "They accepted Henry as their King at Warwick's behest; they would accept Edward the moment he proved himself the stronger"⁵. De Comines, the historian, was amazed at the rapidity with

Apathy of
England in
general.

¹ J. Stow, 422: "circa Festum Mich."; Croyland, Cont. 554; J. Warkworth, 11.

² William Hastings, summoned to Parliament in 1461. He was married to Warwick's sister Catherine, relict of William Beauchamp Lord Haryngton.

³ See Comines-Lenglet, i. 155-158, an account taken from Edward himself; also ii. 196; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 45-49, and notes. Edward reached the Hague 11th October. See also Lappenberg, Stahlhof, 51 and 52; and the Danzig Chronicle of Caspar Weinreich, cited by Pauli.

⁴ Vol. ii. 222.

⁵ Stubbs, iii. 209; J. Warkworth, 12.

CII. XXIV. which the English at Calais seemed to change sides. He
 1470. had been there as the Duke of Burgundy's agent just before the news of Edward's expulsion was received, and he returned there immediately after. Everything was changed. The White Rose (the only Rose known to the time) had almost disappeared: the Ragged Staff¹ was paraded everywhere. The men who a few days before had been objects of suspicion, were now in highest credit. 'This was the first time that ever I learned how unstable the things of this world are'².

Move-
ments in
London.

Warwick advanced to London by leisurely steps, to give time for events to ripen and his country friends to join him. London was not on his side: the official world was centred there, and the higher mercantile community were bound to Edward by the money that he owed them, and by their interest in Flemish trade³. Warwick's agents had to stir up the populace. On Sunday, 30th September, Dr. William Goddard, an eminent Minorite Divine, was put up at St. Paul's to preach that Henry was the true King. Next day the town found itself in the hands of a revolutionary mob, led by outlaws from the sanctuaries. The prisoners in gaol were let loose⁴; shops and beer-houses plundered; while a Kentish mob, under pretence of expelling Flemings, committed great depredations in Southwark, Limehouse, Ratcliff, and Whitechapel. At night Queen Elizabeth, who was expecting her confinement, no longer feeling safe in the Tower, escaped by water to Westminster, and there took Sanctuary with her two daughters. The Duchess of Bedford followed her

¹ "Rave-stoc", Chastellain, vi. 488, and Comines-Dupont. "Ragged Staff", E. Hall, 288, translating de Comines.

² "Ce fut la premiere fois que j'eus jamais connoissance que les choses de ce monde sont peu stables"; Comines-Lenglet, i. 159, 160. But see the more trustworthy Chastellain, vi. 488, from whom we learn that Edward had stout-hearted followers who never laid aside their Roses.

³ G. Chastellain, 485, 486, 499; Comines-Lenglet, i. 163, 164. The latter also mentions the City dames, to whom Edward made love, as a source of strength. We certainly find Alice, Lady Wyche, helping him with money. Issues, 9th year.

⁴ Rot. Parl. vi. 50.

example ; while the Treasurer (Bishop Gray, of Ely) and other prelates took refuge at St. Martin's le Grand.

CH. XXIV.

1470.

But order was soon restored by the civic authorities under Warwick's directions. On the 3rd October William of Waynflete and the Mayor, Richard Lee, entered the Tower, and promoted Henry¹ from his prison cell to the apartments just vacated by Queen Elizabeth. Waynflete had been one of the first to congratulate Henry on his recovery in January, 1455 ; and in the winter of 1468-9 he had done enough to render a fresh pardon from Edward desirable². On the 6th October Clarence, Warwick, Archbishop Neville, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Stanley entered London in state, and, riding to the Tower, took Henry to his old quarters at St. Paul's, where Warwick also established himself³.

Henry VI
taken from
prison.

¹ " Whiche was noght worschipfully arayed . . . and noght so clenly kepte as schuld seme suche a Prynce " ; J. Warkworth.

² Waynflete received a pardon for all offences up to date, 1st February, 1469 ; Foed. xi. 639.

³ J. Stow, 422 ; Paston Letters, ii. 412 ; R. Fabian, 658 ; Croyland, Cont. 554 ; J. Warkworth, 11 ; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 183 ; E. Hall, 285 ; MS. Vitellius, sup.

CHAPTER XXV.

HENRY VI (*restored*), 6 Oct. 1470—11 April, 1471.

EDWARD IV (*restored*), 11 April, 1471.

"Readeption" of Henry VI.—Parliament at Westminster.—Return of Edward IV.—His march to London.—Deposition of Henry VI.—Battle of Barnet.

CHAP. XXV.

1470.
New Government.

ON the 9th October, Archbishop Neville having resumed charge of the Great Seal, the work of reconstituting the Government began. The Judges of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer were all reappointed, one new Judge being raised to the Bench. The Treasury was again placed in the hands of Sir John Langstrother; John Hales, Bishop of Lichfield, received the Privy Seal¹; and Clarence was reappointed Lieutenant of Ireland². Writs were issued for the election of Coroners and Verderers³. The Sheriffs in the regular course of things would have to be appointed about this time, so that Warwick at once got a considerable hold on the country⁴.

Henry again at Westminster.

On the 13th October, the Translation of St. Edward, Henry was taken in state from the Bishop's Palace to offer at St. Paul's, and so to Westminster. Warwick bore his

¹ Foed. xi. 682.

² Id. 693. The appointment was made to run from the 29th September.

³ Id. 661-665; Foss, Judges, iv. 235. The majority of the Judges had been either appointed or confirmed in office by Warwick in 1460-1461.

⁴ The sheriff's Patents were usually dated 6th November, though they were often not appointed till later; Stat. 12 Edward IV, c. 1. The small Revenue collected during Henry's "Readeption" seems to have been entirely derived from the Sheriffs and the Duchy of Lancaster; Receipts, 49 Henry VI.

train; the Earl of Oxford the chief sword of state¹. On CHAP. XXV.
the 15th October writs were issued for a Parliament to 1470.
meet at Westminster².

One execution, and one only, followed the restoration of The Earl of Worcester.
Henry VI, that of John Tiptoft, the 'Butcher' Earl of Worcester. Execrated for his cruelties, he was nevertheless a distinguished man of letters; the friend of Æneas Sylvius, the patron of William Caxton the printer³. Apprehended in the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge "in the county of Huntingdon" he was brought to London. On the 15th October he was arraigned at Westminster before his successor, the Earl of Oxford⁴; on the 18th he suffered on Tower Hill⁵.

If Warwick appeared to be merciful at this time we may remark that all his personal enemies were either dead or in exile.

On the 26th November the Parliament was opened at Parliament.
Westminster. The record of the proceedings has not been preserved; but it appears that Archbishop Neville, who had opened the first Parliament of Edward IV with a text from Jeremiah, 'Amend your ways and your doings'; now found in the same writer words apposite to the "Readeption" of King Harry, 'Return, O backsliding children'⁶.

The proceedings of the Session followed the programme settled by Margaret and Warwick at Angers in July; Edward IV was declared a traitor and usurper; the Acts and Attainders of his Parliaments were reversed; and he

¹ J. Stow; Croyland, Cont. sup.

² Lords' Report, Append.

³ For Caxton's lament over Worcester, see Chron. White Rose, 119, note. The Earl's "Tully of Friendship", a translation of Cicero's *De Amicitia*, was printed by Caxton in 1481, one of the first books printed in England; W. Blades, Caxton, p. 82.

⁴ The Earl of Oxford was appointed Constable of England for the occasion; just as Worcester had been appointed Constable in 1462 for the trial of Oxford's father and brother.

⁵ J. Stow, 423; J. Warkworth, 13; R. Fabian, 659. "The bochier of Englande", "trux carnifex et hominum decollator"; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 183.

⁶ Lords' Report, sup.; Rot. Parl. vi. 191; J. Warkworth, 12; Jeremiah vii. 3 and iii. 14.

CHAP. XXV. and his followers attainted in return. The Crown was entailed on Henry and the heirs male of his body begotten, with remainder to George, Duke of Clarence, and the heirs male of his body; the Duke being also declared heir to all the dignities and possessions of his father, the late Duke of York. The surviving Lancastrians were reinstated; lastly Warwick and Clarence were appointed joint Lieutenants of the Realm¹.

147c.
Settlement of the Succession.
Edward IV in exile. Brimful of youthful energy and self-confidence, Edward IV was not the man to sit down patiently in exile. But he was wholly dependant on his brother-in-law. Charles at once assigned him a liberal pension, but he shewed no disposition to do anything more for him. All he wanted was friendly relations with England: his own sympathies had always been with the House of Lancaster; the exiled Exeter and Somerset had been constant guests at his table. He hastened to intimate that he would accept any King acceptable to the English; he kept Edward at a distance for nearly three months².

Louis XI and the House of Lancaster. But Warwick made no response. Louis XI held him well in hand, determined to use the opportunity against Burgundy. On the 14th October he had proclaimed a treaty of alliance with Henry of Lancaster; with free commercial intercourse for his followers. In November a three days' thanksgiving was ordered in Paris for Henry's restoration, while Margaret and the Prince and Princess of Wales were brought to Paris in state³. Monypenny and others were sent to London to flatter and caress Warwick⁴,

¹ See R. Fabian, 660; E. Hall, 286; cf. Ellis, Letters, Second Series, ii. 134. The Parliament was adjourned to St. Paul's, and sat there till Christmas, Ib. Alderman Sir Thomas Cook, who was so heavily mulcted in 1468, petitioned to be recouped out of the Rivers' estates. Richard "Erle of Warwicke . . . calling himselfe Lievetenaunte of England", &c. *Historie of the Arrivall of King Edward IV*, p. 1 (Camden Society, 1838).

² See Comines-Lenglet, i. 159-163; cf. Louis' proclamation, id. iii. 68, in which he makes the Duke's goodwill towards England an excuse for war on him.

³ Comines-Lenglet, ii. 87, 88; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 198.

⁴ "Ami à terme et à fiction et à flatterie"; so G. Chastellain, vi. 495, of Louis' relations to Warwick.

and keep him up to the mark of war with Burgundy; Holland and Zealand being suggested as his share of the spoils¹. On the 28th November a treaty of offensive alliance against Burgundy was sealed in Paris, the young Prince pledging himself for his father². On the 3rd December Louis announced his rejection of the treaty of Peronne; and on the 10th he seized St. Quentin; following up this blow by attacks on Roye, Montdidier, and Amiens³.

CHAP. XXV.
1470.

War between
France
and Burgundy.

Afraid of being placed between two fires Charles sent for Edward. They spent some days together at Aire and St. Pol between the 2nd and the 7th January, 1471; and the Duke at last dismissed his brother-in-law with a promise of 50,000 florins⁴ and ships for a descent on England⁵.

Rumours of a grand attack on Burgundy, to be undertaken in concert with France, could not fail to damage Warwick's position at home. Both the interests and the prejudices of the nation would be touched. The Mayor of London, John Stockton, threw up his functions and retired to his house, 'fegning sickness'⁶.

Difficulties
of the
Earl of
Warwick.

Warwick had to rule in the name of a puppet King, 'a stuffed wool sack, a shadow on a wall, . . . a crowned calf'⁷. But the English did not understand the institution of a *Maire de Palais*, and liked a King who could govern as well as reign. Margaret's presence would have relieved Warwick of much of the odium of his position, but she lingered unaccountably in France⁸; probably she was afraid

¹ 13th November; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 196-204; Foed. xi. 667.

² Comines-Lenglet, ii. 88; T. Basin, ii. 228, 246; Plancher, Bourgogne, iv. cccxii.

³ Comines-Lenglet, sup. and 89; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 52, 59, &c. Roye and Amiens were both won by the French.

⁴ "Florins à la croix Sainet-André"; Comines.

⁵ Comines-Lenglet, i. 162, ii. 197; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 55; T. Basin, ii. 252.

⁶ R. Fabian, 660.

⁷ "Un sac de laine, une ombre en une paroît (*muraille*); un seigneur comme que l'on buffette as yeux bandés . . . un veau couronné", &c.; G. Chastellain, v. 490.

⁸ See the letter of the 19th January, 1471, from a Spaniard at Bruges to one

CHAP. XXV. to risk her son on such a doubtful venture. In February
 1471. Warwick looked for her coming: he went down to Dover to meet her; but nearly two months more had to elapse before she set foot in England¹.

Then Warwick's unstable partner, Clarence, was another source of anxiety and trouble. Office and emolument were heaped upon him, but he had been disappointed of a Crown; and Warwick must have known that the ladies of the House of York were untiring in their efforts to win him back².

But the terror of Warwick's name, and the vigilance of his precautions, overawed all discontent. The Earl of Oxford and Lord Scrope of Bolton had charge of the eastern coast; Montagu of the north coast; Jasper Tudor of the Welsh coast; while Warwick kept to himself the controlling position of High Admiral³.

Edward
fits out an
expedition,

With his brother-in-law's money Edward was able to fit out three or four big Dutch ships; the Duke further procuring for him the services of fourteen Hanse vessels for a limited time. The expedition was fitted out in the creeks of the Walcheren Island. On the 2nd March Edward went on board at Flushing; the winds turned contrary, but he would not risk the loss of a day, and kept his men on board till the 11th, when he set sail with some 1200 men, of whom 300 were foreign auxiliaries armed with hand guns⁴.

of Margaret's circle at Rouen: "Si sera vrai le conseil detarder tant la sans passer la reyne et prinse yl est dangereux; pourtant vous saves que aves a fere"; *New Genealogist*, iii. 66.

¹ Foed. xi. 693; R. Fabian, 660.

² See *Historie of the Arrivall of King Edward*, p. 10; *Croyland, Cont.* 554. Among the ladies in question were Clarence's mother; his sisters the Duchesses of Exeter, Suffolk, and Burgundy; his aunt the Countess of Essex. For appointments in his favour, see Foed. xi. 693, 700; for Warwick's difficulties, see *Chastellain*, v. 489, 494, 499.

³ Foed. 676-680. John Lord Scrope of Bolton was a Yorkist who followed Warwick. He had been implicated in his machinations in 1470; *Wavrin-Dapont*, iii. 18.

⁴ *Comines-Lenglet*, i. 162; J. Warkworth, 13; *Arrivall of King Edward IV*, p. 2. This tract is a contemporary official narrative penned by one of Edward's followers. A copy of it appears to have been sent by Edward to his friends in Flanders in May, 1471; it was transcribed by Wavrin. An abridgment in French from a MS. in Paris is printed by Mdlle. Dupont in her

Gloucester, Rivers, Hastings, and William Fenys Lord Say accompanied him. CHAP. XXV.
1471.

On the 12th March they touched at Cromer to sound the disposition of the people. But the Earl of Oxford's agents were on the alert; the Duke of Norfolk and other doubtful persons had been removed to London; and there was nothing to be done¹. Sailing on northwards they were buffeted for two days by a storm; but on Thursday, 14th March, Edward landed in the Humber and lands
in the
Humber, at 'Ravenspur'², at the very place where seventy-two years before Henry of Bolingbroke landed to dethrone Richard II.

Next day the whole 'fellowship' having been gathered together, a Council of War was held. Edward's purpose was to push for London; the seat of his adversary's Government, but probably not the chief seat of his strength. But "the straight way" to London lay through Lincolnshire, a hostile district; besides, the reshipment to cross the Humber might be interpreted as a retreat, and Edward knew that in his position the semblance of retreat would be fatal. He resolved to march on London by way of York, He makes
for Lon-
don. and, acting on the resolve, at once advanced to Beverley. Again the people showed little disposition to join him: Hull closed its gates, while armed detachments watched his movements. To disarm hostility Edward had to give out—as Bolingbroke had given out—that he only came to claim his father's Duchy;—nothing more.

edition of Comines; a translation of this abridgment from a Gheat MS. is given in *Archaeol.* vol. xxi. The English text gives Edward's force as 2000 Englishmen—a large number for exiles. Wavrin gives the total as 1200 men. His translation in several places seems more correct than the existing English text, which is a transcript made by Stow. The MS. Vitellius A. xvi. says that Edward had "upon" 500 Englishmen and as many "Duchemen", f. 131, thus reducing the total to 1000 men. The Croyland writer makes the total 1500 men; p. 554.

¹ See Paston Letters, ii. 411, 414, and esp. 420.

² "Ravenyspore", Warkworth; "Ravensporne", Arrivall; "Ravenyspore", Fabian; cf. "Spurn Head". The landing-place has probably been submerged: the distance from Paull or Paghill is given as fourteen miles; that would fall short of Spurn Head.

CHAP. XXV. "Lorde, the unkyndnes was shewid to Kynge Edward that day !

At his londyng in Holdyrnes he had grett payne :

1471.

His subjectes and people wolde not hym obey,

Off hym and his people thay had grett disdayne.

There shewid hym unkyndnes, and answerid hym playne,
As for Kynge he shulde not londe there for wele ne woo ;
Yett londid that gentill prynce, the will of God was soo"¹.

His reception at York.

Three miles from York he was met by the Recorder, Thomas Conyers², who endeavoured to turn him from the city ; but Edward was not to be turned, and, advancing to the closed gates, held parley with the inhabitants. Finally, with an audacity worthy of a brigand chief, he entered the city with a handful of followers, to convince the people of the honesty of his intentions, and called for cheers for King Harry and Prince Edward³. His whole force was then admitted ; entertained for the night, and next day (19th March) sent on their way to Tadcaster, "a towne of th' Erls' of Northumbarland"⁴.

The two Earls of Northumberland.

In fact the failure of Warwick's measures for resisting Edward in the North was largely due to the jealousies of the two rival earls, Percy the actual, and Montagu the ex-Earl of Northumberland. Percy was by rights a Lancastrian, but he owed his promotion to Edward. Unable to carry his followers into the Yorkist camp, he kept them at a distance, leaving the timid Montagu afraid to act in a district where Warwick and Henry together should have been all-powerful⁵.

Another day's march brought Edward to Wakefield and Sandal, of bitter memories. A few adherents came in, "but

¹ Pol. Poems, ii. 272 ; a ballad based on the Arrivall.

² The city was without a Mayor, having been unable to agree in an election ; Foed. xi. 700.

³ So J. Warkworth, 14. The Arrivall is silent on this last point, but it records Edward's lying assurances without the smallest appearance of shame.

⁴ 18th and 19th March ; Arrivall, 2-5 ; J. Warkworth, sup. ; Croyland, Cont. 554.

⁵ See Arrivall, 6, 7. According to Warkworth Edward on landing made use of Northumberland's name. For Warwick's annoyance, see Polydore, 665, 666.

not so many as he supposed wolde have comen". Montagu was at Pontefract, but not in strength to risk a struggle with Edward's adventurers, 'picked men'¹ as they were, with a large proportion of gentlemen². Leaving Montagu unmolested at Pontefract, Edward passed on to Doncaster and Nottingham. At the latter place he was informed that the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Exeter³, and Viscount Beaumont were posted at Newark with the levies of six eastern counties⁴. Edward turned to encounter them. At his approach they fell back. Satisfied with having cleared his flank he resumed his advance to Leicester, where Warwick was; but he in turn drew back to Coventry, a stronger town (27th March).

CHAP. XXV.
1471.

Advance to
Coventry.
Warwick
there.

Adherents now began to join Edward in substantial numbers, and he moved on "bettar accompanied" than he had been as yet⁵.

On the 29th March he appeared under the walls of Coventry, and challenged Warwick to come out: but Warwick was not in a position to give battle, none of his friends having joined him.

Edward then advanced to Warwick, and, throwing off all disguise, proclaimed himself King. He knew that Clarence was hastening to join him with men raised in Henry's name⁶. So hastily had they been made to change sides that it would seem that their coats still exhibited the Lancastrian Collar, with the Yorkist Rose over it⁷.

Warwick, who doubtless knew as much, endeavoured to draw his enemy into negotiations for some "gode and

¹ "Piked men"; Arrivall.

² Comines-Lenglet, i. 163.

³ He had come over from Flanders in February; R. Fabian, 660.

⁴ The men had been ordered to be at Lynn on the 22nd March ready to advance to Newark; Paston Letters, ii. 421.

⁵ Arrivall, 9; J. Warkworth, 14; Polydore, 666. An original letter printed by Mr. Oman (King-maker, 221) shows that Warwick was at Warwick on the 25th March; and that he understood that Edward had landed with 2000 men.

⁶ Comines-Dupont, iii. 282.

⁷ "His men have the Gorget on their breests and the Rose over it"; Paston Letters, ii. 423. The collar of S. S. is given as a Lancastrian badge; Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 102, p. 506; see also Foed. viii. 165; A. Usk, 25, 134; Rot. Parl. iii. 477.

CHAP. XXV. expedient appoyntment". Edward offered him his life without further guarantees; an offer that Warwick could estimate at its true value¹.

1471.

Edward
joined by
Clarence.

While Warwick was endeavouring to gain time, and Edward pressing for immediate action, Clarence—"false fleeting perjured Clarence"—drew near. Edward and Gloucester went out to meet him on the Banbury road. In the sight of their two armies, the brothers swore "parfite accord togethars for evar here after"; and then, joining forces, returned to Warwick². On the other hand, the Earl had been reinforced by Montagu and Oxford: but as they still declined action, Edward resolved to make for London, to oust his rival from the seat of Government.

They push
on to
London.

After a final offer of battle under the walls of Coventry, he resumed his southward march³; and on Sunday, 7th April, being Palm Sunday, rested at Daventry. Here, during service in the parish church, "a fayre miracle" appeared, "pronostique of good aventure". While the King was kneeling in adoration of the Rood, or Crucifix, a wooden shrine, in which a little image of St. Anne was shut up (as customary in Lent), began to creak, and then suddenly opened its doors. "The Kynge this seinge thanked and honoryd God and Seint Anne, takyng it for a good signe . . . and gave his offrings"⁴.

Holding on by Northampton and Dunstable to St. Albans, Edward rested at the latter place on the 10th April. The day before he had sent "comfortable messagis" to Queen Elizabeth, the Bouchiers, and other friends in

¹ Arrivall, 9, 10. According to Warkworth, Warwick was waiting for Clarence to join him; p. 14; but Polydore is probably right in stating that Warwick was quite prepared for the result; p. 666.

² Arrivall. See also the account received by the Duchess of Burgundy and sent on by her to the Dowager Duchess; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 210.

³ Arrivall, 11-13; Comines-Dupont, iii. 283. From the latter we learn that Edward advanced to Coventry on the 4th April; offered battle again on the 5th, and then on the 6th moved to Daventry. See also Pol. Poems, ii. 272. A detachment sent to Leicester on the 3rd April had driven off Exeter and Beaumont.

⁴ Arrivall, 13, 14; Pol. Poems, 273.

London¹. Warwick likewise was in communication with his friends, promising a speedy appearance.

CHAP. XXV.
1471.

On the 9th, Archbishop Neville held a Lancastrian Council at St. Paul's; and by the advice of those present next day² took Henry in martial procession through Cheapside to Walbrook and back. But the military men of the party, Wenlock, Langstrother, the Beauforts³, John Courtenay Earl of Devon⁴, had gone down to the south coast to meet Queen Margaret, who, after endless delays, was arriving just in time to divide the forces of the party. The procession, in consequence, proved a failure. During the night Edward's friends seized the Tower and the City gates; and next day (11th April), "in dyner tyme", admitted him in triumph.

Edward
enters
Town.

Edward's first act was to offer at the Rood at the north door of St. Paul's: his next was to enter the Bishop's Palace, where Archbishop Neville humbly surrendered his Lord King Harry and himself. If he had not already come to terms with Edward he was allowed to do so without demur⁵.

From St. Paul's, Edward hastened on by water to Westminster, to release his wife from Sanctuary, and greet the son and heir to whom she had given birth in his absence⁶. Time was also found for a hasty re-coronation in the Abbey, at the hands of Archbishop Bourchier, now raised to the

¹ Arrivall, 15; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 120.

² J. Warkworth, 15.

³ Edmund and John, brothers of Henry, executed after Hexham, and sons of Duke Edmund who fell at St. Albans. See Genealogical Tables in preceding volume. They were the last males of their House, unless a mysterious Henry Beaufort, prisoner in the Tower from 1467 to 1470, was still living; Tellers' Rolls *in annis*.

⁴ Brother of Thomas Courtenay executed after Towton; Complete Peerage, &c. In the Arrivall the younger brother is called Thomas.

⁵ He did homage on the morrow and received a free pardon up to date, but was kept awhile in the Tower; Foed. xi. 709, 710; Paston Letters, iii. 3; Stow.

⁶ Elizabeth gave birth to Prince Edward 1st November, 1470, Croyland, Cont.; 3rd November, Fabian; 4th November, Stow; Art de verifier les Dates, i. 817; Dupont. See also Table of Issue, below.

CHAP. XXV. dignity of Cardinal¹. The Royal family then returned to
 1471. the City to spend a domestic evening at Barnard's Castle
 with the Duchess of York².

A Council of War was the only business done on the
 morrow, Good Friday; but the next day saw Edward and
 his men again a-field. Warwick, satisfied that there was
 no more room for chicane, was hastening up to London for
 the unavoidable battle, and had reached St. Albans³. In
 the afternoon Edward rode out to Chipping Barnet, taking
 with him, for fear of accidents, the unfortunate Henry,
 again to be the witness of the discomfiture of his friends.

March to
Barnet.

Positions
of the
armies.

Warwick that day had advanced from St. Albans to
 Hadley, camping for the night on Gladsmuir Heath, now
 Hadley Green, just to the North of Barnet. His army was
 established "undre an hedge-syde", that is to say, along
 the high road, probably between Wrotham Park and the
 Windmill, or thereabouts⁴. From that position he could
 take the King's troops in detail as they came out of the
 narrow street of Barnet.

But Edward always laughed at Warwick's strategy.
 Having reached Barnet about dusk, and ascertained the
 Earl's dispositions, he resolved to steal a march upon him
 by taking his men in the dark along the low ground to the
 East of the high road, so as to avoid debouching from the
 town in face of the enemy, and to get his men safely de-
 ployed for a fair attack all along the line. To secure this
 he was prepared to attack Warwick's position uphill. The
 movement was executed with entire success, Edward halting

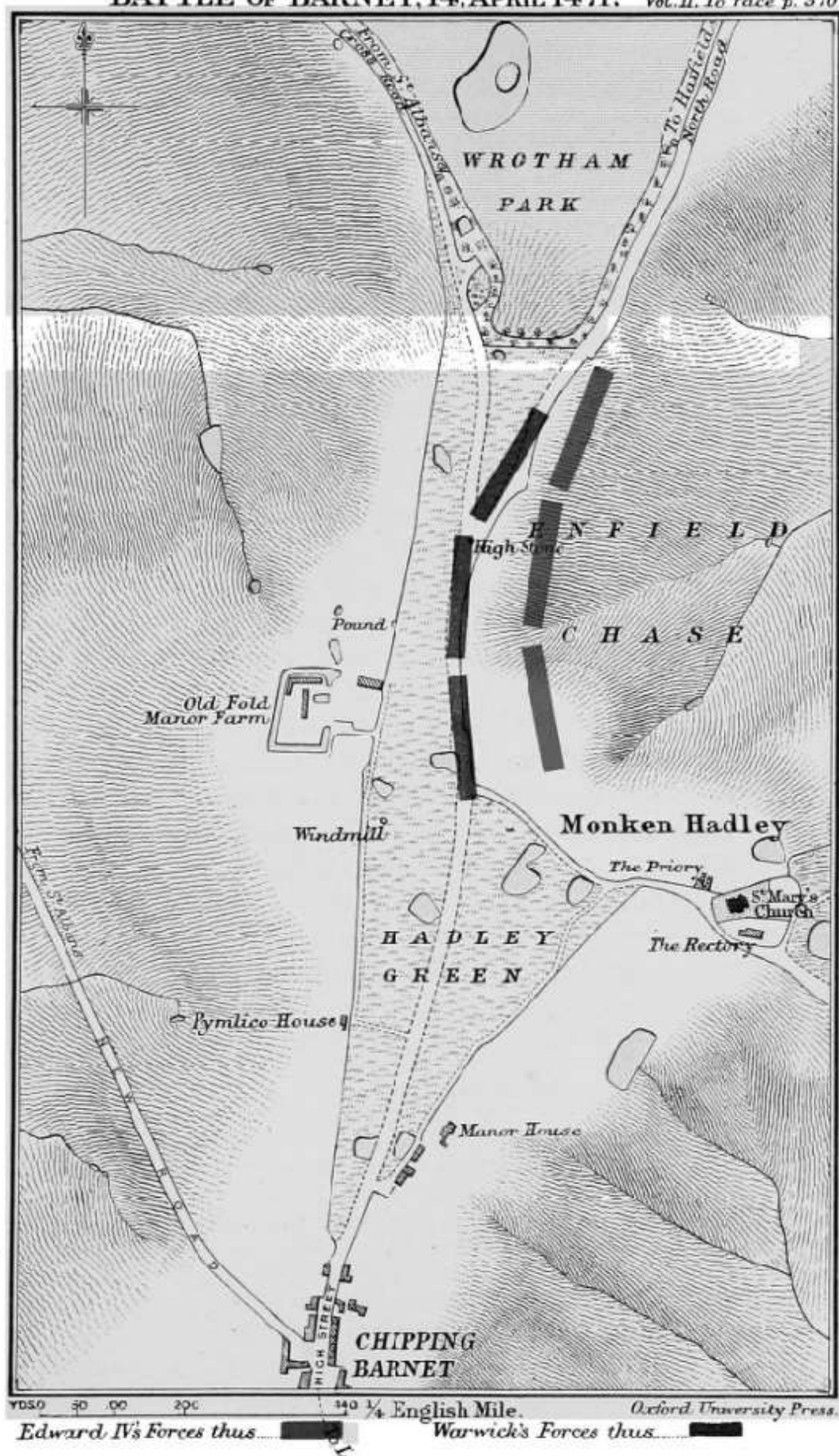
¹ Thomas Bourchier was made Cardinal of St. Ciriacus in September, 1467; W. Worcester.

² Arrivall, 17; Pol. Poems, ii. 274.

³ Polydore.

⁴ Sir John Paston speaks of the action as having been fought half a mile from Barnet: he was with Warwick's right, and probably gave the distance from the place where he was; Paston Letters, iii. 4; so too Arrivall, 18. Measured from the end of the existing town half-a-mile would extend to the Pound; but Barnet must have grown since those days, so we measure the half-mile from the fork of the St. Albans Road, which brings us to the Windmill. The "hedge-syde" mentioned in the Arrivall as marking Warwick's line might be the west boundary of the Heath.

BATTLE OF BARNET, 14 APRIL 1471. Vol. II. To face p. 370.



his men with his left on the cross road to Monken Hadley, while his right projected northwards along the slopes under Warwick's left towards Wrotham Park¹. Edward thus got quite close to the enemy; in fact "moche nerer then he supposed". At the church of Monken Hadley he would not be 500 yards from Warwick's line as we place it. Warwick, hearing the movement, opened fire on the unseen foe; but as Edward's men were mostly under the hill, the King allowed the harmless fire to pass overhead without replying to it.

The slopes to the East of the High Stone are now cut up with gardens and hedgerows; but at the time of the battle they were unenclosed, forming part of Enfield Chace.

When day broke on Easter morning both armies found themselves wrapped in impenetrable mist; a circumstance afterwards attributed to the incantations of one Friar Bungay². As soon as there was light enough to see by³, Edward sounded his trumpets and led his men to the assault, "firste with shotte, and than and sone they . . . came to handstrokes". When the assailants came fairly within reach of each other, it was found that the two lines were not set face to face, but that Edward, at the north end, 'overreached' Warwick with his right; while at the south end of the field, his left was 'overreached' to an equal extent by Warwick's right. The Earl of Oxford and the East Anglians on Warwick's right⁴, sweeping across the open Heath, overpowered Hastings on Edward's left⁵, and drove him clean off the field. The fugitives filled London with dismay, reporting the entire discomfiture of

CHAP. XXV.

1471.

Battle of
Barnet,
April 14.

¹ See map.

² Fabian, 661: the writer, however, indicates his own disbelief.

³ "Betwyxt four and five of the cloke", Arrivall, 19; "entre chincq et vi heures", Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 125. On the 14th April the sun would rise at 5.9 a.m.

⁴ Fabian, 661. Oxford as the Lancastrian Constable would lead the van. The Pastons were with him at Barnet, and one of them was wounded; Paston Letters, iii. 3, 6.

⁵ E. Hall, 296; Kennet, History of England, i. 449. At Tewkesbury also we shall find Gloucester in command of the van and Hastings of the rear.

CHAP. XXV. the party. Had the Earl of Oxford been able to keep his
 1471. men in hand for an attack on Edward's centre matters
 might have gone ill with the House of York; but, as it
 was, the Earl's men "fell to ryfling", and the chance was
 lost¹.

Meanwhile Edward, in happy ignorance of the defeat of
 his left, was bearing the brunt of the battle, fighting his
 way uphill towards Warwick's centre; while Gloucester,
 working round towards Wrotham Park, as we may suppose,
 fairly turned Warwick's left, doubling it up, and rolling it
 back on the centre. A desperate struggle ensued: Edward,
 Clarence, and Gloucester were all in it, Edward apparently
 doing the work of two good men. What with the advance
 on his right and the retreat on his left, it would seem
 that at the last the two lines had almost faced about;
 and that Edward's men were looking south, and Warwick's
 men were looking north². A detachment of Oxford's men
 returning to the fray found themselves in the rear of their
 own friends, and were received as enemies³.

Victory of
 Edward.
 Warwick
 and Mon-
 tagu killed.

Warwick was completely beaten: Montagu redeemed his
 past vacillation by falling gallantly "in playne battayle".
 Warwick got to his horse by some trees, and was en-
 deavouring to make off when he was surrounded and killed.
 Exeter was left for dead on the field. There he was found
 lying naked: friendly hands succoured him, and eventually
 deposited him in Sanctuary at Westminster. Oxford took
 to his horse in time and so escaped.

Edward's success, we are told, was greatly helped by the
 prowess of his personal bodyguard, and of some old Yorkist
 soldiers from the garrison of Calais, who had been expelled

¹ Arrivall and Fabian, sup.

² So the account received by the Duchess of Burgundy: "*mon dit seigneur et frere se porta si honnestement que la où il avoit le visage vers le village où Warwick estoit parti . . . il se trouva le dos en le fin contre icelui village*"; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 213. The Duchess gives the name of the village from whence Warwick had started as "*Vernet*", i. e. Barnet; but for this we may safely read St. Albans.

³ J. Warkworth; A. J. Church, Chantry Priest of Monken Hadley, p. 210. Oxford's men bore a "mullet" or star with five rays, much resembling Edward's sun.

by Warwick¹. But the victory was not gained without loss. On Edward's side there fell Humphrey Bouchier, Lord Cromwell; another Humphrey Bouchier, Lord Berner's son; and Lord Say. The estimate of one engaged gives the total number of the slain as about one thousand. From first to last the action lasted from two to three hours².

The battle having been fought so early in the morning, Edward was able to ride back to Town for a triumphal reception at St. Paul's before the day was out.

Contrary to recent practice no indignities were offered to the bodies of the illustrious dead; but the magic of Warwick's name was such that it was thought prudent to expose his body and that of his brother³ for two days at St. Paul's lest "feyned seditiows tales" should assert that they were yet "on lyve" (*life*). After that their remains were sent to repose in peace in the Salisbury mausoleum, Bisham Abbey⁴.

Edward had fully justified his confidence in his own military superiority over Warwick. The Earl had gained great credit by his early successes at a time of national humiliation, but his talents were clearly political rather

CHAP. XXV.
1471.

Warwick
the King-
Maker.

¹ "Les archiers de corps", &c.; Wavrin, 212. "The welle asswred felowshipe that attendyd trewly upon hym"; Arrivall, 20. In 1475 we shall hear of 43 esquires and 316 archers of the Body; Tellers' Roll, Easter 15 Edward IV, No. 51 A. This, however, was in contemplation of the expedition to France.

² Arrivall, 18-21; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 124-127, 212, 213; J. Warkworth, 15-17; Paston Letters, iii. 4. Tradition places the thick of the fight on the slope to the east of the High Stone, a mere patch of ground. The estimates of the numbers are not worth noticing, running from 7000 to 30,000 men a side; the battle-front, as we make it, only extended about 650 yards; 1000 men in line would cover that. Even from Pymlico House to Wrotham Park is only 1030 yards; and that would not allow either for the half-mile from Barnet at the one end, or for Gloucester's over-lap at the other end. Warkworth, however, seems to speak of Oxford's wing as comprising only 800 men, a likely estimate; all make the Lancastrians the more numerous. A mortuary chapel was erected on the field: Stow saw it; tradition identifies the site with Pymlico House; A. J. Church, sup., Preface.

³ "Opne and naked"; Arrivall: "descouverz de la poitrine en amont"; J. Wavrin, 213.

⁴ E. Hall, 297; Gough, Sepulchral Monuments, ii. 223. The two Bouchiers were buried in Westminster Abbey.

CHAP. XXV. than military. He was an accomplished diplomatist and
 1471. manager of men; one who could touch the notes of popular feeling with the ease of an accomplished performer. He could be sanguinary without sacrificing popularity. The splendour of his expenditure dazzled his countrymen¹. He ruled England with undoubted success as long as Edward allowed him to do so. The extraordinary impression he made on his own age must not be ignored. "He filled for many years . . . a place which never before or after was filled by a subject, and his title of King-maker was not given without reason. But it is his own singular force of character, decision and energy, that mark him off from the men of his time. He . . . had in him the makings of a great King"². We might add what a career he might have achieved if only he had had a Charles VII for his King!

Henry VI
remanded
to the
Tower.

Henry VI came out of the fray unhurt, as at Northampton: for his few remaining days he was sent back to the Tower; Archbishop Neville going with him.

¹ For his housekeeping in London see J. Stow, 421. Apparently any man who had "any acquaintance" with his house could get as much meat "sodden or roast" as he liked to take away.

² Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* iii. 211, 212. "Regum Creator" J. Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 330. The writer was born about 1468.

CHAPTER XXVI.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Landing of Queen Margaret and Prince Edward.—Tewkesbury Campaign.—
Death of the Prince and Surrender of Margaret.—Lancastrian attempt on
London.—Death of Henry VI.

THE Neville faction might now be supposed dead ; but the Lancastrians proper did not by any means think themselves crushed ¹, and Edward had plenty of work yet before him. CH. XXVI.
1471.

On the afternoon of the day of Barnet, Margaret and her son landed at Weymouth with Lord Wenlock, Langstrother, Fortescue, and other fellow exiles. Next day, advancing to Cerne Abbey, she met the other chiefs of her party, and received the news of Sunday's disaster. Margaret would have gone back at once and saved her son from a hopeless venture ; but the Beauforts and Courtenay, with the infatuation of exiles, urged that their party was "nevar the febler" for the loss of one battle, "but rathar strongar" ; they "doubted nothings" but that the Queen's presence would speedily call up such a "puissance" of devoted partisans as would drive the hated rival from the field ². Landing of
Margaret
at Wey-
mouth.

Edward received the news of Margaret's landing on the 16th April, and at once began to organise a force for the new campaign, the Barnet men having been already disbanded. Windsor was named as the place of muster. It Edward
raises a
fresh army.

¹ See the tone of the Earl of Oxford and Sir John Paston ; Paston Letters, iii. 4-7.

² Arrivall, 22, 23 ; Polydore, 671 ; J. Warkworth, 17. Margaret had only gone to Honfleur for her passage late in March ; perhaps she had only made up her mind to cross when she heard of Edward's landing.

CH. XXVI. was supposed that the enemy might either make for
 1471. London, by Salisbury and Reading, or else draw off to
 Wales and Cheshire, according to their strength. From
 Windsor Edward could promptly check their advance
 whichever way they took¹. He went down to Windsor
 on the 19th April, and remained there over St. George's
 Day (23rd April).

Move-
 ments of
 the Lan-
 castrians.

Edward's
 advance.

The Lancastrians had promptly set to work to raise men
 in Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts, where the country had
 been diligently "laboryd" beforehand by Warwick and the
 Beauforts. Advancing to Exeter they were joined by Sir
 John Arundel and Sir Hugh Courtenay, and with their
 help succeeded in raising the "hoole myghte" of Devon
 and Cornwall, districts presumably primitive and ignorant.
 From Exeter they moved to Taunton, Glastonbury, and
 Wells, "hovinge² in the contrye", to enlist adherents.
 Their purpose was to join Jasper Tudor in Wales; but to
 put Edward on the wrong tack they sent out men to
 Shaftesbury and Salisbury to spread reports that they were
 marching on London. But the King was not taken in,
 being well supplied with "goode and sad advyse, purveyed
 for every way". Satisfied of the enemy's real intentions, he
 left Windsor on the 24th April; on the 27th he reached
 Abingdon, where he rested, next day being Sunday. On
 the 29th he marched to Cirencester, where apparently on
 the next day he learned that Margaret was expected at
 Bath that very day, and that on the morrow an action
 might be expected. Edward at once "drove" all his
 people out of the town, to have them well in hand for
 operations on the morrow, making them camp out "in the
 felde iii myle out of the towne". Next day (1st May),
 hearing nothing of the foe, he advanced to Malmesbury
 "sekyng upon them", and there he heard that from Bath
 they had turned aside to Bristol. Next day again, 2nd
 May, came word that the enemy had been so greatly

¹ In the words of the Arrivall he had them "in an angle of the land";
 p. 24.

² *Hovering*; cf. the nautical "*how to*".

"refreshed and relevyd" at Bristol that they were again disposed for action, and that their 'foreriders were occupying a position at Sodbury Hill. The *manœuvre* was doubtless a feint, as when Edward came up in the afternoon nothing was to be seen or heard of the enemy. Again the King halted for information from his scouts. In the course of the night, that is to say about three in the morning, trustworthy reports came in that the enemy, after all, were marching on Berkeley and Gloucester.

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1471.

The armies
move up
the Severn
valley.

A council of war was held, and timely warning forwarded to Richard Beauchamp, son of Lord Beauchamp of Powyk, who was in command at Gloucester, to hold the place at all hazards till succour came. The message arrived "in right good season"; as about 10 a.m. on the 3rd May, the way-worn Lancastrian host, after marching all night, appeared before Gloucester in fond hope of a friendly reception and a safe transport across the Severn. They were not without friends in the town; but Beauchamp had taken his measures in time, and the gates were sternly closed against them. Loth to depart, but afraid to linger, with Edward almost in sight, the doomed army had to struggle on another weary ten miles to Tewkesbury, which they reached about 4 p.m., having accomplished some forty-four miles from Bristol at a stretch. Edward's well-appointed host was understood to be making for Tewkesbury; but as there was no handy bridge across the Severn, and neither horse nor man could go another mile, they resolved "to abyde there th' aventure that God would send them"; and so, then and there "they pight them in a fiede, in a close even at the townes end; the towne and the abbey at their backs; afore them and upon every hand of them fowle lanes, and depe dikes, and many hedges, with hylls and valleys; a ryght evill place to approche as cowlde well have been devysed"¹.

The Lan-
castrians
halt at
Tewkes-
bury.
Their
position
there.

¹ Arrivall, 28. The description applies to the ground at the present day as seen from the Camp Ground, the point from which Edward first saw it; but the "dikes" seem to have disappeared, and the new road to Gloucester opens up the position.

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1471.

The writer describes the position from the point of view of an enemy advancing to attack it. To the weary Lancastrians the grassy slopes of the "Gastons" field and the surrounding heights must have seemed a very harbour of refuge. As a camping-ground the site was perfect; as a battle-field its only defect was the circumstance that the encircling bend of the Swilgate brook left no door of escape to the rear in case of need ¹.

Edward had been holding a parallel course all day along the south-west slopes of the Cotteswolds, through a "champain contrye", while the Lancastrians were wending their way through wooded lanes below, the King's scouts keeping an eye upon them all the time.

And "that Friday was right-an-hot day xxx myle and more; whiche his people might nat finde in all the way horse-mete, ne mans-meate, ne so moche as drynke for theyr horses, save in one litle broke, where was full letle relefe, it was so sone trowbled with the cariages that had passed it".

Towards evening Edward reached "a village callyd Chilterham", where he was told that the enemy had reached Tewkesbury, and were "takinge a field" for battle. True to his tactics, after a brief necessary halt, he took his men on a further stage to camp out against the morrow ².

The old road from Cheltenham to Tewkesbury went by Elmstone-Hardwick, Tredington, and Ridgeway: probably he camped at one of these places ³.

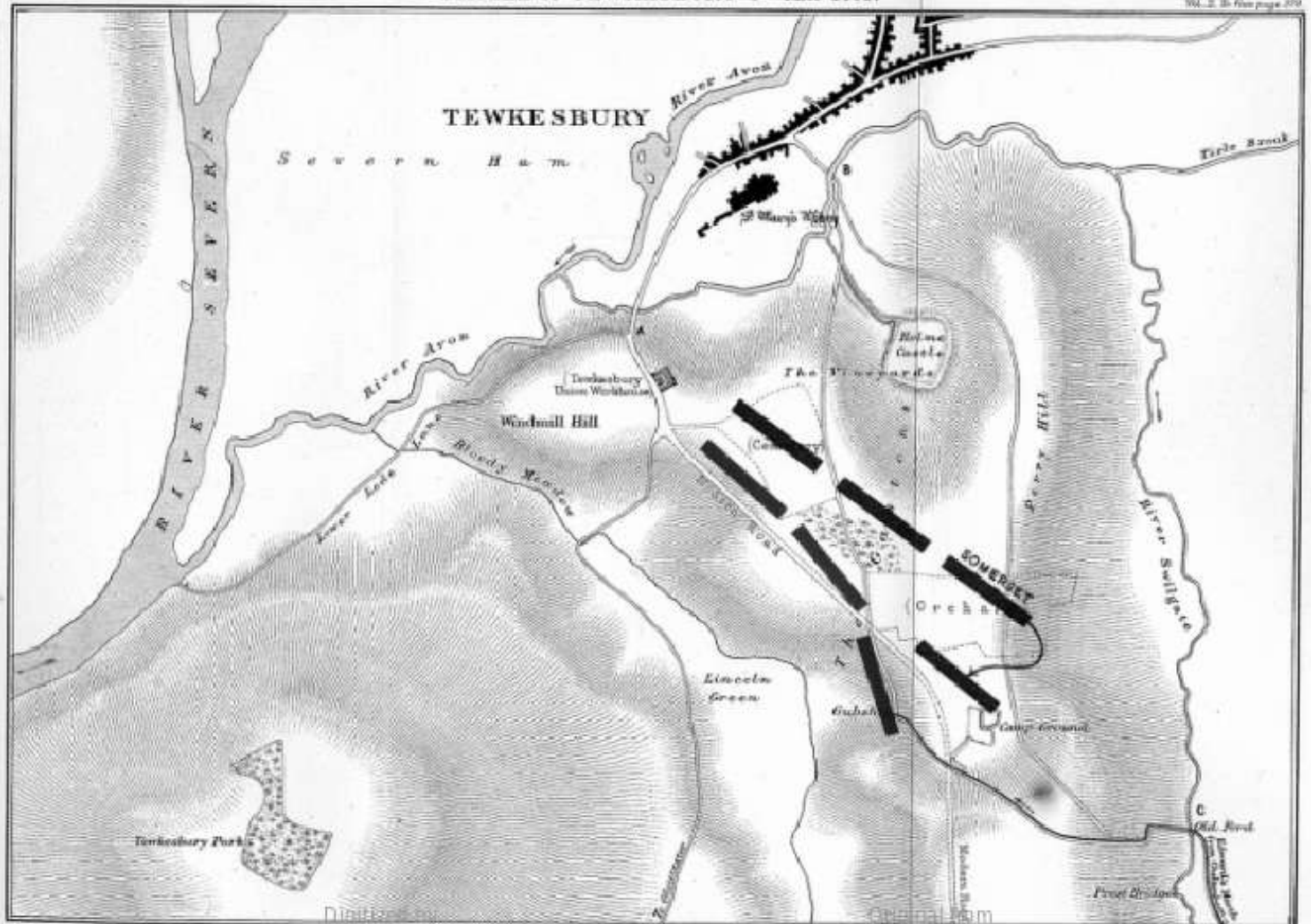
Battle of
Tewkes-
bury.

On Saturday, 4th May, Edward advanced in three divisions, as usual; the van being led by Gloucester, the

¹ See map. The Gastons is described as a large field, then open, but now comprising three meadows on the east and five on the west side of the present tumpike road, and extending from Holme Hill to Gubshill; Bennet, *History of Tewkesbury*. The old road from Gloucester by which Margaret must have come passed by Lincoln Green and the Lodge gate of Tewkesbury Park, joining the present road opposite the entrance to the cemetery, which must have formed part of the Gastons.

² Arrivall, 22-28; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 128-137; Comines-Dupont, iii. 285, 286; J. Warkworth, 17, 18; Polydore, 669-672.

³ Bennet, *sup.* 28.



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Lancastrian Forces thus

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centre by himself, and the rear by Hastings¹. Having crossed the ford of the Swilgate², and ascended two fields on the opposite side, Edward, on reaching the point due south of the old earthworks in the Camp Ground³, apparently had a choice of ways before him; one along the ride of Perry's Hill, the other round the south end of that ridge to Gubshill⁴. Edward chose the latter, which took him into the open ground of the Gastons, while the other was beset with trees, and unfit for the movements of troops. Sensible, however, of the risk of an attack on his right flank from that quarter, he posted a "plomp" of 200 spears, in the Camp Ground, as we suppose, to watch the wooded lane⁵. A little beyond Gubshill farm-house Edward would enter the Gastons. The troops were deployed, and Gloucester sent forward to begin the assault, the King remaining in position to watch the course of events.

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1471.

We are told that the Lancastrian position was "pyght . . . in a marvaylows strong grownd . . . full difficult to be assayled"; and that in their front they had "so many hedges, trees and bussches that it was right hard to approche them nere and come to hands"⁶. We may suppose them to have been posted along the highest ground, from the present Union, or perhaps the Windmill

¹ So E. Hall, 300.

² See map where it is marked C.

³ On the Ordnance map the field is named Margaret's Camp. I was assured on the spot that the proper name was Camp Ground: the earthworks are far too small and too substantial to have been erected on the present occasion. They suggest a Roman fort, perhaps one of those of Ostorius Scapula, A. D. 50.

⁴ Both roads, or rather lanes, are traceable, and both are spoken of locally as old roads to Cheltenham; both would enter Tewkesbury at ford B on the map.

⁵ The locality is described as "a parke and therein moche wood"; situate "upon the right hand" of the enemy's "field". This must be taken for the right-hand side as viewed by the writer. The only height from which Edward's left flank could have been assailed was the hill in Tewkesbury Park, quite out of reach, and separated by low ground. The 200 spears were posted "nere a qwarter of a myle from the fiede." The Camp Ground would be about that distance either from Edward's position or from the Lancastrian left.

⁶ Arrivall, 29. The trees and bushes that evidently dotted the slopes of the Gastons exist no more.

CH. XXVI. Hill, on their right, to the highest point of the orchard on
 1471. their left. Somerset¹, who commanded the van, was posted on the left, the line being fronted to its rear. The Prince, with Lord Wenlock and Sir John Langstrother, had charge of the centre; and the Earl of Devon of the right².

Gloucester attacked the Lancastrians "with shott of arrows", the Royal "ordinance" also giving them "right-a-sharpe shwre". The Lancastrian reply was comparatively weak, but the strength of their position enabled them to keep the King completely at bay. The struggle might have been lengthy, but that Somerset, whether unable to stand the Yorkist fire, or inspired "of great harte and corage" to distinguish himself by a brilliant strategic move, left his position, and, taking his men round behind the ridge, "passyd a lane", i.e. the road along Perry's Hill; and then, wheeling round, came down from the height upon the King's flank. Edward, only too glad to have an enemy within reach, turned to meet him half-way, and, crossing a hedge and ditch, "put them" backwards up the hill, Gloucester coming to support him. Then the 200 spears charged Somerset on his left, and between them he was routed and driven down the reverse slope towards the Swilgate³.

Defeat of
the Lan-
castrians.

Edward then pushed into the Lancastrian position by the way left open for him by Somerset, and all was over, the slope of the ground being now in his favour. The Lancastrians fled in all directions; many were drowned, "namely at a mylene (*mill*), in the medowe fast by the towne": the right wing must have been driven past ford A into the Bloody Meadow.

John Beaufort⁴, Devon, and Lord Wenlock fell fighting. Prince Edward, by all accounts a fine young man⁵, "was

¹ Edmund Beaufort II, brother of Henry Beaufort II, executed in 1464. He was recognised as Duke in February, 1471; Doyle.

² Arrivall, 29, 30; J. Warkworth, 18; E. Hall, 300.

³ Arrivall, 29, 30; cf. J. Warkworth, 18; and E. Hall, 300: who both notice the fact that Somerset left his original position.

⁴ Younger brother of the Duke of Somerset.

⁵ "Moult beau jeune prince"; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 91.

taken fleinge to the towne wards, and slayne in the felde" ¹. CH. XXVI.
 It would seem that he fell into the hands of Richard ^{1471.}
 Crofte, the King's old tutor, who was sheriff of Hereford- Prince
 shire at the time ². From all this it appears that he might Edward
 have been saved, but that he was deliberately put to the sword.
 sword.
 sword. If we suppose his fate to have been referred to
 Edward in person, and decided by a silent wave of the
 hand, we may get as near as is consistent with probability
 to the tale which brings the Prince face to face with his
 conqueror, to be idly questioned, and then brutally silenced
 with a "stroke" of a gauntleted hand ³.

Entering the town, Edward went straight to the abbey church, where the clergy met him in procession. He found the building crowded with trembling fugitives. It was explained to him that the abbey did not enjoy a legal 'franchise' of Sanctuary, and that the fugitives might lawfully be removed and executed outside.

But the King had no wish to be hard on the common folk, and freely gave them their lives: "at the reverence of the blessyd Trinitie, the moste holy vyrgyn Mary, and the holy martir Seint George by whos grace and helpe he had that day atteygned so noble a victory" ⁴. This indulgence

¹ Arrivall, sup. Warkworth adds, "whiche cryede for socoure to his brother-in-lawe the duke of Clarence." For further lists of the slain, see J. Warkworth, 18; Paston Letters, iii. 8.

² E. Hall, 301; Retrospective Review, Second Series, i. 473. Crofte was knighted on the field; Paston Letters, iii. 9.

³ The story first occurs in Fabian's Chronicle (originally printed in 1496), p. 662. It does not occur in the Cotton MS. Vitellius, A. xvi, the original basis of this part of Fabian's work. Polydore, who wrote under Henry VIII, copies Fabian, only leaving out the blow; p. 762. Hall, who wrote a few years later, represents Edward as offering a reward after the battle for the discovery of the Prince dead or alive—a clear absurdity; p. 301. Warkworth, the Lancastrian, who in 1473 became Master of Peterhouse, says nothing of this incident, but he does allege that the Prince "cryede for socoure" to his brother-in-law, Clarence; p. 18. The other writers of the time, English and foreign, simply state that he was killed on the field; Croyland, Cont. 555; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 184; Chron. Tewkesbury (MS. Harl. 545), fol. 132; MS. Vitellius, sup. fol. 132, dors.; Comines-Lenglet, i. 166. Wavrin and Basin copy the official account, which of course has nothing of the incident.

⁴ Arrivall, 30. J. Warkworth has it that a priest met the King at the

CH. XXVI.

1471.

Execu-
tions.

was not extended to the leaders apprehended either there or elsewhere in the town¹. On the Monday (6th May) the Duke of Somerset, Sir John Langstrother (Prior of St. John's, and late Treasurer), Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Gervaise Clifton, Sir Hugh Courtenay, Sir Humphrey Audley, and ten or twelve others were brought before the Dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, as the Constable and Marshal of England, and summarily condemned and executed; but the bodies were again spared all "dismembringe or settinge up", all being committed to decent burial. Of the prisoners of position, some ten or fifteen were spared, among them Sir John Fortescue².

With respect to the numbers engaged it would seem that the Lancastrians were the more numerous³. Of Edward's force we are told that more than 3000 of these were 'footmen'⁴: that would imply a total of 4000, or 5000 at the very outside; the total of the killed was estimated at 1000.

Margaret was not found at Tewkesbury. She had retired before the battle with the Princess of Wales and Lady Courtenay to a small House of Religion at some distance—perhaps Deerhurst⁵—where she was found three days later. Crushed at last she humbly placed herself 'at the King's commandment'.

Surrender
of Mar-
garet of
Anjou.

In honour of this crowning triumph some forty-three Knights were dubbed on the field; among them John Broke Lord Cobham, and George Neville, second son of Lord Abergavenny⁶.

church door with the Host, and extorted a formal promise of pardon for all from Somerset downwards. If Warkworth could retail this he would have retailed the story of Prince Edward if he had heard it.

¹ On this exception Warkworth bases a charge of breach of faith against Edward, as if he had pledged himself to spare all without exception. According to the Tewkesbury Chronicle, however, the town and monastery were plundered, and the church desecrated with blood: likely enough in the heat of victory.

² Arrivall, 28-31; cf. Warkworth, 18, 19; E. Hall, 300.

³ So Croyland, Cont. 555; Comines-Lenglet, i. 166.

⁴ Arrivall, 28. No inference as to the numbers engaged can be drawn from the battle-field, which is quite unlimited.

⁵ So J. H. Blunt suggests; Tewkesbury Abbey, p. 89.

⁶ See the names, Paston Letters, iii. 9; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 184; Bennet, History of Tewkesbury, p. 30.

Throughout the two campaigns Edward had exhibited qualities of the highest generalship, dash, perseverance, punctuality, and circumspection. His own especial practice of refusing to allow his men to rest in towns on the eve of action showed a clear perception of the weak point of a feudal army. His restoration was most emphatically his own achievement: he owed nothing to any one but himself and the 1200 or 1500 adventurers who under his leadership had reconquered England. After ten years of reign he had clearly less hold on the affections of the country than the House of Lancaster. When he fled in 1470 no man held out a hand to him: when he came back in 1471, strong in arms, nobody would join him. On the other hand, Margaret must have received very considerable support; and even now, after two crushing defeats, Henry VI still had Jasper Tudor in arms in Wales; and a considerable but scattered following in the North and West. The House of York laboured under the odium of the bloodshed of the last sixteen years. It is also probable that Edward's private habits offended the clergy and people¹. It must be remembered that the Court life of the last four reigns had been eminently orderly and pious.

CH. XXVI.

1471.

Edward IV
a great
Captain;but not
popular.

Advancing to Worcester on the 7th May, Edward was assured that the Northern Lancastrians were arming. He turned to Coventry, calling for fresh and larger levies². But the northern gentry had no longer any "Nevells' blode" to lead them, and the Earl of Northumberland (Henry Percy IV) came forward to play a very salutary part; suppressing risings on the one hand, and on the other deprecating all active measures of "pacification". To prove the peaceable state of the country he came to Coventry with only a small

Alarm of
fresh Lan-
castrian
risings.

¹ Even the friendly ballad (Pol. Poems, ii. 275) makes Edward say:

"I promesse the good Lorde my lyffe to amende,
I knolege me a synner wrappid in woo".

² Arrivall, 31, 32; J. Warkworth, 20. The payments to soldiers for attendance on the King in the Tewkesbury campaign only extend to twenty days, say 24th April-13th May; Issues, Easter 11 Edward IV. The chief payment for wages of war was only £1718; pay for 3436 archers for the time. 1650 mallets (malles) of lead were also paid for.

CH. XXVI. following, "and nat arrayed in manar of war". Edward
 1471. accepted his assurances, and turned his forces towards
 London, where again his presence was urgently needed.

The Bastard of Fauconberge.

Attempt on London.

Thomas Neville, the Bastard of Fauconberge, had been appointed Vice-Admiral by Warwick, with command of a fleet in the Channel¹. After a course of successful privateering² he conceived, rather late in time, the bold idea of capturing London in Edward's absence, and restoring Henry. Taking with him 300 men from the garrison of Calais he landed in Kent (5th May?)³, and, advancing to Canterbury, contrived by one means or another to raise a considerable force, plunder being a leading inducement held out. On the 12th May⁴ he appeared at London Bridge, with ships and men, and opened negotiations for a peaceable entry; but the citizens would not listen to him: whereupon he marched off to cross the Thames at Kingston, vowing to storm and sack London from the North. But Earl Rivers promptly manned some barges, and rowing up the Thames defeated his purpose⁵. Messengers were also sent to Coventry, and Edward at once posted off 1500 men (14th May), himself following two days later⁶. Unable to cross the river at Kingston the Bastard came back along the Surrey side, and took up his position in St. George's Fields⁷.

Assault on the City.

Two days' fighting ensued. On the 13th Neville opened a cannonade with guns landed from his ships, and burnt the "utter gate" (Southwark end) of London Bridge; but the citizens had the best of it, their guns silencing his⁸. On the 14th a determined assault was made in three places,

¹ Arrivall, 33; Polydore, 673. In the winter of 1469-70 he had been employed by Edward; Tellers' Roll, Michaelmas 9 Edward IV.

² See Foed. xi. 463.

³ Warkworth gives this as the day of his appearance before London, but this is clearly wrong.

⁴ Arrivall, 33; Comines-Dupont, iii. 288.

⁵ Issues, Easter 11 Edward IV.

⁶ Arrivall, 34; Comines-Dupont, sup.

⁷ A large open space between Lambeth and Southwark, so called from the church of St. George the Martyr, near the present "Elephant and Castle".

⁸ De Comines, sup.; Pol. Poems, ii. 277.

a contingent of Essex rabble co-operating. The Bastard attacked the drawbridge in the middle of London Bridge from his ships "wyth gunpowdir, and wildefire and straw"; while other parties attacked Bishopsgate and Aldgate. The gates were fired; an outwork was carried for a time, and a quantity of house-property destroyed, including all the Bridge-houses, 'being thirteen in number'; but the Earl of Rivers sallied on the insurgents from a "posterne" in the Tower with great effect¹: the Earl of Essex and others from the country had joined the citizens, and the attack was finally defeated at all points. But as the citizens failed to follow up their success, the Bastard withdrew to his ships at Blackwall, from whence he crossed to Blackheath, remaining there some three or four days more on a hill—presumably Shooter's Hill—and then his host broke up, he himself retiring to Sandwich².

CH. XXVI.
1471.

Defeat
of the
Bastard.

Incapacity for effective action hung like a spell on the House of Lancaster: had the efforts made on this occasion, and at Tewkesbury, and at Barnet been combined, the year 1471 might have seen the end of the rival Dynasty³. Even Jasper Tudor could not manage to be in time to help Margaret at Tewkesbury. After the battle he retired to Chepstow, and again to Pembroke, pursued by Edward's Welsh adherents. Eventually he sailed from Tenby for France, with his nephew Henry, the young Earl of Richmond: forced by weather to land in Brittany they were sheltered by Duke Francis II, a last thorn in Edward's side⁴.

On Tuesday, 21st May, Edward again entered London in triumphal state⁵. Margaret of Anjou and her ladies

Edward IV
returns to
London.

¹ Lord Dudley, the Constable of the Tower, had 100 men there, mostly drawn from Calais; Issues, Easter 11 Edward IV.

² Arrivall, 36, 37; Croyland, Cont. 556; J. Warkworth, 21; Pol. Poems, sup.; cf. R. Fabian, 662; E. Hall, 302; Stow, Survey, cited Chronicles of London Bridge, 287.

³ So Polydore remarks, 674; also Comines, i. 165 (ed. Lenglet).

⁴ Polydore, 674; Paston Letters, iii. 17. Negotiations for their surrender were opened at once by Edward; Issues, sup.

⁵ Arrivall, 38. The Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, and eight Aldermen were knighted outside the city gates; Id.; J. Warkworth, 21; Pol. Poems, ii. 280; "betwixt Iseldon and Sorsditch" (Islington and Shoreditch); J. Stow, 429.

CH. XXVI. graced his train: they had been brought to the King at
 1471. Coventry¹.

End of
 Henry VI
 (21st-22nd
 May).

Fauconberge's attempt sealed poor Henry's doom. It was clear that as long as he lived neither the Dynasty nor the country would be safe from trouble. We are told that on the very night of Edward's entry, between 11 and 12 o'clock², he was made away with in the Tower. At any rate next morning his body was exhibited at St. Paul's, strongly guarded, and with only the face exposed to view. Both at the time and afterwards Gloucester's name was associated with the deed. If he carried the fatal mandate to the Tower that might be a sufficient foundation for the charge³. The Tower at the time was in the keeping of Lord Dudley, with Robert Radclyff and Richard Haute as his subordinates.

On the 24th May, apparently, Henry's remains were taken by water to a temporary resting-place at Chertsey Abbey, the foundation of Erkenwald, the sainted Bishop of London⁴.

¹ Croyland, Cont. 555; T. Basin, ii. 269.

² J. Warkworth, sup.

³ The date seems fixed by the statement "Obiit inter vicesimum primum diem Maii et xxii diem Maii"; MS. Bibl. Reg. 2 B. xv. f. 1. Other authorities give the 21st May, as MS. Faustina, B. viii. f. 4; and others again the 22nd May, the Eve of Ascension Day, as MS. Arundel (Coll. Arms), No. 5, f. 171 (Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 184); "In arce London ferro transfigitur et occiditur", MS. Otho, B. xiv. f. 221; "Upon ascention evyn Kyng Henry was brought from the tower through Chepe unto Powlys upon a bere, and abowte the beer mure glevys and stavys than torches, who was slayne as it was said by the Duke of Glowceter", MS. Vitellius, A. xvi. f. 133. That Henry was violently put to death is also asserted more or less distinctly by J. Blakman, 303; Croyland, Cont. 556; and T. Basin, ii. 271. Gloucester's name is introduced by Comines-Lenglet, i. 165; R. Fabian, 662; and Sir T. More. Richard III, p. 4. The official Arrivall calmly asserts that Henry died "of pure displeasure and melencholy"; p. 38.

⁴ Pay was drawn by Henry's keepers up to the 24th May; Foed. xi. 712; J. Herd, cited J. Warkworth, xiii.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Reorganisation of Government.—Jealousies of Clarence and Gloucester.—Parliament.—Intended renewal of war with France announced.

STILL full of energy Edward hastened into Kent to stamp out the embers of disaffection and punish the guilty¹. Nicholas Faunt, the Mayor of Canterbury, and other leaders were executed: the Bastard, who had remained at Sandwich with his ships, sent to beg for mercy. Gloucester went down to receive his submission², but the Bastard failed to come to terms with him, and, taking to the sea, hovered about the coasts till he was finally apprehended and beheaded³. The work of mulcting minor offenders was delegated to the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Essex⁴; and they "satt uppone all Kent, Sussex and Essex that were at the Blakhethe, and uppone many othere that were noght there; for some manne payed cc marke, some a c pownde, and some more and some lesse, so that it coste the porest manne vii s. whiche was noght worthe so myche, but was fayne to selle suche clothinge as thei hade

CH. XXVII.

1471.

Assizes in Kent.

¹ 23rd May; Arrivall, 38; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 185.

² 26th May; Arrivall, 39.

³ He was off the coast of Essex in June; Issues, Easter 10. He was apparently taken at Southampton in September (before the 15th September), carried to Middleham, and executed there. His head was set up on London Bridge 27th September; see Paston Letters, iii. 14, 17; R. Fabian, 662; Polydore, 674; J. Stow, 425. A brother suffered with him; Paston Letters, sup.

⁴ Issues, Easter 11 Edward IV.

CH. XXVII. . . and so the Kynge hade out of Kent myche goode and lytelle luff" (*love*)¹.

1471.

On the 29th May Edward could write to his friends at Bruges that his authority was fully restored²: on the 1st June he returned to Town³.

The Ministry.

The machinery of government had already been set a-going. On the 1st May the Treasury had been re-opened under the Earl of Essex. Bishop Stillington, of Bath, resumed the charge of the Great Seal; and Bishop Rotherham, of Rochester, that of the Privy Seal. Lord Hastings was sent over with 1500 men to take possession of Calais⁴. On the 26th June young Edward was created Prince of Wales: on the 3rd July allegiance was sworn to him by a Grand Council of Peers, Spiritual and Temporal⁵.

Foreign Relations.

Relations with foreign countries were promptly renewed, and first and foremost with Burgundy⁶. The truce with Scotland was republished, and commissioners appointed to hold a friendly "dyet" at Alnwick, and suggest an inter-marriage. A truce with France was signed; the Duke of Burgundy having again come to terms with Louis⁷; while steps were taken to heal the various breaches caused by recent events in the web of friendly intercourse with Brittany, Spain, Portugal, and the Hanse Towns⁸.

Archbishop Neville.

These transactions covered the year from August, 1471, to August, 1472. During this period Archbishop Neville was finally disgraced and imprisoned. Sent to the Tower after the battle of Barnet he had been released on the 4th

¹ J. Warkworth, 21. Upwards of £2000 were extracted from the offenders; see below.

² See the letter, Comines-Dupont, iii. 292; Wavrin-Dupont, iii. 146. With this letter Wavrin closes his long work, begun perhaps in 1446, perhaps some years later, and ended in 1472.

³ R. Fabian; Three Fifteenth Century Chron. sup.

⁴ Tellers' Roll, Michaelmas 11 Edward IV; Croyland, Cont. 557.

⁵ Rot. Parl. vi. 9; Foed. xi. 714. "The ceremony of his investiture is in the MS. Cott. Vespasian, C. x. f. 217"; J. G. Nichols.

⁶ Croyland, Cont. sup. The writer was on the mission.

⁷ A truce had been signed between them 4th April, 1471; Martin; Sismondi.

⁸ See Foed. xi. 716-763. The quarrel with the Hanse Towns was said to date from the 21st November, 1468; below, p. 394.

June¹, and had sworn allegiance to the young Prince of Wales in July. During the autumn and winter he appears to have lived at Moor Park with his usual establishment, or something like it : but he was again found offending, corresponding, it was said, with the Earl of Oxford, who was still at large and defiant. On the 25th April, 1472, the Archbishop was brought to the Tower by night, and two days later, again by night, shipped off to one of the dependencies of Calais, either Ham or Guisnes².

More troublesome to deal with than the relics of Lancastrian partisanship were the growing jealousies between Clarence and Gloucester³. The latter had received as the reward of his fidelity the Great Chamberlainship, with the Middleham, Sheriff-Hoton, and Penrith estates, all forfeited by Warwick. He was also named Justiciar of North and South Wales, but this appointment was shortly taken from him and divided between the Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke⁴.

Clarence, on the other hand, received the Courtenay estates in Devon and Cornwall⁵. But Gloucester demanded the hand of the Lady Anne Beauchamp, widow of the young Prince who fell at Tewkesbury, with a view to a complete partition of the Warwick inheritance. This plan was vehemently opposed by Clarence, who went so far as to spirit away the lady. Gloucester, however, traced her in London, in the disguise of a kitchen-maid, and placed her in Sanctuary at St. Martin's. We are told that the two Dukes argued their case in person before the King in council with a skill and pertinacity worthy of professional lawyers⁶. The matter was still under discussion in

¹ J. Stow, 425.

² Paston Letters, iii. 33, 39; R. Fabian, 661; J. Warkworth, 24-26; J. Stow, 426. Guisnes is given by Vitellius, A. xvi; Ham by Otho, B. xiv, and Warkworth.

³ "Transeio facilliter rem incurabilem"; Croyland, Cont. 557.

⁴ William Herbert II, son of the man killed after Edgecote. The appointments were made May-September, 1471; Rot. Pat. 11 Edward IV, pt. 1.

⁵ Id. 28th August; Rot. Parl. vi. 166.

⁶ Croyland, Cont. 557.

Jealousies
of Clarence
and Glou-
cester.

CH. XXVII. February, 1472; Clarence sulkily protesting that his brother might have the lady, but that they should "*parte no lyvelod*" (*divide no property*)¹. Gloucester, however, carried the day, obtaining both the hand of the lady and a partition of the 'livelihood': but Edward pledged himself to take nothing more from Clarence²; while the latter received the Earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury³, a fresh appointment as King's Lieutenant of Ireland for twenty years, and the "Grete" Chamberlainship, taken from Gloucester; who again was consoled with the Constableness of England and the Wardenship of the Forests North of the Trent⁴. Family discord was the rock upon which the House of York was doomed to founder.

Finance. Another standing difficulty, but not one peculiar to Edward's Government, was that of finance. As may be supposed, no balance was found in the Exchequer when the Earl of Essex resumed office in May, 1471. An immediate supply was procured by squeezing the higher clergy, the merchants, and a few others. In the Easter term of 1471 we find 'gifts' and loans entered on the Receipt Rolls to the amount of £12,000 or £14,000. The Florentine G. Caniziani contributed £6600; the Merchants of the Calais Staple £1500; the Bishop of Winchester (William of Waynflete) £1333; the Bishop of Lincoln (Thomas of Rotherham) £1000; the Bishop of Durham (Lawrence Booth) £700, and so on; Cardinal Bouchier being let off with £66 13s. 4d., while strange to say nothing is entered from Archbishop Neville⁵. Of these, the only items repaid in any shape were the loans from Caniziani and the Staple Merchants, who obtained leave to ship wool

¹ Paston Letters, iii. 38.

² 18th March; Pat. 12 Edward IV, pt. 1, m. 19; Rot. Parl. vi. 15, 25. The bulk of the property by rights belonged to the widowed Countess of Warwick, who was in Sanctuary; but her rights were ignored.

³ 25th March; Lords' Report, Append. v. 390.

⁴ March-May; Rot. Pat. sup. Gloucester was reappointed Constable 29th February, 1472; Plumpton Corr. 26, note. He became Admiral of England in August, 1472; Archaeol. vii. 69.

⁵ Tellers' and Pell Receipts; Rolls, Easter 11 Edward IV; the two being in substantial accord.

and other goods duty free to the amount of their advances ; CH. XXVII.
 the £700 of the Bishop of Lincoln, who obtained land ¹ ; 1471.
 and another £700 for which Crown jewels were held in
 pawn. In the autumn a fresh levy was made to the
 amount of £12,904. Of this Sir John Arundel, late sheriff
 of Devon, contributed £3333 in money or securities ; the
 Bishop of Winchester £2000 in securities ; the Bishop of
 Lincoln £800, &c. The 'gifts' exacted from the men
 of Kent and Essex figure in this total to the amount of
 £2000 and upwards ².

These exactions seem the less excusable, as at the close
 of the Easter term 'assignments' or drafts on the Collectors
 of Customs had been issued to an amount exceeding
 £24,000. These assignments, apparently, had been duly
 honoured, because we have further assignments, to the
 amount of £10,000 or so, returned to be cancelled, the
 drawees not admitting assets ³.

In January, 1472, Convocation granted a Tenth, and
 after that the business of the Treasury resumed a more
 normal course. Thus, in the Easter term (12 Edward IV)
 we have loans to the amount of £10,000 or £11,000 ;
 but of this total only about £1151 was not repaid, the
 rest being merely anticipations of the clerical Tenth. In
 the Michaelmas term the loans seem trifling, and mostly
 repaid ⁴.

By August, 1472, the country seemed sufficiently settled ⁵
 to admit of writs being issued for a Parliament.

The Session was opened at Westminster on the 6th ^{Parliament}
 October by the newly-appointed Bishop of Rochester, John ^{at West-}
^{minster.}

¹ Rot. Pat. 11 Edward IV, pt. 1. The arrangement with the Calais mer-
 chants was to cover £20,276 due to them ; £10,000 of this was for the dowry
 of the Duchess of Burgundy ; £1500 for a *douceur* to the Lancastrian element
 at Calais to induce them to march out peaceably.

² Tellers' Roll, Michaelmas 11 Edward IV. Not one of these sums appears
 on the Pell Receipt Rolls ; an inexplicable discrepancy.

³ Pell Receipt Roll, Easter 11 Edward IV.

⁴ Pell Receipt Rolls, Easter and Michaelmas 12 Edward IV.

⁵ A general pardon was apparently proclaimed about November, 1471 ;
 Paston Letters, iii. 19, 21. For the names of those who took advantage of
 the boon see the bulky Pardon Roll, 11 Edward IV.

CH. XXVII. Alcock the 'disciple' of Bishop Stillington, whose health
 1472. was understood to be unequal to the work of managing a Parliament¹.

Warlike policy again announced. The Bishop had to announce, on behalf of the King, an intention of resuming the war against the "auncien and mortall" adversary of France. The war was announced as to be prosecuted in the most determined spirit, and with the purpose of recovering all the "oold enheritaunce of the Corone and Rcame of Fraunce and the Duchies of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Guyan"².

The Duke of Burgundy had doubtless stipulated for war with Louis as the price of his support; and Edward may have been fired with the ambition of exhibiting his military talents on a European field. But it seems likely that the plan was conceived mainly from motives of internal policy, to divert attention from domestic heart-burnings, and find occupation for superfluous energies. Wavrin, the historian, was of opinion that no man could rule the English for any length of time successfully without a foreign war.

Money Grant.

Whatever the motive, war was pressed on the lieges; but it would seem that to secure the desired grant concessions had to be made to the Lancastrians. At any rate the Session was marked by a preliminary war grant, and by reversals of attainders³. The war grant took the shape of a vote of 13,000 archers for one year. At the stipulated wage of 6*d.* a day the amount would "draw" to £118,625; but the only contribution that Parliament thought it necessary to offer in the first instance was a special subsidy or income-tax of one-tenth of landed revenues for one year; the money to be raised by special commissioners and kept

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 4, 111, 122; Croyland, Cont. sup. John Chadworth, Bishop of Lincoln, having died 23rd November, 1471, Rotherham was translated to Lincoln, and Alcock appointed to Rochester; Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum*.

² Rot. Parl. sup.

³ The Croyland writer describes the Parliament as marked by "multorum proscriptiones". Later in the Parliament the Welles, Veres, and others who had shown determined hostility were attainted, but the Welles and Willoughby estates were regranted to the heiress Joan Welles and her husband, Sir Richard Hastings.

in hand till the army was actually on foot; all contributions to be refunded if the expedition had not sailed by Michaelmas, 1474. CH. XXVII.
1472.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal contributed to this impost, voting their share by a separate grant, their estates not being liable to contribute to ordinary Subsidies¹, as the reader knows. But the Commons' grant was made to include the private possessions of spiritual persons 'not being Lords of Parliament'.

The grant of the archers was based on the precedent of 1453, and the income-tax had several precedents; but the King's agents, profiting by the experience of 1450, insisted that a man's income should be assessed at its true value, and not taken at what he pleased to return it at².

The attainders reversed were twenty in all, including those passed on the late Earl of Northumberland (Percy), Lord Neville, and William Tailboys; Sir Henry Roos, Drs. Morton and Mackerell, and William Joseph³. In almost all cases restitution of property was granted, prior grants being cancelled, except where either Clarence or Gloucester were concerned. Attainders
reversed.

On the 30th November the Parliament was adjourned to the 8th February, 1473⁴.

When Parliament resumed, the Houses were forced to admit that the special Tenth on land was an insufficient contribution; and an ordinary Subsidy was granted in addition, but subject to the usual deduction of £6000, and under the same condition as the Tenth, namely, that the money should be kept in hand by special commissioners, and not paid out till the archers had signed their Indentures⁵. The Lords, however, had waived this stipulation with respect to their Tenth on land, and accordingly the magnificent sum of £2461 3s. 4d. had been paid into the Further
Money
Grants.

¹ See Rot. Parl. vi. 119; cf. MS. Vitellius, A. xvi. f. 134: "This yeare was a greate cessyng (*assessing*) of all lords' lands."

² Rot. Parl. 1-8.

³ Rot. Parl. 16-33. Morton had already been made Master of the Rolls; Rot. Pat. 12 Edward IV, pt. 1; 16th March, 1472.

⁴ Rot. Parl. p. 4.

⁵ Id. 39-41.

CH. XXVII. Exchequer¹, as representing the produce of an income-tax of £10 per cent. on the landed estates of the entire Peerage of England.
 1473.

The money grant was again balanced by reversals of Lancastrian attainders; chief of these was that of Humphrey, Lord Dacre, who was allowed to divide the family estates with Richard Fenys, the other Lord Dacre², already distinguished as Lord Dacre of the South³.

The business of the Session also included a fresh arrangement with the Merchants of the Calais Staple. Since April, 1466, they had been allowed to retain £5000 a year out of the wool duties towards payment of £32,861 due to them. That debt had now been liquidated; but a fresh sum of £21,000 had accrued due to them. The arrangement, therefore, was renewed for a nominal period of fifteen years, the annual instalment to be retained being reduced to £4333 6s. 8d. a year⁴.

On the 8th April the Parliament was again adjourned to the 6th October⁵.

The autumn Session was opened by Lawrence Booth, Bishop of Durham, who had been appointed Chancellor on the 27th July, *vice* Bishop Stillington of Bath, still incapacitated by ill-health⁶. Stillington's deputy, Bishop Alcock of Rochester, had doubtless been found wanting.

Nothing further was done in the paramount matter of the impending war, the Session being only marked by the ratification of a settlement recently effected with the Hanse Towns, and by a Resumption Act.

The quarrel with the Easterlings was stated to have

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 42; Tellers' Roll, Michaelmas 12 Edward IV.

² Rot. Parl. 44-47. Humphrey was brother to Ralph Dacre who fell at Towton. He was distinguished as Lord Dacre of Gillesland or the North. Among the others pardoned were Sir Richard Tunstall and Sir Roger Heron of the Ford.

³ Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 157.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 55-61. The primary payment to the garrison was kept at £10,022 4s. 8d. as before; see above, 325.

⁵ Rot. Parl. 41. For petitions complaining of recent acts of violence, see pp. 51 and 54.

⁶ Foed. xi. 783; Foss.

arisen on the 21st November, 1468, when they had been condemned in a suit in London to pay £13,520 to some English merchants¹. The pacification was dated from the 19th September (1473), when a provisional treaty was signed at Utrecht². All causes of action were mutually released, and all salvage bonds cancelled. The charters in favour of the merchants from the time of Edward I downwards were confirmed. In terms these only conceded the right of commercial intercourse, subject to the payment of the ancient Customs' duties³; but as fresh duties, from which the Hanse men claimed to be exempt, had been imposed on others from time to time, the actual result was that the Hanse merchants now paid less than Englishmen⁴.

CH. XXVII.

1473.

A settle-
ment with
the Hanse
Towns.

This settlement was doubtless made to secure the friendship of the Easterlings in the coming war. But Louis XI was also bidding for their support⁵. To trump his card further concessions were shortly made, including the right to hold in perpetuity the premises in Thames Street known as the "Styleyerd", or "Stileyerd" (*Steelyard*), with similar *dépôts* at Boston and Hull; a confirmation of the right to have the keeping of the Bishop's Gate, London; and a charge on the Customs for £10,000 damages for losses at sea⁶.

The Resumption Act was as sweeping as that of 1467; all the King's public and private estates being resumed,

Resump-
tion Act.

¹ So MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. xvi. f. 127. The date of the judgment-decree agrees exactly with that given on the Parliament Rolls as the date of the quarrel.

² Foed. xi. 779, 780, 800.

³ Rot. Parl. vi. 65-88.

⁴ E. g. on common cloth where natives paid 1s. 2d. and other foreigners 2s. 9d. the piece, the Hanse men paid only 1s. For poundage on general merchandise they paid 3d. where all others paid 1s.; Enrolled Customs Accounts, *passim*.

⁵ He signed a treaty with them in the course of this very year; Martin, France, vii. 75.

⁶ 28th February, 1474; Foed. xi. 793-803; Rot. Parl. 123. On the whole matter cf. Lappenberg's *Stahlhof*, cited Pauli. Further premises in "Wyn-gose lane" were bought for the "Esterlings" in 1475; Tellers' Roll, Michaelmas 15 Edward IV. Cannon Street Railway Station now occupies the site of the *Steelyard*.

CH. XXVII. and all grants revoked, as from the 21st December, 1473¹; while the holders of all outstanding tallies or assignments drawn on the revenues of York, Lancaster, or Wales prior to the 10th December, 1470, were required to bring them in for proof of the sums actually due. The clauses of special exemption numbered 221; but while the grants in favour of Gloucester and all Court favourites, high and low, were saved, those in favour of Clarence were not saved².

Sir John
Fortescue.

One interesting attainder reversed in this Session was that of Sir John Fortescue, the ex-Chief Justice of England, taken prisoner at Tewkesbury. Having in exile written a defence of the rights of the House of Lancaster, he had since purchased forgiveness by establishing the rights of the House of York "so clerely", as his petition informs us, "that nowe there remayneth no colour or matere of argument to the hurt or infamy of the same right and title". His attainder was fully reversed with restitution of property, but, as usual, without mesne profits³.

On the 13th December the Parliament was again adjourned to the 20th January, 1474.

Uneasy
state of
the coun-
try.

The general history of the year 1473 is meagre. The country was recovering from war and pestilence⁴, but for all that not yet at ease. Omens and rumours of impending trouble filled the air. "Ther is a pytte in Kent in Langley Parke", says the Master of Peterhouse, "ayens (*against*) any batayle he wille be drye, and it rayne never so myche; and if ther be no batayle toward, he wille be fulle of watere, be it nevyre so drye a wethyre; and this yere he is drye. Also this same yere ther was a voyce cryenge in the heyre betwyx Laicetre and Bambury . . . herde a long tyme cryinge Bowes! Bowes! whiche was herde of xl menne; and some menne saw that he that cryed soo was a

¹ From this and other dates in the measure it is clear that it was not finally settled till 1474, though entered as of this Session.

² Rot. Parl. vi. 71-98, 161.

³ Rot. Parl. 69. Fortescue's tract in support of the House of Lancaster is preserved; MS. Harl. 545, f. 136 (J. Stow's *Collectanea*); Pauli.

⁴ The years 1471 and 1472 witnessed a severe visitation of the plague; Paston Letters, iii. 15-22, 24, 40; J. Warkworth, 23; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 91.

hedles manne", &c., &c.¹ In April Sir John Paston CH. XXVII. writes, "As ffor the worlde I woot nott what it menyth, 1473. men seye heer (London) . . . that we shall have adoo in hast"².

The uneasiness must have been partly caused by the machinations of Clarence, who had not yet resigned himself to the partition with his brother. The Welsh March was in so disturbed a state that the Queen and Prince of Wales were sent to Hereford early in the spring to hold an Assize. But the Grand Jury refused to present unless they received special pledges "of the Kyng's goode grace, and assistance of the Lordes there present". They also demanded that if they did present, the persons presented should not be "lightly . . . delyvered withoute due examination"³. The King himself went down to Northampton for Easter (18th April), and continued moving about the Midlands all summer and autumn; but even then confidence was not restored. In November, Sir John Paston writes that the King's followers were sending to London for their "harneys" (*armour*). "It is seyde ffor serteyn that the Duke off Clarence makyth hym bygge (*big*) in that he kan, schewyng as he wolde but dele with the Duke of Gloucester; but the Kyng ententyth in eschyewyng all inconvenyents to be as bygge as they bothe, and to be a styffeler atweyn them"⁴.

The only outcome, however, of all the misgivings and all the portents was a last spasmodic attempt by the Earl of Oxford, who had been in foreign parts since the battle of Barnet. Having fitted out a small squadron at Dieppe, Landing of the Earl of Oxford.

¹ J. Warkworth, 24, q. v. for other portents. One Hogan, a soothsayer, was sent to the Tower for spreading tales; Paston Letters, iii. 82, 83, 85, 92. Langley Park, Kent, is near Beckenham. It has several springs and ponds, but to none of them do any magic virtues seem to be attributed at the present day. The pond, however, situate on the highest ground of all, is said never to run dry. Might that be due to the peaceful nature of our times?

² Paston Letters, iii. 83.

³ Rot. Parl. vi. 160; Paston Letters, iii. 83. As the Grand Jury seemed to anticipate, twenty-three men presented by them were acquitted offhand at Ross in October; *Ib.*

⁴ Paston Letters, iii. 85, 93.

CH. XXVII. he appeared off the Essex coast in May. Unable to gain a footing there, he hovered about the south coast for some time¹, and finally, on the 30th September, established himself at St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall². His brothers George and Thomas Vere and Lord Beaumont were with him. The task of reducing them was at first left to Sir Henry Bodrugan, of St. Gorran, a local magnate, but no progress was made³. The King then raised an armament of four ships and 900 men, all told; a considerable force, and accordingly estimated by an intelligent writer of the time at 11,000 men⁴. With this army John Fortescue, the Sheriff of Cornwall, blockaded the Mount from the 9th December to the 2nd February, 1474, a reduced force of 260 men being employed for six months longer. The Earl and his brothers then surrendered on receiving a promise of their lives: they were sent to Ham⁵. Beaumont must have escaped, as he was neither pardoned nor brought to trial.

1473-4.
St. Michael's
Mount
seized.

¹ Paston Letters, iii. 88, 90, 92.

² J. Warkworth, 26; W. Worcester, Itinerary, 122.

³ Cf. Rot. Parl. vi. 139.

⁴ W. Worcester, sup. The reader's attention is again invited to this illustration of the worth of chroniclers' estimates, as the strength of the force is fixed by clear record evidence. Compare the case of the 500 Irishmen at Rouen estimated by Monstrelet and others as 8000 strong: preceding vol., p. 261, A. D. 1418.

⁵ J. Warkworth; W. Worcester, sup.; Paston Letters, iii. 107; Tellers' Rolls, Michaelmas 13 and Easter 14 Edward IV.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Parliament.—Ambitious schemes of Charles the Bold.—Expedition to France.—Treaty of Picquigny.

ON the 20th January, 1474, Parliament resumed; but apparently Chancellor Booth again failed in his leadership, and on the 1st February he had to announce an adjournment to the 9th May, alleging, on behalf of the King, an uncertainty as to the intentions of the Duke of Burgundy with reference to the war¹. CH. XXVIII.
1474.

The May Session was again short, and, so far as war grants were concerned, barren of results. But a final partition of the Warwick estates was effected as between Clarence and Gloucester. The Countess of Warwick, who had left her sanctuary at Beaulieu to be placed under Gloucester's protection in the North², was stripped of every rag of property, whether held in dower or in her own right: all was conferred on the two Dukes and their wives "as yf the seid Countes were nowe naturally dede". Apparently the Beauchamp-Despenser estates were given to Clarence, and the Salisbury-Neville estates to Gloucester³. Adjourned
Session of
Parlia-
ment.
Partition
of the
Warwick-
Salisbury
estates.

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 98.

² June, 1473; Paston Letters, iii. 92; see also a letter printed Gairdner, Richard III, p. 27.

³ See Rot. Parl. vi. 100, 124, 125; Lords' Report, Append. v. 394, 398. For a petition to the King by the Countess Dowager praying for restitution of her rights, see Gairdner, sup. 26. For details of the Yorkshire property received by Gloucester, see Davies, York Records, 47.

CH. XXVIII. The Act of Partition was accompanied by a most
 1474 singular proviso, disclosing an awkward doubt as to the canonical validity of Gloucester's marriage. The reader will remember that Clarence's marriage to the Lady Isabel was delayed for want of the necessary dispensation from the Pope, the two being cousins; a dispensation must have been equally necessary in the case of Gloucester and the Lady Anne, but apparently none had been procured: it was provided therefore that if Gloucester should be "divorced" from the Lady Anne, that is to say if the marriage should be declared null by the Pope, the partition should nevertheless hold good, if Gloucester should afterwards "be lawfully married" to Anne; or even if he should not be lawfully married to her, provided he did his best to be so, and should not marry any other woman¹.

Bishop
Rother-
ham Chan-
cellor.

During this Session Bishop Booth was relieved of the Great Seal, doubtless on account of his unsuccessful management of the Commons. On the 25th May he was succeeded by Bishop Rotherham of Lincoln², who three days later adjourned the Houses for Whitsuntide³.

Further
Money
Grants.

On the 6th June Parliament resumed, sitting till the 18th July; and then at last Bishop Rotherham and William Alington, the Speaker, brought the Commons to the desired point of undertaking the entire charge for the 13,000 archers for the year. It was stated that the special Tenth or Income Tax of 1472, as got in from commoners, had so far yielded £31,410 14s. 1½d.; but that nothing as yet had been contributed thereto by the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Cheshire, or the bishopric of Durham: nor had anything been yet raised on account of the ordinary Fifteenth and Tenth voted in 1473. The Commons were prepared to grant this afresh for the 11th November then coming; and they had settled a scheme of assessment for the defaulting northern counties, whereby they would be forced to contribute £5383 15s. to

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 100.

² See Foss, Judges, iv. 382.

³ Rot. Parl. 104.

the Tenth of 1472. But all these proceeds put together CH. XXVIII.
1474. would only make up £67,477 15s. 4½d. towards the desired £118,625, leaving a balance of £51,147 4s. 7¾d. unprovided for. The Commons, finding the King unshaken in his purpose, took heart of grace and voted this balance as a supplemental Subsidy, to be assessed on the goods, chattels, lands, and rents assessable to ordinary Fifteenths and Tenths. As a new assessment would be necessary, a table was drawn up specifying the contribution of each county, city, or borough entitled to be separately taxed¹. It was agreed that the money should be raised half at Midsummer, and half at Martinmas, 1475. The commissioners were directed to tax goods and chattels in priority to land; and also to tax the poor usually contributing 'little or nothing' to Fifteenths and Tenths. This was justified on the plea of the extra burden borne by the land under the Tenth of 1472. The money was again directed to be kept in hand, and not paid over till the shipping was ready; but the time for sailing was extended to Midsummer, 1476².

The whole amount voted in the Parliament was nearly equal to four Subsidies to be raised in three years; more than Edward had received in all the previous years of his reign. Henry V had received six Subsidies between Martinmas 1413 and Martinmas 1417; but no subsequent grants had equalled the present subventions.

The clergy too contributed their share. During the currency of this Parliament (1472-1475) the Convocation of Canterbury granted three Tenths and a half, and that of York two Tenths.

In their efforts to avoid giving, the Members would doubtless have the full support of their constituents. In March, 1473, before the second grant had been formally announced, John Paston, writing to a brother who was apparently in the House, says, "God send yow . . . rather

¹ We may note that the lands of Lords of Parliament were expressly exempted; as also those of the clergy assessable to clerical Tenths; Rot. Parl. vi. 115.

² Rot. Parl. vi. 111-119.

**

D d

CH. XXVIII. the Devyll in the Parlement Howse, . . . we sey, then ye
 1474. shold grante eny more taskys (*taxes*)”¹.

Benevo-
lences.

Edward's ultimate success must be regarded as a proof of the strength of his Government. It was doubtless to disarm opposition that we find him this year riding up and down the country in the intervals of Parliament². But, as if the contributions legally voted were not enough, we are told that the King “used the people in such fayre maner that he reysed therby notable summes of money the whiche way of the levyinge of this money was after named a benyvolence”. We also have an amusing story of a City dame who gave the King £20, and, having been thanked by him with a loving kiss, forthwith doubled her offering³. The individual amounts taken were not large: the Mayor of London gave £30; the Aldermen £10 to £16 each; the usual contribution invited was the wages of an archer for half a year, or £4 11s. 3d. In putting pressure on yeomen and the like Edward was acting on the shabby recommendation of Parliament to tax persons usually “but litell or not charged” to ordinary Subsidies⁴.

The business of the Session included the reversal of a couple of attainders, one of them that of Thomas Daniel,

¹ Paston Letters, iii. 82.

² Between March 1474 and January 1475 Edward visited Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Coventry, Daventry, Guildford, Woodstock, Worcester, Gloucester, Bristol, Bedford, Bury St. Edmunds, Lincoln, &c.; Privy Seals, 14th year.

³ R. Fabian, 664; E. Hall, 308. So also Croyland, Cont.: “nova et inaudita impositio muneris ut per benevolentiam quilibet daret id quod vellet, imo verius quod nollet”; p. 558.

⁴ Rot. Parl. vi. 116. On the Tellers' Roll, No. 51 (Easter 15 Edward IV), we have payments “collectoribus benevolentiae dom. Regi concess’”; but the only receipt ostensibly entered under this head occurs in 1478, when we have fifteen sums, making £50 in all, paid in “de denariis domo Regi erga viagium suum in regn. Franc. anno xv° de benevolentia sua concess’”; Receipts, Michaelmas 18 Edward IV. The loans, however, in 1474 came to a considerable amount, £13,300; but of this a considerable part, perhaps the chief part, was repaid; Tellers' and Receipt Rolls, Easter and Michaelmas 14 Edward IV. The proceeds of the benevolences seem to have been paid in to the war account with those of the legal taxes. Cf. also Paston Letters: “The Kyng goth so nere us (*is so hard upon us*) in this cuntre both to pcoer and ryche that I wote not how we shall lyff”; May, 1475.

of Rising, Suffolk's old tool. Arrangements were also made for marrying the Queen's eldest son, Thomas Grey, afterwards Marquis of Dorset, to Cecille Bonville, in her own right Baroness Bonville and Haryngton ¹. CH. XXVIII.
1474.

The Parliament, however, had not yet run its course: on the 18th July the Chancellor adjourned the Houses to the 23rd January, 1475, with assurances of the King's 'immense gratitude'. As for certain grievances of which the Commons had complained, his Highness would attend to them in person, as and when a convenient opportunity might offer ².

The nation being thus fully committed to the war, a series of treaties with the Duke of Burgundy were forthwith signed. Embroiled with his neighbours all round, as we shall see, Charles was anxious for the immediate co-operation of the English. An auxiliary force on account had already been sent ³: but, as de Comines remarks, 'things move slowly in England. There the King can undertake no war without Parliament, which is just and right ⁴: and the King is all the stronger and better served for it . . . but these Estates will give no aids except for a war with France, or Scotland, or the like; and then money is voted freely and liberally, especially for an expedition to France' ⁵. Treaties
with
Burgundy.

Charles undertook to assist Edward to recover his rightful inheritance of Normandy and Guienne, 'and also the kingdom of France' from the usurper Louis. Edward promised to come over by the 1st July, 1475, with 10,000 men, Charles pledging himself to support him in person with all his forces. In return Edward made an absolute cession of the

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 104-109. Cecille was the only child of William Bonville III, Lord Haryngton in right of his mother, who fell at Wakefield.

² Rot. Parl. 120.

³ In March Sir John Parre had mustered 1000 bows for Burgundy; and Lord Audley and the Gascon Duras 2000 bows for Brittany; Foed. xi. 791; but as there was nothing doing in Brittany it seems likely that all went to Burgundy. The English assisted at the siege of Neuss (3000 archers alleged); Lord Stanley was wounded there; 2nd September; Comines-Lenglet, i. 198, ii. 214.

⁴ "Qui est chose juste et sainte".

⁵ Comines-Lenglet, i. 197, 199.

CH. XXVIII. Duchy of Bar, the counties of Champagne, Nevers, Rethel, Eu, and Guise; the cities of Tournay and Langres; and the disputed territory on the Somme; the whole free from all superiority: he also released the superiority for the existing possessions of the Duke held of the Crown of France. A special treaty provided that Edward might be hallowed at Rheims, notwithstanding the cession of Champagne; and that the holy *Ampulla*¹ should be at his disposal if he should prefer to be crowned elsewhere².

Prepara-
tions for
War.

Preparations for war were now pushed on in all directions³. The northern frontier was made safe by the betrothal of the King's youngest daughter Cecille, aged five years, to James, son of James III of Scotland, aged two years⁴. Invitations to cooperate against Louis were addressed to Ferdinand of Arragon, King of Naples; the Emperor Frederick III; and (*sic*) King of Hungary⁵. An existing truce to the 1st May, 1475⁶, precluded any prior attack on France; but a preliminary demand for the restitution of Normandy and Guienne was addressed to Louis. He sent the English heralds back with the best horse in his stables; following up this gift with that of a donkey, a wolf, and a boar⁷. The donkey was understood to symbolise Duke Francis II of Brittany, the wolf the King of England, and the boar the Duke of Burgundy.

Parlia-
ment.

On the 23rd January, 1475, the long Parliament of 1472 was once more brought to Westminster, to sit till the 14th March. Questions connected with the impending war en-

¹ This contained the oil with which the Kings of France were hallowed.

² 25th-27th July; Foed. xi. 804-814. The Bastard of Burgundy negotiated these treaties in London.

³ For munitions, &c. ordered, see Foed. 837-843.

⁴ 26th October; Foed. 814-816, 821-834. Edward undertook to pay 20,000 marks English as dowry, by instalments, the first in three months. The long truce of 1465 was again confirmed, but relations with Scotland had been very peaceable since that time. 2000 marks were duly paid 3rd February, 1475; Foed. 850.

⁵ Foed. 816, 834, 836. The Hungarian King whose name was not known to the Chancery clerks must have been Matthias Corvinus.

⁶ Comines-Lenglet, iii. 315.

⁷ Id. ii. 112. We hear of a French embassy in London in November; Paston Letters, iii. 119.

grossed all attention. Men engaged for service were empowered to appoint attorneys to take possession of lands that might devolve on them in their absence; they were also empowered to make feoffments to the uses of their wills, and the like, the King setting an example by making a feoffment to the use of his will. Some received facilities for raising money on settled estates and Crown pensions, the concessions in all cases involving sacrifices of Crown rights¹. Then it was discovered that the proceeds of the Tenth of 1472, through over long keeping, had begun to melt away. In some cases the collectors had speculated with the money and lost it; others had hidden it away so safely that they could not find it; others were said to be dead, &c. Peremptory orders were issued for bringing in the whole at once². Lastly, the Commons were induced to obviate the difficulties attendant on the assessment of a novel tax by commuting the grant of £51,147 4s. 7½*d.* for an equivalent grant in terms of Subsidy, so to speak; that is to say, they recalled the grant of £51,147 4s. 7½*d.*, giving in lieu thereof one whole Subsidy and three-quarters of another Subsidy, together equal to £53,597³.

CH. XXVIII.
1475.

Fresh War
Grant.

As every one knew what he or she had to contribute to a regular Fifteenth or Tenth, the assessment would give rise to no new questions.

Connected with the war movement also was the renewal of the old Acts against truce-breakers⁴. In this and other particulars we may trace a distinct disposition to follow the policy of Henry V.

The business of the Session again included attainders and reversals of attainders. Among the men attainted were the Earl of Oxford and his brothers; the late Lord Welles and his son Sir Robert; their accomplice, Sir Thomas

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 127, 129, 162.

² Id. p. 120.

³ Id. 149-153. The whole Subsidy was to be raised fifteen days after Easter, the three-quarters' Subsidy in November; Tellers' Roll, 15 Edward IV. In fact, nothing more is heard of the three-quarters' Subsidy till the autumn of 1480, when it was called in for a war against Scotland.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 163.

CH. XXVIII. De la Lande; and Sir Thomas Tresham, who fell at
 1475. Tewkesbury. The de Veres could hardly complain of their
 attainder, which was made subject to the stipulations of
 their capitulation in 1474. Their case was an aggravated
 one. The father and an elder brother having been executed
 for conspiracy in 1462, John, the present Earl, was freely
 restored by Edward in 1465. In November, 1468, he had
 to be incarcerated in the Tower for a time. Unable to
 take warning by the past, he broke into open rebellion in
 1470, and had been actively hostile ever since. The at-
 tainder of the Welles', however, was simply a resettlement
 of the Welles and Willoughby estates on the heiress Joan
 Welles, who had married Sir Richard Hastings¹.

Business in
 Parlia-
 ment.

A certain amount of legislative work of a more permanent
 character was also got through in one sitting or another of
 the Parliament, the whole being credited on the Statute
 Book to the 12th year (1472-1473). The sheriffs, who, as
 a rule, went out of office on the 6th November in each
 year, though their successors might not be appointed for
 days or weeks after, were authorised to act officially in
 returning writs and the like up to the actual induction of
 a successor². Foreign silks were ordered to be measured
 in the Customs House to ensure the payment of the proper
 duties³. Foreign merchants were required to import four
 bowstaves of yew for each "tuntight" of other goods in-
 troduced⁴. The Act (42 Edward III, c. 5) forbidding
 escheators to underlet or sell their offices was confirmed⁵.
 Renewed powers were taken for appointing Commissioners
 of Sewers for fifteen years⁶; while the Acts from Magna
 Carta downwards for keeping down weirs, mills, and
 "kidels" (*stake-nets*) on navigable rivers were confirmed⁷.

¹ For the attainders reversed see Rot. Parl. vi. 129-131; for the attainders
 passed see id. 144-149.

² Statute 12 Edward IV, c. 1; Rot. Parl. 154. Their powers were extended
 by the Statute 17 Edward IV, c. 7.

³ Stat. c. 3; Rot. Parl. 154.

⁴ Stat. c. 2; Rot. Parl. 156.

⁵ Stat. c. 9; Rot. Parl. 157.

⁶ Stat. c. 6; Rot. Parl. 158.

⁷ Stat. c. 7; Rot. Parl. 158.

On the 14th March the Parliament was finally dissolved ¹. CH. XXVIII.

Having been in or near London all the spring, Edward 1475.
went down to Canterbury about the 7th June, remaining
there till the 20th, when he went to Sandwich². On that Edward
day the Prince of Wales was appointed Warden or Regent³, crosses to
and the shipment to Calais probably began⁴. Calais.

The grand army included 1150 spears and 9143 bows; His army.
while artillery, transport and army-works corps, hospital
staff, chaplains and choristers, brought up the total to
nearly 11,000 men; besides 2000 bows going to Brittany
from Weymouth under Lord Audley and the Gascon
Duras⁵. The force was undoubtedly the largest that had
ever left the shores of England, and all were equipped and
turned out in the usual high style of English armaments⁶.
Clarence and Gloucester apparently divided the chief com-
mand under the King, supported by the Dukes of Norfolk
and Suffolk; the Queen's son, now Marquis of Dorset; the
Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke⁷, Rivers⁸, and Or-
mond; the Lords Grey of Ruthyn, Grey of Codnor,
Hastings, Fitz-Waryn⁹, de l'Isle¹⁰, Cobham, Scrope, Stanley,
Ferrers, and Howard¹¹, and the Scottish exiles Earl Douglas
and Lord Boyd. One thing only was lacking to the host—
a firm and united purpose.

¹ Ro. Parl. 153.

² Privy Seals, 15 Edward IV.

³ Foed. xii. 13. Bishop Alcock was apparently left to act as Chancellor at home, Rotherham going abroad with the King; see Foss, Judges.

⁴ The shipment was said to have taken three weeks.

⁵ See the war accounts; Tellers' Rolls, Michaelmas 14 and Easter 15 Edward IV. One list, which seems to give Clarence's division, is printed; Foed. xi. 844. De Comines estimated the numbers at 1500 spears and 15,000 bows; i. 212; Basin at 36,000 men; ii. 357.

⁶ Comines-Lenglet, i. 212.

⁷ William Herbert II, son of the man executed after Edgecote in 1469.

⁸ Anthony Wydeville, previously Lord Scales.

⁹ Fulk Bouchier, son of William Bouchier, Lord Fitz Waryn, who died *circa* 1471.

¹⁰ Edward Grey, younger brother of the Queen's first husband, who had married Elizabeth Talbot, heiress of the last lord.

¹¹ John Howard, son of Sir Robert Howard by Margaret Mowbray, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1397. Howard was knighted by Edward on the field of Towton, where he probably led the East Anglian contingent; in 1470 he was summoned to the House of Lords.

CH. XXVIII. Edward himself went from Sandwich to Dover on the
 1475. 4th July, and probably crossed on that day: on the 6th he
 signs at Calais¹. But before a single man had set foot
 at Calais all hope of achieving anything had vanished.

State of
 affairs in
 France.
 Charles the
 Bold. France, united and consolidated under Louis XI, was
 prepared as she had never been before; Edward's chances
 depended on the cooperation of the Duke of Burgundy,
 and he had squandered his resources in isolated hostilities
 while Edward was getting ready.

The only man in the world from whom the Duke of
 Burgundy had anything to fear was his suzerain, the King
 of France; and Louis' undisguised purpose of crushing and
 incorporating Burgundy justified an attitude of jealous
 watchfulness on the part of his vassal; and such had been
 the policy of Philip the Good. His rash son had inaugu-
 rated a more active policy, invading France in the war of
 the *Bien Public*, as we have seen, and again wresting away
 the Somme towns lawfully redeemed by Louis. During
 the summer of 1471, when a definite understanding with
 Edward was effected², Charles' attention was still engrossed
 by France. So up to June, 1472, when he found excuses
 for invading Normandy and devastating the Pays de Caux.
 That war was ended on the 3rd November (1472) by a truce
 which had been kept going ever since, the Duke being
 occupied elsewhere³.

His
 scheme.
 The King-
 dom of
 Burgundy. He had begun to disclose the ambitious idea of reconsti-
 tuting the old Kingdom of Burgundy, which would take in
 the whole basins of the Rhine and Rhone⁴. But instead of
 trying to lull the suspicions of the people to be affected by
 his scheme, he had united them in prompt resistance by
 brutality and want of tact. For the investiture of the pro-
 posed Kingdom, Charles looked to the Emperor Frederic
 III; and with that view had offered the hand of his

¹ Privy Seals, sup. Polydore gives the 4th July as the day of the crossing;
 p. 677.

² Croyland, Cont. 557. The writer was on the mission, as already mentioned.

³ See Martin, France, vi. 67-75; Comines-Lenglet, i. 175-186; ii. 94, 201;
 iii. 198-233.

⁴ See E. A. Freeman, Historical Geography of Europe, i. 266.

daughter and heiress, Mary of Burgundy, to the Emperor's son Maximilian. Frederic was brought to Trèves to meet the Duke in the autumn of 1473; but Charles showed such arrogant pretensions that the Emperor fled from Trèves when the day for the investiture had been fixed¹. Active resistance to Charles' plans began in Alsace, where he had acquired the county of Ferrette by way of mortgage from Sigismund of Austria. Charles allowed his lieutenant, Peter de Hagenbach, to misgovern the people so cruelly that the whole upper Rhine became banded against him². On the 25th March, 1474, a defensive alliance was formed at Constance between Duke Sigismund, the Margrave of Baden, the Swiss, and the Alsacians, Louis abetting them. De Hagenbach was seized, brought to trial, and finally executed at the gate of Brisach on the 9th May³. As if all this did not offer him enough to do, Charles allowed himself to be diverted to an attack on the territory of Cologne, by way of clearing his access from the lower to the upper Rhine. In July (1474) he began the siege of Neuss on the Rhine, a town appertaining to Cologne; the devastation of Alsace being committed to his Marshal, de Blamont⁴. But Neuss, supported by Germany, offered a determined resistance; and the Swiss, crossing their frontiers, defeated de Blamont at Héricourt, between Belfort and Montbéliard (13th November).

Charles clung to the siege of Neuss with pig-headed obstinacy: in the spring of 1475 the Emperor came to the rescue with a vast array of feudal levies; but the Duke would listen to no terms. When the truce with France expired on the 1st May, Louis entered Picardy and recovered Montdidier, Roie, and Corbie: on the 20th June the Burgundian gentry were defeated by the Duke of Bourbon near Château-Chinon. On the 27th Charles

¹ 20th September–24th November; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 208, 209; T. Basin, ii. 321–327; Martin, vi. 79–81.

² The rule of de Hagenbach in Alsace has been made the subject of a work by C. Nerlinger (Paris, 1891).

³ Martin, 87, 88; T. Basin, ii. 327–332; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 312.

⁴ Martin, 89–91.

CH. XXVIII. abandoned the siege of Neuss : his treasures were spent, his army in so dilapidated a condition that he was ashamed to let the English see it ¹.

1475.
Deliberations at
Calais.

Edward having landed at Calais the Duke hastened to explain the state of affairs ². The descent at Calais was contrary to his advice, which was in favour of a landing at the mouth of the Seine for an advance on Paris ³, in which the Duke of Brittany could cooperate : he now urged a march by Laon towards Lorraine, where his own troops were.

Advance
into Artois.

Under these circumstances the English began to urge the King to go home without further ado ⁴; but Edward, after remaining idle at Calais for a fortnight ⁵, took the road to Lorraine, and led his men as far as Peronne. There the Duke of Burgundy refused to admit them to the town, making them camp outside. A further advance was made towards St. Quentin, where Edward hoped to find a friend in the Count of St. Pol, the intriguing Constable of France ⁶. But St. Quentin opened fire on the English van ; and then it was reported that Louis XI was waiting for them with a powerful army on the other side of the Somme, to dispute the crossing of the river. This was serious, because Louis, with his usual unflinching policy, had profited by Edward's delay at Calais to devastate beforehand all Artois and Picardy. Cooped up in a corner, the English would soon be reduced to a starving condition ⁷.

Louis
offers to
negotiate,

Louis now conveyed to the English headquarters a private intimation of his willingness to treat ⁸. The

¹ Martin, France, vi. 91-95 ; Comines-Lenglet, i. 197, 205, ii. 214 ; Comines-Dupont, i. 325 ; T. Basin, ii. 338, 356. The last-named writer was with Charles at Neuss.

² The Duke came to Calais in person on the 14th July. The Duchess had come to greet her brothers on the 6th ; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 217.

³ See his letter to Edward ; Comines-Dupont, i. 336.

⁴ Croyland, Cont. 558.

⁵ Edward apparently stayed at Calais till the 19th July ; on the 20th he signs at Guisnes ; on the 24th and 25th at Fauquemberg.

⁶ Louis of Luxemburg, brother of the Duchess of Bedford, the King's mother-in-law.

⁷ T. Basin, ii. 357 ; Comines-Lenglet, i. 216, ii. 217 ; Foed. xii. 14 ; Comines-Dupont, iii. 301.

⁸ So de Comines and the Croyland writer.

overture was promptly accepted. On the 13th August, the Duke of Burgundy being absent, Edward pledged himself to evacuate France on receiving 75,000 *écus* down, with a guarantee of 50,000 *écus* more yearly during his life. Louis jumped at the offer: anything but territory he was prepared to give¹. CH. XXVIII.
1475.
his offers
accepted.

The adjustment of details took sixteen days more, a personal meeting between the two kings being included in the arrangements. The Duke of Burgundy, who had been with the English up to the 12th August, returned on the 18th to find all his hopes dashed: he had an interview with Edward on the 19th, and another on the 20th, and then took final leave in utter disgust².

For the interview the bridge of Picquigny on the Somme, some six miles below Amiens, was selected. Louis came to Amiens on the 25th August³; the English headquarters being brought to the neighbourhood of the town. The English were given free admission to Amiens, and liberally treated at Louis' expense. Provisions had been allowed to enter their camp as soon as a preliminary armistice was signed⁴. Meeting at
Picquigny.

The incidents of the meeting on the bridge at Montereau being still fresh in the minds of all, jealous precautions were taken for the present occasion. The bridge was roofed over as a shelter from the weather, which, as it turned out, proved very wet. The covered enclosure was divided across the middle by an open grating barring all access from one end of the bridge to the other.

On Tuesday, 29th August, the kings came to the meeting-place, each from his own side of the river, a stated

¹ Comines-Lenglet, i. 223-225. Louis sent at once to Paris to raise the money; Id. ii. 119. Each *écu* or crown was to be worth thirty-three *gros blancs* of French money, "triginta tres Magnos Albos"; Foed. xii. 16. Fabian estimated the crown at 4*s.*, thus making the 75,000 crowns = £15,000; p. 664; so too Croyland, Cont. 559.

² Comines-Lenglet, ii. 217, i. 227. The English were still at Saint-Christ-Briost, near Nesle (dept. Somme).

³ Comines-Dupont, iii. 306.

⁴ Comines-Lenglet, i. 228; T. Basin, ii. 359.

CH. XXVIII. number of men accompanying them. Before they were
 1475. allowed to enter the enclosure a careful inspection of the
 arrangements was made; four men from the French side
 going with the English party, and four Englishmen with
 the French party. Louis having taken up his position on
 the bridge, Edward advanced, wearing a black velvet
 'berret' with a *fleur de lys* set with stones, an ornament of
 doubtful taste. He looked quite the King, but was already
 growing stout¹. The two approached with mutual genu-
 flexions, and then embraced through the grating. After a
 few opening words of civility in French, the formal docu-
 ments were produced by the attendants, verified, and sworn
 to by the kings. They then conversed together privately
 for a time. Some presentations followed, and the inter-
 view came to an end. Louis, who always had a jest ready,
 gave Edward a general invitation to visit Paris. 'I will
 find you pleasant dames, he said, and an easy confessor,
 my lord here, the Cardinal of Bourbon. And the King
 laughed, for he knew that the Cardinal was a good fellow'².

Treaty of
 Picquigny.

The compact between the kings was embodied in four
 several documents. By the first all open questions between
 the two were referred to the arbitration of four men;
 Cardinal Bourchier and Clarence being the umpires named
 on the one side, and the Archbishop of Lyons and Count
 Dunois on the other. This was an easy mode of shelving
 the question of the claim to the Crown of France. By the
 same instrument Edward renewed his pledge to evacuate
 France peaceably on receiving the 75,000 *écus*. By a
 second treaty a truce for seven years was established. By
 the third the two kings formed a league of 'perfect amity'
 during their lives; each binding himself to support the
 other against all rebellious subjects, and to do his best to
 reinstate him if expelled. They further agreed for a 'diet'
 to be held to settle rates of exchange for the currencies of

¹ "Et sembloit bien Roy"; de Comines. Edward would show to advantage
 beside Louis, a mean-looking man, who took a pride in being shabbily dressed.

² "Bon compagnon"; see Comines-Lenglet, i. 231-236; ii. 119; and
 Comines-Dupont, iii. 306.

the two countries; and they undertook to contract a marriage between the Dauphin Charles and the Lady Elizabeth, Edward's eldest daughter, as soon as the two parties should be of age. The fourth and last document was Louis' bond for the pension, 'the Bank of the Medici'¹ being joined as collateral sureties². An unwritten stipulation provided for the liberation of the unfortunate ex-Queen Margaret of Anjou; Edward being shabby enough to exact for her a further ransom of 50,000 crowns³.

Throughout these documents Edward was allowed to style himself 'King of France', while designating his rival simply as 'our dearest relative the most illustrious Prince, Louis of France'. But Louis XI was not the man to quarrel about a shadow when he had secured the substance. His end was to get the English out of France as quickly as possible, and to secure that he left no stone unturned. De Comines, who was in attendance on Louis throughout these events, assures us that Edward's chief advisers—Chancellor Rotherham, Hastings, Stanley, Howard, John Morton—all received liberal *douceurs* from the French King⁴. Gloucester, who disliked the treaty, accepted some plate and a horse.

The 75,000 crowns having been paid down, the homeward march began⁵. By the 4th September the whole host had returned to Calais, and the re-shipment followed at once. "Blessyd be God, thys wyage of the Kynges is fynysshyd for thys tyme"⁶. In the course of September Edward returned to England⁷: on the 28th he entered London in state⁸.

Return to
England.

The "lame and impotent conclusion" of this grand ex-

¹ "Socios Banci de Medicis."

² See Foed. xii. 15-21; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 397-405.

³ Foed. xii. 51.

⁴ Comines-Lenglet, i. 227; cf. Croyland, Cont. sup. Hastings was already in receipt of a pension from Burgundy; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 617-620.

⁵ Comines-Lenglet, i. 241; ii. 120.

⁶ Paston Letters, iii. 139.

⁷ Edward signs at Calais up to the 18th September; Privy Seals, sup.

⁸ Fabian.

CH. XXVIII. pedition contrasts strangely with the energy and purpose

1475.

shown by the King only four years before. In 1471, no doubt, Edward and his followers were landless outlaws; now he was surrounded by well-to-do noblemen, with everything to lose and nothing to gain by soldiering. It may be that he was overpowered by the passive resistance of his reluctant followers¹; he certainly was always helpless to resist intrigue. Still it must remain a matter of wonder that Edward should have turned back so readily from an expedition in preparing for which he had taken such trouble and shown such persistence of purpose. The foreign writers would have us believe that the whole affair from beginning to end was got up for the sake of the money to be made by it. The King tried to persuade himself that he had made a clever bargain, and had placed Louis under tribute. The English were deeply mortified; nor were the French very proud of their share of the bargain. But for both nations the compact was the best that could have been devised, as it implied the abandonment of all further English designs on France².

The Treaty
unpopular
both in
England
and France.

The three-quarters' Subsidy granted in March was not exigible till the 11th November. With Louis' £15,000 in hand, and the prospect of a pension of £10,000 a year for life, Edward had not the heart to call on his subjects for this money. He issued letters remitting payment till further order³.

The Duke
of Exeter.

The expedition seems to have given opportunity for acts of grace to two fallen adversaries, though neither lived to profit much by the King's forgiveness, Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, and Archbishop Neville. Exeter, as already mentioned, had been placed in Sanctuary after Barnet; but Edward had taken him from his refuge and sent him to the Tower, where he remained up to June,

¹ The Croyland writer clearly intimates that the peace was the work of the great lords; cf. Comines-Lenglet, i. 242.

² So T. Basin, ii. 361. For contempt expressed for Edward, see Comines-Lenglet, i. 238, 243.

³ Nottingham Records, ii. 388.

1475¹. Apparently he was set at liberty to join the expedition, though his name does not appear on the Muster Rolls, and on the expedition he died, drowned at sea on the way to Calais: the last male of his aspiring House, and the only life lost in the campaign². CH. XXVIII.
1475.

The Archbishop was in prison either at Ham or Guisnes; it seems likely that advantage was taken of the King's presence to intercede on his behalf: at any rate we find him at Westminster in November, apparently a free man, and exercising the functions of Archbishop³. But he was a broken-down man, and a few months later he died⁴. Arch-
bishop
Neville.

Margaret was duly set free, and returned to France (November). Louis gave her a pension of 6000 livres, but she had to requite his kindness by the cession of all paternal or maternal claims on Anjou, Provence, Barrois, and Lorraine⁵. Margaret
of Anjou.

¹ Tellers' Rolls.

² According to the MS. Vitellius A. xvi. f. 134, and R. Fabian, p. 663, the Duke was 'found dead, as it was said', between Dover and Calais, A. D. 1473-1474, where the date is certainly wrong. If there was foul play in the matter suspicion ought to rest not on Edward but on his sister Anne, the Duchess of Exeter, and her second husband, Sir Thomas St. Leger. By the Duke she had a daughter, Anne Holland. In 1464 the Duchess obtained power to hold lands "as woman soule" (*sole*); Rot. Parl. v. 548; so that she must already have left the Duke. In August 1467 she obtained a resettlement of estates, giving her the ultimate fee, failing issue of her daughter, Anne Holland; Id. vi. 216. On the 12th November 1472 she divorced the Duke; J. Stow; and then married Sir Thomas St. Leger, by whom she had another daughter, also called Anne. But we find it alleged that the resettlement of 1467 was obtained at the instance of Sir Thomas to enable his daughter to succeed failing Anne Holland and her issue; Rot. Parl. vi. 242. If this was so, Anne St. Leger must have been born long before her mother's divorce from the Duke. The Duke's liberation would be very inconvenient for the St. Legers. The Duchess died in 1476, her elder daughter having died before her, unmarried.

³ Privy Seal, 6th November: he confirms the election of an abbot.

⁴ 8th June, 1476; Reg. Sacrum.

⁵ Fced. xii. 22; Paris Extracts, Record Office, vol. vi, cited Pauli; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 473. Old René also had to make a cession of Provence; Id. ii. 131, 132.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

End of Charles the Bold and the Duchy of Burgundy.—Parliament.—
Impeachment and death of the Duke of Clarence.

CH. XXIX.

1476.

The Earl
of Rich-
mond.

AFTER the tension of the last three years, a period of rest naturally ensued. Edward renewed his efforts for the extradition of the young Earl of Richmond (Henry Tudor). It would seem that Duke Francis II of Brittany would have given him up, but that his subjects, with more sense of honour, kept him from doing so¹.

At home the incidents of the year 1476 were the appointment of a successor to George Neville; and the translation of the remains of the Duke of York and the Earl of Rutland from Pontefract to Fotheringhay. The Archbishopal Cross was conferred on Lawrence Booth, Bishop of Durham². The bodies of the King's father and brother were taken from Pontefract on the 22nd July, and deposited at Fotheringhay on the 29th of the month, with every mark of respect from Edward and his Court³.

The Duke
of Bur-
gundy.
Prosecu-
tion of his
scheme.

Meanwhile Charles the Bold was rushing wildly on his fate. Accepting perforce the truce of Picquigny⁴, he returned to complete the conquest of Lorraine, which he was wresting, without a shadow of a pretext, from young René

¹ Polydore, 679, 680; cf. Foed. xii. 22-24; January, 1476.

² June, 1476; Foed. 28.

³ Id. Croyland, Cont. 560; Sandford, Geneal. History, 392, q.v. for details. Edward signs at Fotheringhay 26th-31st July; Privy Seals, 16 Edward IV.

⁴ 13th September, 1475; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 409.

de Vaudemont, the grandson of René and Isabeau¹. The campaign proved very successful, and Nancy, the capital, surrendered on the 30th November, 1475. The Kingdom of Burgundy began to look like a reality. Charles could march across his own territory from Holland to Lyons.

CH. XXIX.

1475-6.

Capture of Nancy.

But territory was not enough. He thirsted for vengeance on the peasant Swiss who had dared to cross his path. Besides, Switzerland had formed part of the old kingdom of Burgundy. After a few weeks' rest at Nancy he led his chivalry across the Jura for a winter campaign in Switzerland. On the 28th February, 1476, he made himself master of Granson on the lake of Neuchâtel, hanging or drowning all the garrison. On the 2nd March the Swiss came to the rescue. The Duke charged their pikes on ground where his cavalry could not act: the men of the Forest Cantons came down on his flank, blowing the horn of Uri; and the Burgundians fled in panic. Little blood was shed, but the costly spoils of the camp, guns, arms, plate, tapestry, jewels—the Mogul diamond, the Sanci diamond—all fell to the victors².

Invasion of Switzerland.

Defeat of Charles at Granson.

After a pause of a few days on his own side of the Jura Charles recrossed the frontier for a fresh bout. By the middle of March he had established a camp at Lausanne; but ill-health, brought on by sheer fury, detained him there till the end of May³. Then he started once more at the head of a powerful army for an attack on Berne, the head of the Swiss Confederacy. On the 11th June he sat down before Morat, on the lake of that name, establishing part of his force on one side and part on the other side of the town.

Siege of Morat.

Earl Rivers and some English archers were with him, and a large force of Piedmontese. The Confederates,

¹ This usurpation began in 1473, after the death of the late Duke, Nicolas of Lorraine; see Martin, *France*, vii. 79.

² See Martin, *France*, vii. 100-106; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 218, 219; Comines-Dupont, ii. 1-10; also Paston Letters, iii. 162. The Mogul diamond was eventually acquired by Pope Julius II, and is still the chief jewel in the Papal tiara; the Sanci diamond became an heirloom of France; Martin, *sup.*

³ Comines-Lenglet, ii. 219; T. Basin, ii. 386.

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E e

CH. XXIX.

1476-7.

Defeat of
Charles at
Morat.

hastening to the rescue, mustered at Güminen or Gueminé behind the river Sarine: Austrian gentry from the Tyrol and René of Lorraine had joined them. Early on the morning of the 22nd June they crossed the Sarine, and then surmounting a line of wooded hills came down on the Burgundians in their positions on the lake. The Piedmontese on the north side of Morat were soon disposed of: the Duke on the south side made a stout defence in an entrenched position, fortified after the English fashion; but the Swiss, forcing the barricades, mowed his men down right and left, while the garrison sallied on them from the town. Charles was again defeated, and this time with heavy slaughter. He escaped with a party of twelve to Morges, on the lake of Geneva, some thirty miles off¹.

Second
Siege of
Nancy.

After a second such lesson any other man would have taken time to consider his position and recruit his resources. The Duke's allies were falling from him; his subjects refused to vote another man or another crown, except to resist domestic invasion. Nobody threatened his own proper dominions, but Charles insisted on resuming the offensive. After a few weeks of sullen retirement in the Jura he began to attack Lorraine, which had gone back to young René. On the 22nd October he laid fresh siege to Nancy, with forces inadequate and ill-found. The winter proved very severe, and the besiegers suffered in proportion. On the 5th January, 1477, young René advanced to Nancy from St. Nicholas on the Meurthe, with an army recruited mainly in Switzerland. Four days before Charles had been deserted by his right-hand man, the Italian Campo-basso, but he still refused to draw back. Again the horn of Uri sounded, and again the demoralised Burgundians broke and fled. Two days later the Duke's body was found lying naked in a frozen ditch².

Defeat and
death of
Charles.

¹ See the Neufchâtel Chronicle printed Comines-Dupont, ii. 29; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 220; T. Basin, ii. 388. The latter, writing from Burgundian information, represents them as taken by surprise at the last and making a poor defence.

² See Comines-Dupont, ii. 39-64; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 220, 221; iii. 491-496; T. Basin, ii. 400-419.

So ended Charles the Bold in the forty-fourth year of his life and the tenth of his reign. By his first wife he left an only daughter, Mary, the heiress of all his possessions.

CH. XXIX.
1477.

On the 13th February a Grand Council met in London to consider the new European situation created by the death of the Duke of Burgundy. No record of the proceedings has been handed down; but it was understood that the King was anxious for the maintenance of friendly relations both with Flanders and France¹.

Grand Council.

By a curious coincidence the death of Charles helped to precipitate a crisis in the domestic feuds of the House of York.

The sins of George Duke of Clarence had been such as might be forgiven but could not be forgotten. But he never realised the fact that he was bound to purchase amnesty by self-effacement. Under the Resumption Act of 1473 he had been deprived of Tutbury Castle²; a mere trifle in comparison with the vast estates he was allowed to retain; but he made it matter of serious complaint against the King: he came little to Court, and when he did come his demeanour was sulky and provoking.

The Duke of Clarence.

On the 21st December, 1476, he lost his wife Isabel, who died soon after giving birth to a son³, the fourth child she had borne within six years and a half. When the Duke of Burgundy's death was reported Clarence at once suggested himself as a candidate for the hand of the heiress, his suit being warmly supported by his sister, the dowager Duchess, who was much attached to him. But Edward was not disposed to see his factious brother exalted to the position of a rival potentate, with the certainty of being himself involved in difficulties with France, as Louis was annexing Burgundy and Artois as male fiefs. The Queen again, it was said, wished to propose her brother, Earl Rivers, but his promotion would have entailed the same complications as that of Clarence; so

His intrigues.

¹ Paston Letters, iii. 173.

² See Croyland, Cont. 561.

³ 3 D. K. Report, ii. 214. The infant, Richard by name, died on the 1st January, 1477.

CH. XXIX. Edward prudently gave his support to the Duke Maximilian
 1477. of Austria, son of Frederic III, who shortly married the
 lady¹.

Judicial
murder of
Ankarette
Twynyho.

Clarence vented his spleen by starting the theory that his lost Isabel had been poisoned or bewitched. The person aimed at was probably the Queen, but the actual charge was laid against one of the Duchess's own attendants, Ankarette, widow of Roger Twynyho, of Cayford, in Somersetshire². Taking the law into his own hands, Clarence had Ankarette arrested at her own house without legal warrant, hurried her off to Warwick, she being a native of that county, and then and there had her tried, condemned, and executed off-hand by the Justices of the Peace sitting in Petty Sessions. Clarence apparently was there to see the thing done³.

Counter-
intrigues
against
Clarence.

The Court party at once proceeded to retaliate on Clarence by involving him in a counter-charge of sorcery, the approved weapon of intrigue. Charges of sorcery, like charges of heresy, always left a mark. Hands were laid on one John Stacy, an Oxford man, who, like Roger Oonly *alias* Bolingbroke, the chaplain of Duke Humphrey, was held an 'astronomer' and a 'necromancer.' Being subjected to torture⁴ on a charge of witchcraft he gave evidence against Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickshire, one of Clarence's confidants. On the 12th May a special Judicial Commission was appointed. On the 19th Burdet, Stacy, and one Thomas Blake, also of Oxford, a clerk, were indicted at Westminster. The first charge laid against Burdet was that of having compassed the King's death on the 20th April, 1474, no details being assigned in

¹ Croyland, Cont.; cf. Foed. xii. 42; Comines-Lenglet, i. 356; E. Hall, 327. The marriage with the Duke had been covertly mooted as far back as the year 1463; G. Chastellain, iv. 428.

² Rot. Parl. vi. 173.

³ 12th-15th April; see Rot. Parl. vi. 173, 174, and the indictment 3 D. K. Report, ii. 214. A writ of *certiorari* was sent down to remove the proceedings to London, but it was issued too late. Sir Roger Tocotes and John Thuresby were also tried for poisoning the Duke's infant son Richard. Tocotes was acquitted, but Thuresby suffered.

⁴ "Acerrimo examine . . . quaestionatus"; see Croyland, Cont. 561.

the indictment. John Stow tells us that Burdet had incurred suspicion by a rash word uttered against the King. Edward one day, while hunting in Arrow Park, had killed a pet white buck; and Burdet, when he heard of it, in his irritation, wished the animal's head "in his belly that moved the King to kil it"¹.

CH. XXIX.

1477.

The next count laid against Burdet was that of having moved Stacy and Blake at various times in the years 1474 and 1475 to 'calculate and work out the Nativities of the King and Prince of Wales'²; the count also taxed him with having given out on the 26th May, 1475, that the King would shortly die. That was the time when Edward was preparing to invade France. Lastly, Burdet was accused of having circulated in the current month of May seditious and treasonable rhymes against the King. It is just possible that this count may have been connected with a prophecy of which we hear at this time, that the King would be succeeded by one the first letter of whose name should be a G³. The vaticination uttered in the interests of George Duke of Clarence was held to have been verified by the accession of the Duke of Gloucester. All the three accused pleaded Not Guilty, and all three were condemned. Burdet and Stacy were executed at Tyburn on the morrow (20th May); Blake received a pardon⁴.

Execution
of Burdet
and Stacy.

Clarence, as in honour bound, but still very imprudently, took up the cause of his followers; and when all was over brought Dr. William Goddard, the Minorite, before the Privy Council, to testify to their dying protestations of innocence⁵.

¹ J. Stow, 430. E. Hall, 369, has another story, which turns on the supposition that Burdet was a citizen of London, living at the sign of the Crown in Cheapside; but this is refuted by the indictment. Edward was not near Arrow on the 20th April, 1474, being at Nottingham; but he might have been there between that day and the 2nd May, when he was at Coventry; Privy Seals.

² "Ad calculandum et laborandum circa nativitates", &c.; *Baga de Secretis*, Bundle 1, m. 15; translated 3 D. K. Report, Append. ii. 213.

³ E. Hall, 326.

⁴ *Baga*, sup.

⁵ *Croyland*, Cont. sup.

CH. XXIX.

1477.

Arrest of
Clarence.

The choice of Goddard was not happy; he was the man who, on the 30th September, 1470, had preached the restoration of Henry VI. We are told that Edward, who had submitted to Clarence's attack on Ankarette Twynyho, was roused to final action by the attempt to discredit his condemnation of Burdet and Stacy. He hastened to Town from Windsor, summoned Clarence to meet him in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen, and committed him to the Tower, never again to appear as a free man¹.

The trials of Ankarette and Burdet were mere episodes, of no importance except as illustrations of the times. On the broad question at issue Edward may have had good grounds for believing that Clarence was disloyal, as he certainly was foolish. It appears that proposals for two political marriages were sent to London from Scotland in the course of this year: one between the Duke of Albany, the ambitious brother of James III, and Margaret, dowager Duchess of Burgundy, Clarence's friend; the other between Clarence and the Lady Margaret, sister of the Scottish King. Edward may have taken alarm at the prospect of the coalition suggested by these proposals². Anyhow, he was persuaded to get rid of Clarence. To relieve himself as far as possible of the odium of doing so he summoned a Parliament for the 16th January, 1478.

Parliament
at West-
minster.

The Session was opened at Westminster by the King in person. Chancellor Rotherham delivered an address in due form. Text and 'sermon' alike indicated the business

¹ Croyland, Cont. 561. The writer places Clarence's appearance before the Privy Council on the day after the execution; that would be the 21st May. Apart from this date, his statements are borne out by the records of the King's movements. Edward came in from Windsor to Blackfriars on the 20th May, remaining over the 21st. We have him again coming from Windsor to London about the 4th August and 23rd September. Clarence's estates were confiscated as from Michaelmas, but no evidence of the date of his arrest has yet been found.

² See Edward's letter declining both proposals; Ellis, Letters, First Series, i. 16; and Pinkerton, History of Scotland, i. 501. The contemporary Chronicle Scandaleuse (Comines-Lenglet, ii. 147) and John Major, the Scottish writer, p. 331, both ascribe Clarence's death to his intrigues with Burgundy. Cf. also a letter of 1480; Comines-Lenglet, iv. 9.

in hand. 'The Lord is my shepherd,' or rather, as in the Vulgate, 'The Lord is my ruler, therefore I shall not want.' . . . 'For he beareth not the sword in vain.' The duty of loyalty to the King was the one point pressed¹. CH. XXIX.
1478.

William Alington, whose services in the last Parliament had been rewarded by a pension, was again chosen Speaker.

It would seem that the King himself had to propound the charges against his brother. The scene is described as most painful. No one accused the Duke, except the King; no one answered the King's charges, except the Duke, who was brought before the assembly. Some witnesses were called, but they behaved more like prosecutors than witnesses². The King
impeaches
Clarence.

The Duke met the charges with a bold denial, ending with a vain demand of a battle wager.

Edward's indictment, as given in the Bill of Attainder, may be divided into two parts. The first deals with his relations to his brother prior to the final defeat of the Lancastrians; and so far our sympathies must be with the King. "Of tendre youthe unto now of late" he had "ever loved and cherysshed hym (Clarence) as tenderly and as kyndely as eny creature myght his naturell brother." He had conferred on him possessions and an estate second only to his own; on one occasion he had "caused the greate parte of all the Nobles of the land" to swear allegiance to Clarence as next in succession. All this kindness had been repaid by intrigue and rebellion; by Edward's imprisonment in 1469; and his expulsion and deposition in 1470. The
Indictment.

But all this had been forgiven, as Edward was obliged to admit; his reasons for recalling Clarence's misdeeds from the "perpetuell oblivion" to which he had 'entended' to consign them were not so satisfactory. Perhaps the whole story could not safely be divulged. The Duke had endeavoured to discredit the King's justice, as in the case of Burdet; had slandered him as one who "wrought by

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 167, 168.

² Croyland, Cont. 562.

CH. XXIX. 1478. Nygromancye and used crafte to poyson his Subjettes"; had spread false and unnatural rumours that the King was a bastard, "and not begottone to reigne uppon us"; had exacted secret oaths of allegiance to himself; had enlisted men for an immediate rising¹; and, as proof of his ultimate end, carried about with him an exemplification of the Act of 1470 (strange to say still unrepealed) declaring him heir to the Crown failing Henry's issue. The King ended by declaring his conviction that his brother was "incorrigible"; adding that he could not be answerable for "the wele publique peas and tranquillite" of the realm, if such "lothely offensez" should be pardoned. For his duty to the country he appealed to his coronation oath.

On the reality of the danger to the public peace from Clarence's intrigues, a point difficult to solve, the question of political necessity must be left to turn. As a case in several respects similar the reader may be invited to consider that of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester.

Condemnation of
Clarence.

By the Bill as passed by Lords and Commons Clarence was declared guilty of high treason, and sentenced to forfeiture of all his titles and estates². The capital sentence was reserved for a court of chivalry held on the 8th February, the young Duke of Buckingham³ being created High Steward for the occasion. The Patent of his appointment is endorsed with unblushing frankness "pro executione ducis Clarencie"⁴.

The final order for execution, however, was delayed some days. The fratricidal act could not be accomplished without some opposition, some remonstrance from friendly mediators. At last William Alington, the supple tool,

¹ In the spring or summer of 1477 proclamations had been sent through the Midland and Southern counties, and two commissions sent down to Yorkshire, one addressed to Gloucester, the other to Northumberland; Tellers' Roll, Easter 17 Edward IV.

² Rot. Parl. vi. 193-195. The Bill bears the King's signature both at top and bottom, but no date.

³ Henry Stafford, grandson of the man who fell at Northampton, his father having fallen at the first battle of St. Albans.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 195. The patent refers to the Duke's prior attainder in Parliament.

brought up a petition from the Commons for final justice. CH. XXIX.
1478. But even so the Government would not venture on a public execution. A contemporary French authority informs us that it was waived at the instance of the Duchess of York¹. (*What a concession to a mother!*) On the 18th February His end. it was reported that Clarence was no more: he had died in the Tower: rumour, with singular *consensus*, had it that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine².

Edward so far justified his plea of political necessity that for the remainder of his reign we shall find him maintaining 'good peace' and a vigorous domestic administration from the Border to the Land's End. On the other hand, if Confisca-
tion of
Clarence's
estates. he had taken upon himself the sole responsibility of his brother's death, he kept his brother's spoils pretty well in his own hands. Gloucester was allowed to have the whole of the lordship of Barnard Castle, which, till then, he had divided with Clarence³. Rivers received estates to the value of £100 a year, for six years, in satisfaction of a sum of £666 13s. 4d. alleged to be due from Clarence⁴. But with these trifling deductions, we find six groups of estates, scattered over some twenty counties, from Lancashire to Lincolnshire, and from Yorkshire to Cornwall, late the property of Clarence, or his wife, or their infant son, administered by six Royal Receivers, and bringing in a net revenue of some £3160 a year⁵.

Parliament sat till the 26th February⁶. The interest of Business in
Parliament.

¹ Comines-Lenglet, ii. 147.

² "Drowned in malvesy", MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. xvi. f. 136; R. Fabian, 666; "en une pippe de malvoysie", Comines-Dupont, i. 69, and ii. 147; "in vini Cretensis dolium immerso capite respirare prohibitus expiravit", T. More, Richard III, p. 4; Polydore, 681. The Croyland writer is silent as to the manner of death. No other version is given. Dudley was still Constable of the Tower. With respect to More's "Cretensis," Malvasia, from whence the wine came, was not in Crete, but on the east coast of the Morea. Skeat, Etym. Dict.

³ Surtees, Durham, iv. 66, cited Gairdner.

⁴ Foed. xii. 95; 14th December, 1478.

⁵ Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 17-22 Edward IV. For the names of some of the estates, cf. Pat. 14 Edward IV, pt. 1, m. 5, printed Lords' Report, Append. v. 394.

⁶ Davies, York Records, p. 66; Stubbs.

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1478.

The young
Duke of
York.Attainders
reversed.

the Session passed away with the conclusion of the domestic tragedy. No money was asked for; but a certain amount of public and private business was transacted. The Norfolk estates were settled on the King's second son, Richard Duke of York, for the term of his life, he having been betrothed on the 15th January¹ to the little Lady Anne Mowbray, only child of the last Duke. As the lady was only six years old, the uncertainties of life, "and specially of tho' that be of such tender age", made it desirable that the little Duke should have an absolute title to the property, independently of the completion of the marriage. For the benefit of the infant couple the Duchess dowager of Norfolk was induced to surrender a considerable part of her dower in consideration of being allowed to retain the rest². Certain exchanges of property between the King on the one hand and the Dukes of Gloucester and Suffolk on the other hand, were confirmed; and Gloucester received leave to establish religious foundations at Barnard Castle and Middleham³. In the case of so well-hated a man as Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, we are specially bound to take notice of the fact. Some more Lancastrian attainders were reversed; the most noteworthy being that of Sir Thomas Vere, brother of the Earl of Oxford, who was reinstated in the manor of Dullingham in Cambridge-shire⁴. On the other hand, George Neville, son of the late Montagu, was degraded from the Dukedom of Bedford, to which he had been raised in 1470 in contemplation of his intended marriage to the King's eldest daughter. The Act dwells on the danger to public safety from landless lords without 'livelihood'⁵. The measure does not speak much for the King's regard for his lost Montagu; but, taken in

¹ Gairdner, from Sandford and More.² Rot. Parl. vi. 168, 169.³ Id. 170-172; Gairdner, Richard III, 46.⁴ Rot. Parl. 175-177. The other attainders reversed were those of Sir Thomas Findern and Sir Anthony and Walter Nuthill, late of Ryston in Hol-derness.⁵ Rot. Parl. 173. The King's third son, George, is styled Duke of Bedford on his tomb at Windsor. He may have been born by this time, and, if so, perhaps the title was taken from Neville because it was wanted for him.

connexion with the many reversals of attainders recorded, it seems to indicate a purpose of crushing all Neville aspirations on the one hand, while welcoming submission from all former opponents not connected with that family, on the other hand.

As local Acts we may notice the powers conferred on the towns of Canterbury, Taunton, Cirencester, and Southampton, for compelling the owners of houses in the principal streets to pave the roadways in front of their premises. In each town the actual state of the paving is described as "perillous" either "to ryde or go" ¹.

The public Acts were mostly commercial, and conceived in the usual narrow spirit of restriction. Irish groats, half-groats ("pens of too pens"), and pennies, being deficient both in weight and purity, were put out of circulation in England, Wales, and Calais ². That was not unreasonable; but after that, the old prohibitions against the export of gold or silver coin, bullion or plate, without Royal license, were repeated. The prohibition was intended to be strictly enforced, as only money to be sent abroad for payment of ransom, and the journey money of soldiers, ambassadors, and heralds, were excepted. A series of regulations concerning goldsmiths followed. They were again forbidden to sell articles of gold under the standard of 18-carats fine; or of silver under the standard of the currency: and all articles of silver were required to be "touched" with the mark of the crowned "Libard's" head ³. These regulations, however, have maintained their ground down to the present day. Another Statute confirmed was that requiring alien merchants to invest the price of commodities brought to England in the purchase of English goods ⁴.

The jurisdiction of "Piepowder" courts was restricted to cases arising during the time, and within the local limits of

¹ Ro. Parl. 177-180.

² Of course the coins were those of the English Dominion in Ireland. Native coins did not exist.

³ Statute, 17 Edward IV, c. 1.

⁴ Ib., 5 Henry IV, c. 9.

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1478.

Com-
mercial
Legisla-
tion.

Bullion.

CH. XXIX. the fair¹. But the King's timidity in dealing with vested
 1478. interests is shown by the fact that the reform was only
 granted till the meeting of the next Parliament.

Archery
 and Games.

To keep up the practice of archery, unlawful games were again forbidden, under the monstrous penalty of two years' imprisonment and £10 fine for each offence. Keepers of gardens and places of public amusement allowing games to be played on their premises were made liable to three years' imprisonment and £20 fine. Among the forbidden pastimes we find dice, quoits, football, and "keyles", doubtless nine-pins or skittles; also "closhe", "half-bowle", "handyn and handoute", and "queke borde"².

The sumptuary regulations of 1463 were reenacted, apparel having become "more inordynate, excessive and outeragious" than ever; but to give people time to set their wardrobes in order the operation of the rules was deferred till Michaelmas³.

Tile-
 making

An industry brought for the first time under the regulation of law was that of Tile-making. Times and seasons were fixed for digging, tempering, and working up the earth; and several dimensions prescribed for "thak" tiles, crest tiles, gutter tiles, and corner tiles⁴.

Lastly, the acts of the "Readeption" Parliament of 1470 were repealed⁵; while all 'temporal persons' born in Ireland, and having possessions there (with some exceptions), were required to take up their residence in the Island for the "salvation" of the land from "Iryssh ennemyes and English rebelles", both stated to be on the increase⁶—a chronic complaint.

¹ Stat. c. 2: "Piepowder" or Dustyfoot jurisdiction was a franchise given to persons entitled to hold fairs, as e.g. the Abbot of Westminster.

² Stat. c. 3; Rot. Parl. vi. 188. Clossh, a game of Dutch origin, was played, like mall and croquet, by driving a wooden ball (*klos*) with a mallet (*klos-beytel*) through rings fixed in the ground. Murray, New Engl. Dict. I can find no account of the other games.

³ Rot. Parl. sup.

⁴ Stat. c. 4. That bricks and tiles were comparative novelties seems to appear from the fact that the Treasury officials thought it necessary to describe the former as artificial stone, "anglice Brykks"; Tellers' Roll, Easter 20 Edward IV.

⁵ Stat. c. 6.

⁶ Rot. Parl. 192.

The regulative provisions of the foregoing enactments were all supplemented by due powers for suing at law for the penalties, care being taken to encourage informers by a judicious partition of the proceeds. What with such legislation, and what with the exaction of the established incidents of feudal property, life in those days (and for generations after) was made up of squabbling and litigation. It is not too much to say that a landowner of the fifteenth century had more litigation in one year than the owner of the same estate would have in ten years of the latter part of the nineteenth century¹.

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1478.

¹ See the Paston Letters and Plumptre Correspondence, *passim*. Private charter boxes of much later date tell the same tale.

CHAPTER XXX.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Domestic affairs.—Foreign Relations.—Treaty with Maximilian of Austria.—James III of Scotland.—War between England and Scotland.

CH. XXX.

1478.

Edward's
internal
govern-
ment.

CLARENCE'S death not unnaturally excited fears that Edward's government might grow utterly arbitrary and despotic¹. But he was not greedy of power for its own sake; and we do not find him infringing on his subjects' rights—at least not till another war broke out. At the same time he kept a watchful eye on the country, bringing all important commands under his direct control, and inviting confidential reports of everything that happened. In July the Lieutenancy of Ireland was given to a new-born Prince, George by name, with Henry, Lord Grey of Codnor, as Deputy under him². In the same month the Earldom of Pembroke was taken from William Herbert and conferred on the Prince of Wales, Herbert receiving the Earldom of Huntingdon in exchange³. With the same obvious purpose of keeping Wales well in hand, Holt Castle was purchased from Lord Abergavenny⁴. The acquisitions of Southwell Rock, near Odilham, and Hutton-on-the-Hill, both purchased or taken in exchange from Gloucester,

¹ "Quod ad libitum dominari posset"; Croyland, Cont. 562. The writer goes on to say that nothing of the sort happened; so too E. Hall, 328.

² Issues, Easter 18 Edward IV. Grey passed his muster of 300 archers at Conway in August; Id.; Foed. xii. 89.

³ Lords' Report, Append. v. 417, 419. The Herberts, of course, were Welshmen, and presumably had no connexion with East Anglia.

⁴ Issues, sup. £1733 6s. 8d. were paid for the purchase.

were probably dictated by the same policy¹. Calais was kept under the command of trusty Lord Hastings, but with the authority of Lieutenant only, not of Captain, and with a reduced garrison². Prince George, Duke of Bedford, having died, the Duke of York was appointed to succeed him in Ireland³. CH. XXX.
1478.

With his net £10,000 a year from France and his £3000 a year from the Clarence estates, Edward could now afford to spend something on public works, a duty sadly neglected in earlier years. Thus we hear of fortifications at Nottingham, Dover, Framlingham, and Clitheroe; a new tower and the new chapel at Windsor⁴; a new hall at Eltham; besides repairs at Sheen, the Tower, "Le White Haul", and "Le Custom Hous"⁵. Public
Works.

In connexion with these works we must notice the first establishment of the printer's art on English soil. Printing.

William Caxton, of London, mercer, had spent many years at Bruges in business as a member of the English trading company there. Retiring from business he set up a printing-press at Bruges in partnership with one Colard Mansion, a calligraphist, under the patronage of the Duchess of Burgundy; and in 1474 published his "Recuyell of the Histories of Troy", the first work in the English language that ever appeared in print. "The game and playe of the Chesse" followed next year. Early in 1476 he returned to England and settled at Westminster, near the Abbey. In November, 1477, he published his "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers", a translation by Earl Rivers from a French original⁶: in 1478 his Moral Proverbs appeared, and in 1480 his Chronicle, printed under

¹ Tellers' Rolls, Easter and Michaelmas 20 Edward IV.

² On the 26th September, 1477, the garrison of Calais was reduced from 520 men to 156 men; Issues, Easter 18 Edward IV.

³ 5th May, 1479; Foed. xii. 109. Robert Preston, Lord Gormanstown, was made Deputy.

⁴ Tellers' Roll, Easter 22 Edward IV; Kennet, England, i. 479.

⁵ Issues, Easter 18, Easter 19; Tellers' Rolls, Easter and Michaelmas 20 Edward IV. A large quantity of bricks were used at Dover.

⁶ The work appears to be based on a translation made in 1450 by Stephen Scrope, the nephew of Sir John Fastolf; W. Blades, Caxton, 232.

CH. XXX. 1478. Royal protection. We may fairly indulge in the belief that the £20 given to him by Edward in June, 1479, "for matters performed for the King"¹, contributed to this work².

Foreign relations. But Edward's ambition was to establish his dynasty by foreign alliances and intermarriages. The history of the last years of the reign turns entirely on foreign affairs.

In March (1478) a treaty of perpetual amity and commercial intercourse was signed with the "Gretemanne" and people of Frisia, more particularly distinguished as "Hostergo" and "Westergo"³. In April relations were renewed for two years with Christian of Denmark, all hostile suits and acts of reprisal being suspended on either side⁴.

France. But in foreign affairs relations with France and Flanders and the Low Countries dominated all other questions. We can no longer speak of relations with Burgundy, because Burgundy, with Franche-Comté, Artois, and Picardy, were now parts of France⁵; the other dominions of Charles the Bold were in the hands of his daughter Mary and her husband Maximilian of Austria. Edward had been pressed to support Mary against Louis, but he could not forego his 'tribute'; to say nothing of the marriage with the Dauphin, to which he also clung⁶. Louis wanted the hand of his son for a connexion that would secure his new acquisitions, and so he very cleverly put Edward off by extending the truce of Picquigny for 100 years—binding his successors to continue the payment of the 'tribute' during that period; a cheap undertaking which would cost him nothing⁷.

¹ Devon Issues, 499. ² See W. Blades, Biography of William Caxton.

³ Foed. xii. 51 (*go*, of course, is simply = *gau*). The treaty was to run from 1st May.

⁴ Foed. 57; the treaty was to run from the 10th June.

⁵ Burgundy, including Mâconnais, Charolais, Auxerrois, and Bar-sur-Seine, accepted Louis XI 29th January, 1477; Franche-Comté on the 19th February. A period of trouble which followed the annexation ended with July, 1479. Picardy and Artois were acquired by Louis in the spring of 1477; see Martin, France, vii. 422-438.

⁶ Comines-Dupont, ii. 170-172; Foed. xii. 52, 63, 89; March, April, August, 1478.

⁷ Comines-Dupont, ii. 210. Louis' instructions were signed 13th July,

On the other hand Edward concluded an elaborate commercial treaty with Maximilian and Mary, stipulating for unrestricted intercourse 'for ever' between their respective dominions on payment of the 'ancient dues and customs and no others'¹, a provision that might easily lead to difficulties.

CH. XXX.

1478.

The Low Countries.

A separate treaty was devoted to questions connected with the Calais Staple and the wool trade, the Flemings disclaiming for the future all appeals to Paris².

But the Duke and Duchess still hoped for more active support from Edward against Louis; and in 1479, after the prolongation of the truce of Picquigny had been signed, they suggested a marriage between their little son Philip (Count of Charolais) and the Lady Anne, Edward's fourth surviving daughter³; the proposal being supplemented by an offer, without which all negotiation for an attack on France would have been idle, namely, that the Duke and Duchess would undertake the payment of the French 'tribute' if Edward should forfeit it by attacking Louis⁴.

The Duke Maximilian.

In July, 1480, the dowager Duchess of Burgundy came over to England to carry on these negotiations, and to arrange for the transmission of some English archers wanted for immediate service in the Low Countries⁵.

Mission of the dowager Duchess of Burgundy.

On paper, the mission proved entirely successful, a thorough understanding on all points being arrived at.

1478, and the treaties executed in London 13th and 14th February, 1479; Foed. xii. 89, 97-108; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 549, 560, &c.

¹ "In sempiternum . . . antiqua jura et thelonea consueta et non alia". The Ducal Dominions are described as comprising Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Mechlin.

² Lille, 12th July, 1478; Foed. xii. 66-86, 91, 95. Louis' instructions for the extension of the truce were signed at Hesdin on the 13th July, a clear counter-move.

³ See Foed. xii. 110, a promise by the Duke and Duchess not to contract their son to any one but the Lady Anne; 18th July, 1479.

⁴ Comines-Lenglet, iii. 581.

⁵ Thirty spears and 1500 bows went over in September under Sir John Middleton (Foed.), or Milton, and Sir Thomas Everingham. Their advance pay had to be found by Edward; 300 or 400 archers, previously in Maximilian's service, were being sent home in sorry plight; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 587, 606; Foed. xii. 137.

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F f

CH. XXX.
1480. Philip and Anne would be betrothed as soon as of age to consent. If the Lady Anne should die before that time a sister might be substituted: the Duke and Duchess would guarantee the 50,000 *écus* during Edward's life, if Louis should withhold them, and if in consequence Edward should be obliged to declare war. The defensive provisions of the treaty of the 25th July, 1474, were renewed *verbatim*: Edward agreed to furnish 6000 archers on demand, and at the Duke's cost; but he did not bind himself personally to declare war on Louis, except in case the latter should reject Edward's offer of mediation¹.

Of all these engagements the only one to which Edward attached any importance was that for the marriage of his daughter. But Maximilian had not gone to work in a way to gain Edward's confidence: he haggled about terms; he tried to beat Edward down to 40,000 *écus* a year; and he extorted from him an agreement to forego the first year of the pension by way of dowry; so that if Edward broke with Louis he must suffer that loss at any rate. Then again he showed an infirmity of purpose, to use no stronger term, by concluding a private truce with Louis² at the very time when he was assuring Edward that he would do nothing without consulting him; and, lastly, he was found in friendly intercourse with the King of Scots, a matter of which Edward was inclined to take a personal view, as we shall see³. He kept his temper, however, for the sake of marrying his daughter; went down to the coast to see his sister off; and sent an envoy to assist at conferences appointed to be held between Maximilian and Louis⁴.

The French King had been in bad health for some time.

¹ For the treaties signed on the one side and the other, August 1st-20th, see Foed. xii. 123-134. For the treaty of July, 1474, see above, 403, 404.

² 21st August; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 592. The instructions were signed 12th August; p. 589.

³ Comines-Lenglet, sup. 605, 608.

⁴ See the despatches of Margaret and other documents; Comines-Lenglet, iii. 576-587, 603-610, 614. Edward was at Dover from the 21st to the 25th September; Household Account, Q. R. Miscell. Wardrobe, 72. On the 25th September the Duchess landed at Gravelines; Comines-Lenglet, sup.

Edward's last advice to Maximilian was to make a truce for a couple of years and hope for Louis' death¹. CH. XXX.
1480.

Perhaps Edward thought that the prospect of an Anglo-Austrian coalition might frighten Louis into concluding the marriage contract between the Lady Elizabeth and the Dauphin, which he kept evading². If so the King was doomed to be disappointed.

Relations between England and Scotland had been peaceable since 1464, and in fact cordial between 1474 and the beginning of 1477; since then, however, matters had taken a distinct turn for the worse. As already mentioned Edward had apparently taken umbrage at the marriage proposals which came from Edinburgh in that year; and since then he had withheld the stipulated instalments of his daughter's dowry³. Scotland.
1477-1480.

"As James III approached man's estate he showed himself more and more deficient in the qualities required of a King of Scotland in that turbulent age. He devoted himself neither to manly exercises nor to affairs of State: architecture, music, and the then fashionable pursuit of astrology engrossed his attention to the neglect of public business; and his love for these studies unfortunately led him to make confidential friends of their professors. On the other hand, his two brothers, Alexander Duke of Albany and John Earl of Mar, the one three, the other six years his junior, were skilled in all martial and knightly accomplishments, and their society was courted by the barons from whom the King had withdrawn himself"⁴. James III
of Scot-
land.

Under these circumstances James' favourites were able to inspire the belief, very likely not unfounded, that Albany entertained treasonable designs. In the latter part of 1478, apparently, he was apprehended, and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle⁵. About May, 1479, he made his escape; Arrest of
the Duke
of Albany.

¹ Comines-Lenglet, 616.

² Foed. 135.

³ The last payment was made in February, 1477; Foed. xii. 40, 41.

⁴ Burnet, Exchequer Rolls Scotland, viii. lxxviii; see Ferrerius, Append. to H. Boethius, p. 391 (ed. 1575); a fair and intelligible account.

⁵ J. Lesley, 43; Buchanan, xii. c. 39.

CH. XXX. set his castle of Dunbar in order for a siege; and then,
 1477-1480. leaving his men to take care of themselves, made his way to Paris, where he was received with all due respect by Louis' orders; but no encouragement was given to him as against his brother¹. By way of throwing fat on the fire it would seem that before leaving Scotland Albany wantonly caused truce-breaking on the Border, he himself being at the time Warden of the East March². It was doubtless to complain of these outrages that in June, 1479, Garter-King-at-Arms was sent to Scotland 'on matters deeply concerning the peace of the realm'³.

Edward
and the
Scottish
Opposi-
tion.

Edward was unable to resist the temptation of taking advantage of the troubles in Scotland, and, while demanding explanations from James, entered into secret negotiations with his enemies. In this same month of June we find "Rosse Herald" in London, conferring with the Privy Council on 'secret matters', and receiving a reward⁴.

"Rosse Herald" of course was the agent of John, Lord of the Isles, formerly Earl of Ross; a man who had been a thorn in the side of the Scots Government ever since 1462, when he signed a private treaty with Edward⁵. Another signatory of the same compact, James, the exiled Earl of Douglas, was still at the English Court, and ready to lend a hand to any enterprise against his own country.

Duped and harassed on all sides, the unfortunate *dilet-tante*, James III, must nevertheless be pronounced innocent of any charge except that of being unfit for his situation. The unfortunate marriage proposals of 1477 must have been made in Albany's interests, as he was to

¹ J. Lesley, *sup.*; Ferrerius, 392; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 157; Duclos, Louis XI. ii. 234. Dunbar was clearly being besieged by James on the 22nd May (1479), when his proclamation against Albany was issued: when it was taken does not appear. Albany apparently reached Paris in July.

² So James III's proclamation of the 22nd May, 1479; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. 125, &c.

³ Issues, Easter 19 Edward IV.

⁴ *Id.*, and Tellers' Roll, Easter 19 Edward IV.

⁵ See above, p. 288. John had been deprived of the earldom of Ross in 1476, receiving however a re-grant of part of his estates, with the dignity of Lord of the Isles; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, viii. lxiii.

marry the widowed Duchess of Burgundy. In June, 1478, the Scots Parliament, as if conscious of their former mistake, authorised proposals for the marriage of the Lady Margaret (James' sister) to Earl Rivers: and in March, 1479, they voted 20,000 marks for the marriage¹. On the 22nd August following Edward signed a safe-conduct for the lady to come to England to be married before the 1st November, the terms of the contract having been settled².

But the lady did not come; probably because Edward's intrigues with the Scottish malcontents had transpired. It is with a deep sense of shame that we find Edward later in the year (1479) issuing a safe-conduct, couched in cordial, nay pressing language, inviting James to pass through England on a proposed pilgrimage to Amiens³.

In the spring of 1480 Edward began to prepare for war. The recovery of Berwick was a definite point to aim at. In April we hear of delegates riding to London from York to attend a Grand Council⁴. Munitions were sent to Norham⁵. On the 12th May Gloucester was appointed commander-in-chief to act against the Scots; but the King could not as yet assign any actual breach of the truce by the Scots—only intended breaches⁶. By the month of June, however, Edward was able to proclaim that the Scots had crossed the Border, burning houses and carrying off prisoners⁷. The levies of the northern counties were called out, but did not get under arms till the month of September; by which time the Scots had again crossed the Border and burnt Bamborough. On this occasion they "lay" three days and three nights on English soil—

CH. XXX.
1477-80.

Rupture
with
Scotland.

Scottish
inroads.

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. 117, 120.

² Rot. Scot. ii. 457. The lady was to be at York on Saturday, 6th October; Davies, York Records, 99. In *Foedera* the year is wrongly given as 1482 (xii. 162).

³ 23rd November, 1479; Rot. Scot. ii. 457. The pilgrimage had been talked of since 1475; *Foed.* xii. 4; Rot. Scot. ii. 453.

⁴ Davies, York Records, 105, 106.

⁵ Tellers' Roll, Easter 20 Edward IV. The arms included 46 "gonnes" of foreign make, and costing from forty pence to twelve shillings "le pece".

⁶ *Foed.* xii. 115.

⁷ *Id.* 117.

CH. XXX. the old boast of a successful Scottish "road"¹. It is im-
 1480. portant to notice that their leader was the Earl of Angus,
 the chief of Albany's friends, and the leader of the oppo-
 sition to James' Government. Gloucester dashed after
 the flying Scots; but he cannot have gone very far, as
 before the end of October we find him back again at
 Sheriff-Hutton, his favourite residence².

It was under these circumstances that Edward took
 exception to the evidences of friendly intercourse between
 Maximilian and the Scots. But the intercourse did not
 go very far: cordial relations between England and the Low
 Countries continued to the end of the reign.

Arrest of
 the Earl
 of Mar.

James' domestic difficulties may be estimated by the fact
 that in December (1480) he deemed it necessary to arrest
 his other brother, John, the Earl of Mar; the charge pre-
 ferred being that of compassing the King's death by witch-
 craft. Less fortunate than Albany, Mar died in his prison,
 —bled to death,—but it is not certain that he met with
 foul play, much less that James was implicated in it³.

Louis XI had refused to support Albany as against his
 brother; but he did not scruple to foment war between
 England and Scotland⁴, as a counter-move to the alliance
 between England and Maximilian, from which he had
 so much to fear. One Robert Ireland, a Scotsman and 'a
 Doctor of the Sorbonne', was sent to Scotland for this
 purpose. But James' favourites were well aware that the
 war party in the country were no friends of theirs, and
 that the sword drawn against England might easily be
 turned against them. Accordingly a herald was sent to
 London to negotiate for mutual redress of grievances; but

¹ Plumptre Correspondence, 40; Chron. Pinkerton, i. 503.

² Davies, York Records, 106, 108.

³ J. Lesley, 43; Ferrerius, 393. W. Drummond of Hawthornden, on the
 authority of the contemporary Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, asserts that
 the Earl died of blood taken from him surgically, under fever, and without
 any evil intent; History of the James', 47, 48 (ed. 1711). The date is clearly
 given by Ferrerius, sup., where he seems to incorporate an old annal; else-
 where he places Mar's death before Albany's imprisonment.

⁴ See the letter of the year 1480; Comines-Lenglet, iv. 7.

he met with a very cool reception, and was in fact detained till Edward was ready to set his troops in motion¹.

CH. XXX.

1480.

He was quite resolved upon war. During the autumn of 1480 and the following winter preparations for more active hostilities were taken in hand. The three quarters' Subsidy of 1474 was at last called in, with supplementary 'Benevolences'². An embargo on all Scotsmen living in England gave opportunity for exacting trumpery fines of a few shillings a head; while the mission of Patrick "Holy Burton" (*Halyburton*) to Scotland, 'on state business'³, proves the continuing intercourse with the disaffected in the North, they being presumably the very men who had broken the truce.

A naval attack on the coasts and harbours of Scotland was the first thing resolved upon. During the winter ships were bought or hired, the Royal Navy not mustering above half a dozen vessels at the most. Lord Howard was appointed Captain of the Fleet (*armata*), to serve with 3000 seamen for sixteen weeks⁴. He sailed up the east coast about the middle of April⁵ and captured or destroyed all the shipping at Leith, Kinghorn, and Pittenweem; but failed to effect a landing at any place except Blackness, where he "brint (*burnt*) the toun and ane greit barge ship lyand besyd" (*lying beside it*)⁶.

Naval
attack on
the east
coast of
Scotland.

For operations by land Edward again had to content

¹ 1481. J. Lesley, 44: "Roberto Irlando Scoto Doctore Sorbonico"; G. Buchanan, xii. c. 41; Ferrerius, 391, 394; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. 138. Hall seems to recognise that Albany was much more responsible for the war than James III; p. 331.

² Croyland, Cont. 562: "subsidiū benevolentiae"; Tellers' and Receipt Rolls, Michaelmas 20 Edward IV. Some £2500 come in under this head.

³ Tellers' Roll, sup. Halyburton was a Scotchman, settled in England, and was proclaimed a traitor by his countrymen.

⁴ Tellers' Roll, sup.; Foed. xii. 139. Earl Douglas sailed with him.

⁵ From the 11th to the 13th April, 1481, a Scots Parliament sat in Edinburgh; Scots Acts, sup. 132. Defensive measures were ordered, but it seems clear that the English fleet had not yet been heard of. Again, Lesley connects the death of Bishop Spens of Aberdeen with grief at the outbreak of hostilities, and he died in this month of April.

⁶ J. Lesley, 44; Ferrerius, 394.

CH. XXX.
1481.
Commissions of
Array.

Invasion
of Scot-
land.

himself with county levies, raised under Commissions of Array, and at the cost of the districts. Operations against the Scots would naturally rank as defensive warfare; and as no crossing of the sea was involved, the old constitutional limits would be respected. But the service was always rendered grudgingly; the numbers to be called out, and the assessments for their wages, leading to endless discussion. Thus on the present occasion Edward fixed 120 men as the quota to be provided by the City of York and the Hundred of Ainsty, for two months' service. This was in March: in May all questions as between the City and the Ainsty seemed settled; but it is not till the 9th September that we hear that the men are ready to pass their musters¹. How far they went, or what they did, we cannot tell, but they must have crossed the Border, and King James complained bitterly of their doing so.

The Scots had raised an army, as agreed in their April Parliament, but when it was on its way to the Border it was disbanded, in deference, we are told, to the monitions of a Papal envoy, and on the understanding and belief that Edward would do the same. But Edward knew nothing of any such understanding, and Gloucester was sent forwards, a fleet co-operating, so that further "burning and destruction" ensued². To aggravate the distress a hard winter and a late spring had been followed by a very bad harvest³.

¹ See Davies, York Records, 110-117. The gentlemen of the Ainsty raised no objection to the levy on principle; they were willing to give their attendance upon the Mayor and City "as doon of auncheaunt tyme"; but they objected to finding as many men as the City; and they insisted that non-resident landowners ought to contribute. The right of calling out county levies was constantly exercised by the Crown, and without remonstrance.

² See James' own account; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. 138; he assures us that the war was "moved" by Edward in spite of all his offers; and that his own wish was "alanerly (*wholly*) to have had pece". See also J. Lesley, 45; Ferrerius, 394. The Pope wished the kings to combine against the Turks, who had sacked Otranto in July, 1480.

³ In Scotland the "storme", i.e. frost and snow, lasted from New Year's Day till the 26th March; Chron. Pinkerton, 503. In France the Seine and all its affluents were frozen from the 26th December, 1480, till the 6th February, 1481; Comines-Lenglet, ii. 160.

Among those who had joined the Scottish host was the Lord of the Isles. His presence "with ane gret company" might well justify James' reluctance to advance, as in June the Island Chief had entered into a formal compact with Edward through the agency of Patrick Halyburton¹.

CH. XXX.
1481.

¹ J. Lesley, 45; Foed. xii. 140.

CHAPTER XXXI.

EDWARD IV (*continued*).

Invasion of Scotland and recovery of Berwick.—The engagement of the Lady Elizabeth to the Dauphin broken off by Louis XI.—Parliament.—Death of Edward IV.—His character.—Financial Review.

CH. XXXI.

1482.
Prepara-
tions for
further
campaign.

BUT Berwick had not been recovered, and Edward resolved on still greater efforts for the year 1482. He had not troubled himself to summon a Parliament, but Convocation had been summoned, and had granted a Tenth¹. What with this Subsidy, and what with loans and 'Benevolences' raised pretty systematically, the Treasury was not badly off. The King called for 20,000 men, a number unheard of on record evidence, but common enough in chroniclers' figures. Recognising that he could not get the entire cost defrayed by the counties, and that he must put his hand into his pocket, Edward assigned a sum of £6092 for the wages of this force: at the established rate of 6*d.* a day, £6000 would keep 20,000 men for just twelve days; not enough to take them to the Border and back again. But apart from this, large sums were expended on ships, munitions, and stores; the shipping being wholly at the King's expense².

Scots
Parlia-
ment.

To prepare for the coming storm the Scots held a Parliament in March (1482): the transactions of the previous year were rehearsed, and James again proclaimed

¹ The Canterbury Tenth was to become payable 31st May, 1481; Tellers' Roll, Easter 22 Edward IV.

² Tellers' Roll, Easter 22 Edward IV; Foed. xii. 158. On the 21st February 10,000 quarters of wheat were ordered from Ireland; Privy Seals, 21 Edward IV.

his wish for peace; but national indignation showed itself in denunciation of the "Revare (*Reiver, Robber*) Edward calland him King of England". Rewards were offered for the apprehension of 'James of Douglas' and Patrick Halyburton ¹.

The Scots had probably been informed by their friends in France of the intended movements of the Duke of Albany, who was coming over to add fresh bitterness to the strife. Landing at Southampton towards the end of April, he was brought to London on the 2nd May; "the Erber" (Cold Harbour) having been prepared for his reception ². About the end of May Edward took his friend ³ down to Fotheringhay, and in that quiet retirement a private convention was arranged. Albany took the style of "Alexander King of Scotland be the gyfte of the King of England": he bound himself to support Edward and his heirs "aganyis (*against*) all 3erdly (*earthly*) Pryncis ande Personys"; to do fealty and homage for Scotland within six months after obtaining possession of the Crown; to break all alliance with France; and to make "reall and perpetuall transport" (*cession*) of the town and castle of Berwick. Edward, on the other hand, bound himself to help Alexander in getting and "browking" (*enjoying*) the Crown and Realm of Scotland, saving Berwick, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Annandale, with Lochmaben. Edward also promised to give the Lady Cecille, betrothed in 1474 to James' son, to Albany to wife, if the latter could make himself "clere" of all other women ⁴. This disgraceful provision had reference to the fact that Albany had recently married Anne de la Tour, daughter of the Count of Boulogne and Auvergne ⁵.

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. 138-140.

² Tellers' Roll, sup.

³ In June, 1463, when Edward was cultivating good relations with Scotland, Albany had been taken at sea; J. Lesley, 36. He was promptly liberated, and ever since then "a private intelligence" had been kept up between him and Edward; so W. Drummond, *History of the James'*, p. 46.

⁴ Fotheringhay, 10th and 11th June; Foed. xii. 156.

⁵ 10th February, 1480; Burnet, *Exchequer Rolls Scotland*, ix. lvii. Albany had previously divorced another wife.

CH. XXXI.

1482.

The Duke
of Albany
in England.

CH. XXXI.
1482. But while making every provision for the success of his enterprise Edward no longer felt equal to the task of taking the field in person. Gloucester was again appointed Commander-in-chief, and sent on to York with Albany, the King returning to London¹.

About the 18th June the two Dukes were expected at York, the Earl of Northumberland joining them there eight days later². On the 8th July Robert Radclyffe was appointed Captain of the auxiliary fleet: on the 15th the men at York were ordered to march.

The
Scottish
army.

Pronuncia-
mento of
the Barons.

Within a very few days of this time a Scottish army must have begun to move forwards from Edinburgh. James III was in command, and his past reluctance to assume that responsibility was quickly justified. The host advanced to Lauder, not thirty miles from Edinburgh, on its way to the Border: the Opposition barons met by night in the Kirk; and the Earl of Angus, expounding a well-known parable, undertook to 'bell the cat'³. In the morning he waited on the King at his lodgings, and preferred a formal indictment against his Government. James had surrounded himself with "unworthye vile persouns", and kept "the noble men" from his councils; he had banished one brother, and "causit slay" the other; he had neglected the Queen for a damsel "callit the Dæsie"; and had struck a base "cunye (*coinage*) of copper unmeit to have course or passage in ony realme".

A debasement of the currency was a legitimate ground of complaint; but it appears that the people had been led to believe that the "blak silver" had been the cause of the dearth and mortality due to the failure of the previous harvest⁴.

¹ Foed. xii. 157; Privy Seals, 22 Edward IV.

² Davies, York Records, 128-131. A squadron was sent to cruise on the west coast: troops also; Tellers' Roll, sup. Easter. The York contingent must have been amongst these, as they went to Dumfries; Davies, 174.

³ Chron. Pinkerton, sup.; Hume, Douglasses; W. Drummond, 49, 50.

⁴ J. Lesley, 48; Chron. Pinkerton, sup.; Ferrerius, 394b; G. Buchanan, xii. c. 41-46. So again "blak cunye . . . half-pennys and threepenny pennies . . . of coppir"; Chron. Pinkerton.

The King was powerless to resist. The malcontents seized his favourites, hanged some of them, and banished the rest. Among those who suffered were Thomas Cochrane, "quhome (*whom*) of ane maisone (*mason*) he had maid Erle of Mar"; and William Roger, a distinguished musician, whose pupils were noted in Scotland for a generation after his time¹.

CH. XXXI.

1482.

Seizure and execution of the King's favourites.

The King was taken back to Edinburgh, and placed in the Castle, under the charge of his uncle the Earl of Athole².

Meanwhile the English were advancing in force. The Earl of Northumberland and Lord Scrope of Bolton led the van: Gloucester, in command of the middleward, had with him Albany, the Marquis of Dorset, the Lords Fitz-Hugh, Greystock, Lovel, and Stanley, and Sir Edward Wydeville; while Lord Abergavenny (George Neville) brought up the rear³. The numbers certainly exceeded 6000, and may have reached 10,000 men⁴.

The English advance,

Siege was laid to Berwick: the town was soon taken; and then Gloucester pushed on, leaving part of his force to press the siege of Berwick Castle, which still held out. Berwickshire was devastated, while a wing of the army burnt Roxburghshire as far west as Jedburgh⁵.

and capture the town of Berwick.

The Scottish barons, having for the time got rid of their King, advanced to Haddington to meet the English; but,

¹ Burnet, Exchequer Rolls Scotland, ix. xlii, &c. Cochrane would be better described as an architect than as a mason; he was certainly in possession of the Mar revenues, if he had not been formally invested with the title.

² 22nd July; Chron. Pinkerton; J. Lesley, 49.

³ E. Hall, 331; Tellers' Roll. Dorset was the Queen's eldest son, Thomas Grey, in his own right Lord Ferrers of Groby, created Earl of Huntingdon in 1471, and Marquis of Dorset in 1475. His wife, Cecille Bonville, was the heiress of the Bonville and Haryngton estates.

⁴ The money paid by the King would represent the wages of 6000 men for the time the campaign lasted, namely six weeks (15th July-25th August), exclusive of the wages of some foreign gunners, and a few "Zouches" or "Swyches", also foreign mercenaries (qy. Switzers?); 4000 would probably be a full estimate for all the men sent by the counties as Benevolences. The city of York and the Ainsty, with much fuss, equipped 100 or 120 men as in the previous year.

⁵ See E. Hall, 332, for the names of more than fifty places burnt.

CH. XXXI.

1482.

The Duke
of Albany
and his
country-
men.

conscious of their own inferiority, they opened negotiations with Gloucester and Albany, who had reached Linton¹. Gloucester demanded the surrender of Berwick Castle as the price of an armistice. The Scots would not agree to that; but they induced Albany to come to terms on his own account. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Avondale the Chancellor, and the Earl of Argyll, as the leaders of the King's party, gave the Duke a bond, pledging them to obtain for him and his followers pardon and restitution, on the simple condition of his keeping 'true faith and allegiance' to King James and his Succession². Albany closed with these terms, which must have been sanctioned by Gloucester, as next day the two armies entered Edinburgh in amicable intercourse.

The conditions imposed on Albany suggest that his compact with Edward had transpired.

On the 4th August another bond was sealed by the Provost and Burgesses of Edinburgh pledging King James to accomplish the marriage between his son and the Lady Cecille, if Edward should so please; but if not, undertaking to refund the instalments of the dowry³.

Surrender
of Berwick
Castle.

Gloucester marched back to Berwick by the Lammermuirs. At his approach the Castle was surrendered by the commander, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Dunsyare (24th August). Next day the army was disbanded and the six weeks' campaign came to an end⁴.

¹ "Levington besydes Hadyngton"; E. Hall, 334. Buchanan, who seems to copy him, gives the names of the places as "Hadinam" and "Lethintonum". Hall represents the English as having entered Edinburgh in peace before these negotiations began, but their position at Linton seems to negative this.

² 2nd August; Foed. xii. 160.

³ Ib. and 165; J. Lesley, 49; Ferrerius, 396. Cf. E. Hall, 332-336, a full account, but not free from confusion. The bond of the 4th August is attested by Gloucester, Northumberland, and Stanley.

⁴ J. Lesley, 50; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, ix. 433. The payments of wages run to the 25th August; Tellers' Roll, sup. For the last fortnight Gloucester apparently had only 1700 men under his direct command; Devon Issues, 501: these men received £350 journey money to take them home, Northumberland's men receiving £94; that would make them number about 460.

The recovery of Berwick was a distinct national triumph ; but it involved the cost of keeping up a garrison ; and we are told that Edward groaned at the thought of the expense. £435 a month, however, were at once allotted to the Earl of Northumberland for this duty¹. On the other hand, the whole glory of the success fell to Gloucester, whose influence was further enhanced by all the personal relations necessarily created by the tenure of supreme command in a remote district during three successive years of war. It may be worth noticing that of the lords who served under him in the last campaign Fitz-Hugh, Lovel, and Abergavenny were young men who had not yet taken their seats in Parliament. A certain distrust of Gloucester on the part of the King may be traced in the fact that in November the Constable's staff was taken from him, and the office put into Commission².

CH. XXXI.

1482.

The
Duke of
Gloucester.

The Scots would gladly have signed a peace and renewed the contract for the marriage of the Lady Cecille to their Prince : but Edward would not drop his confederacy with Albany ; and Garter-King-at-Arms was sent to Edinburgh to notify the King's election to have the marriage quashed and the dowry refunded³.

During the Christmas festivities at Westminster we are told that the King presented a very picture of flourishing Royalty. His manly presence⁴ was set off by a flowing robe, with ample sleeves, lined with fur turned down over his shoulders⁵. Around him were grouped his numerous family, and a brilliant Court, with representatives of all

Edward's
Court at
Christmas,
1482.

¹ Croyland, Cont. 563 ; Tellers' Roll, Michaelmas 22 Edward IV.

² Foed. xii. 169. See above, 346, 352, 390.

³ 12th-27th October ; Foed. xii. 164-167 ; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. 143. An understanding between James III and Albany was effected through the Queen ; and James was set at liberty about Michaelmas : "and then the wictall grew better chaip" (*cheaper*) ; Chron. Pinkerton, 504. Albany was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Realm in December ; Acts of Parliament, sup. 142 ; but he was still plotting.

⁴ "Sommewhat corpulente and boorelye, and natheless not uncomely" ; T. More, Life of Richard III, p. 2, ed. Lumby (Pitt Press, 1883).

⁵ "Manicæ pendentes amplissimæ in modum flocci monachalis" ; Croyland, Cont. 563.

CH. XXXI.

1482.

nations. Among these must have been Andrew Palaeologus, styled Prince of Constantinople, who had been the King's guest throughout the year¹. But Edward's constitution was sapped by debauchery; and his inner man must have been gnawed by the consciousness that he had been finally duped and outwitted by Louis XI².

Rejection
of his
alliance
by Louis
XI,

who closes
with Maxi-
milian of
Austria.

If there was a thing upon which Edward's heart appears to have been set it was the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth to the Dauphin. Edward treated the matter as settled, and his daughter was styled the Dauphiness at Court. But Louis had never intended the marriage to take place, and he had only pacified Edward with fair words and the punctual payment of the 'tribute'. The marriage had now been finally quashed by the engagement of the Dauphin to Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian. This alliance was the work, not of the Duke, but of his Flemish subjects, who appreciated the importance of peace with France. Their opportunity was given them by the sudden death of the Duchess Mary of Burgundy (27th March, 1482), caused by a fall from her horse³. Her infant children, Philip and Margaret, were under the charge of the men of Ghent; and they promptly closed with Louis' suggestion of a marriage between his son and the Lady Margaret. Nothing could have been less palatable to Maximilian, who was struggling to enlist Edward in war with France⁴: but he had no money and no partisans. On the 6th November he submitted to sign an authority to treat: on the 23rd December a final treaty was sealed at Arras.

Treaty
between
France

The compact was made as between Louis and the Dauphin of the one part, and Maximilian, his children, and

¹ Tellers' Rolls, Easter and Michaelmas 22 Edward IV. The name is given as "Priologus"; he received £20 a month.

² So Comines-Dupont, ii. 242. John Russell, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, stated as much in Parliament; Grants of Edward V, p. liii, J. G. Nichols (Camden Society, No. 60).

³ Comines-Lenglet, iv. 82.

⁴ See his negotiations with Edward and Brittany throughout 1481: Comines-Lenglet, iv. 10-44.

their subjects of the other part; the États of Brabant, CH. XXXI.
Flanders, Hainault, Holland, and Zealand being formally 1482.
represented. The Dauphin Charles agreed to marry and the
"Mademoiselle de Bourgogne" when she should come of Nether-
age—she was not yet fully three years old; while the lost lands.
provinces of the House of Burgundy then in Louis' hands,
namely Artois, Burgundy, Mâconnais, Auxerrois, Salins,
Bar-sur-Seine, and Noyers, were settled on the future couple
and their issue as the lady's portion, with an ultimate rever-
sion to her brother Philip and his heirs failing issue of the
marriage. The treaty embodied full provisions for securing
peace and friendly intercourse between the two countries ¹.

Worst of all, the settlement between France and the
Netherlands brought 'the tribute' to an end.

In the face of such insults, Edward had no alternative Parliament
but to summon a Parliament ^{at West-}^{minster.} ². The assembly was opened
by the King in person at Westminster on the 20th January,
1483. Archbishop Rotherham, the Chancellor, preached
on the text "*Dominus illuminatio mea*"; but the tenor of
his address has not been preserved ³. The question of war
with France must have been laid before the Houses ⁴, as
the Commons voted a Subsidy to be raised at Midsummer:
they also reestablished the paltry tax on foreigners, a con-
cession doubtless to the jealousy of native traders ⁵.

In contemplation of war grants, actual and prospective, the Business in
more influential classes pressed for favourable legislation, Parlia-
ment.

¹ See the documents, Comines-Lenglet, iv. 95-125. The treaty was ratified
by Louis 25th January, and registered in the Parliament of Paris 4th February,
1483.

² The writs were issued on the 15th November after Edward had heard of
the preliminary agreement of the 6th November. Perhaps the step was taken
in terrerem.

³ Rot. Parl. vi. 196. Sir John Wode was elected Speaker; 197. He was
apparently Warden of the Mint.

⁴ So too Croyland, Cont. 563.

⁵ Alien servants not being "servauntez of husbondrie" were required to pay
2s. a year; artificers, 6s. 8d.; merchants, brokers, and factors, 20s. or 40s.
according to the length of their stay. In allocating funds to make up £11,000
a year for the King's Household (below, 451), £400 was taken from the produce
of this tax; Rot. Parl. 197, 199. Of course the Hanse merchants were exempted,
and the King also exempted all Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, and Lucchese.

CH. XXXI. not without success. The Knights of the Shires asked
 1483. for the republication and enforcement of sundry Statutes for the maintenance of peace and 'truth'¹ throughout the Realm; such as the Statutes of Westminster and Winchester; the Statutes concerning the illegal distribution of Signs and Liveries, a practice in vogue only among the greater magnates; and the Statutes concerning Weights and Measures; Servants and Labourers; Beggars and Vagabonds².

The representatives of native industry and trade obtained the enactment of new sumptuary regulations, the old Acts being repealed. The new rules ordain that no man "under th' estate of a lorde" do wear cloth of gold; and that no man "under the degre of a Knyght" do wear "velwet" in his doublet or gown. The object of the measure is clearly betrayed by the provision forbidding any man "under th' estate of a lorde" to wear "any maner of wollen clothe made oute of this realme of England, Irland, Wales and Calece"³. Conceived in the same spirit was the renewed prohibition on the importation of foreign wrought silks—"corses, girdills, rybbandes, and laces". To enlist orthodox sympathy it was hinted that the trade was mainly in the hands of "Jues and Sarzynnes"⁴. Still worse was a prohibition on the application of machinery to a branch of native manufacture. Fulling-mills for the making of caps, we are told, had been recently introduced⁵, and with such success that one mill would "fulle and thicke" more caps in one day than could be done by fourscore men "with hande and fote". In spite of this, or rather on account of this very economy of labour, the fulling of "huers" bonnets and caps in mills, and the sale of "huers" bonnets and caps fulled in mills, were forbidden⁶.

¹ "Pro majori observantia veritatis", &c.

² Rot. Parl. vi. 198.

³ Id. 220; Stat. 22 Edward IV, c. 1.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 222; Stat. c. 3. The petition is presented in the name of the "hole craft" of silk-workers in London and elsewhere.

⁵ "Founde nowe of late".

⁶ Rot. Parl. 223; Stat. c. 5. The word "*huer*" must be connected with the French "*hure*," whose original meaning was *hairy head*, or *head of hair* as we say.

London tradesmen obtained an allocation of Crown Revenues to the amount of £11,000 a year for the expenses of the Royal Household, the funds appropriated being set free by cancelling all existing charges on them: but as usual the effect of the repudiation was considerably modified by thirty-eight clauses of exemption introduced by the King¹. The reader will understand that this and other allocations of the sort involved no new grant by Parliament; it was simply an appropriation of part of the actual revenues of the Crown, and in fact of part of its hereditary revenues.

Private affairs also came in as usual. The Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Stanley were recommended by the Commons to the King for their services in the late war². Gloucester obtained the unprecedented grant of the city and castle of Carlisle, and the Wardenship of the West Marches, for himself and his heirs male, with a jurisdiction only short of Palatine rights; while he received an out-and-out Palatinate in fee simple, north of the Border, in all lands that he or his heirs "with Goddes grace" might get and "atcheve" from the Scots within the limits of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Annandale, Wachopedale, and Clydesdale³.

Edward's weakness in this matter stands in strong contrast to his policy in requiring the Earl of Huntingdon (William Herbert) to exchange his family lordships of Pembroke and Tenby for lands in Dorset and Somerset where his name had no ancestral associations⁴. Perhaps Edward thought to find employment for Gloucester's ambition at a safe distance.

A compromise was effected with the Berkeley family, by which William Viscount Berkeley released his claims on the Mowbray estates in favour of the young Duke of

¹ Rot. Parl. 198-202.

² Id. p. 197.

³ Rot. Parl. 197, 204. The rights within the Scottish Palatinate are defined by reference to those of the See of Durham as the largest known to English law. Gloucester also received 10,000 marks (£6666 13s. 4d.) down in full for all future salary.

⁴ Id. 202-204; cf. above, 430.

CH. XXXI. York¹; while a marriage was arranged between Anne²,
 1483. daughter and heiress of the King's late sister, the Duchess of Exeter, and Thomas Grey, son of the Marquis of Dorset. The scheme was so worked as, in effect, to make provision for both the Queen's sons, namely Dorset and his brother Sir Richard Grey, out of the Exeter estates. The King, moreover, received a *douceur* of 7000 marks (£4666 13s. 4d.) from the Queen and her sons for his good offices in the matter³.

Reversal of
 attainders. Finally we close the last Parliament of Edward IV by recording two more reversals of Lancastrian attainders, namely those of Sir Alexander Hody of Bower, in Somersetshire, and the late John Delves of Uttoxeter. Hody had been attainted for the part he took at Wakefield; and Delves had been executed after Tewkesbury⁴.

On the 18th February Parliament rose.

Death of
 the King. Seven weeks later Edward passed away. About Easter (30th March) he took to his bed at Westminster: on the 9th April he died. According to Hall he had contracted an ague (*tercian*) during the French campaign of 1475: the disease eventually assumed the more serious character of 'quartan', while the end was accelerated by a surfeit⁵.

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 205-207. The Duke had just lost his infant wife, Anne Mowbray; Viscount Berkeley (so created 21st April, 1481) was the son of Mabel Mowbray, eldest daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1399.

² This Anne was the daughter of the Duchess by Sir Thomas St. Leger, and must be distinguished from the other Anne, the Duchess' daughter by the Duke of Exeter, who was contracted or married to Thomas Wydeville in 1460, and apparently died *circa* 1475; Sandford, 396. See above, 415. Anne St. Leger eventually married George Manners, and became the ancestress of the Earls and Dukes of Rutland.

³ Rot. Parl. 215-217.

⁴ Id. 218, 219.

⁵ E. Hall, 338, 339, 343. The Croyland writer asserts that Edward had no special distemper, implying that he died of drink and debauchery: "cum Rex ille neque senio neque quovis intellecto certo genere morbi, cujus cura in minori persona facilis non videretur, affectus esset, decidit in lectum", &c. "Is princeps licet... cupiditatibus et luxui nimis intemperanter indulsisse credatur"; cf. again, "homine tam corpulento, tantis sodaliciis... crapulis luxui... dedito", pp. 563, 564. De Comines attributed his death in part to chagrin at having been tricked by Louis XI; ed. Dupont, ii. 242; so, too, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, John Russell, as above cited, 448.

But the mere fact of a man who began life with a magnificent *physique* sinking into the grave of no particular complaint under the age of forty-one tells its own tale.

CH. XXXI.
1483.

The remains, after being exhibited naked to the waist for some hours, lay in state in St. Stephen's Chapel for eight days: on the 17th April they were taken to Sion House; next day to Windsor. On the 19th, apparently, they were interred, according to the King's will, in his own new chapel. At the funeral the Blood Royal, seemingly, was represented by the King's nephew, the Earl of Lincoln, Suffolk's son¹.

His
obsequies.

Edward IV was not a bad King for the times in which he lived: he was a man of much the same type as the Fastolfs, and Pastons, and Plumptons, who have left us their portraits in their private correspondence: hard, narrow, unscrupulous; and endowed with the iron will and relentless purpose necessary to keep the men he had to rule in order. But these characteristics were not developed in a day. Twenty-two years of government turned him from the most trustful to the most suspicious of men; yet he was always true to those who served him well. We have no capricious changes of ministers in his time: on the contrary, we find the same men retaining office for long periods; as, for instance, Hastings, Howard, Essex, Morton, and John Russell. Short-sighted as a politician, he had nevertheless a distinct turn for organisation and detail. As already noticed, he received regular reports as to the state of the country from his officers and stewards. It was said that he knew the name, and something of the circumstances, of every man of any position in the Realm². With the middle and lower classes he appears to have been distinctly popular to the last: his convivial habits and easy accessible manners would account for that.

His
character
as a ruler.

¹ See the contemporary account printed Archaeol. i. 349; Letters of Richard III, J. Gairdner, i. 1 (Rolls Series, No. 24). The writer gives the day of the removal to Sion House as Wednesday, 17th April. But the 17th fell on a Thursday. If the removal to Sion took place on the 16th, the interment must have been on the 18th April. See also Arundel MS. 51 (College of Arms).

² Croyland, Cont. 562, 564.

CH. XXXI. The Londoners might well like a King who lived and
 1461-1483. moved so much among them¹. What the gentry thought
 of him is more doubtful; but Lancastrian opposition had
 died out, partly through Edward's consistent efforts at
 conciliation².

His private life. His private life was more irregular than that of any King
 since John; but he never imported the Royal prerogative
 of might into love-affairs, always working his way through
 blandishments and largess³. His intrigues appear to have
 been mostly carried on with women not of the highest
 position. Best known to fame among his mistresses was
 Jane Shore, or "Shore's wife", as she was generally called
 at the time, being the wife of a well-to-do young citizen.
 She is described as pretty, well educated, "mery in com-
 paigny, redy and quicke of answeare". Her influence over
 the King in his latter days was considerable, but she
 "never abused" it "to any man's hurt, but to many men's
 comferte and reliefe". Edward used to say that he had
 three mistresses "which . . . diversely excelled; one the
 meriest, the other the wyliest, the thirde the holiest" harlot
 in the Realm⁴.

As a general, Edward exhibited in the highest degree
 that combination of personal prowess with tactical skill
 requisite in mediaeval warfare. His Intelligence Depart-
 ment was always well looked after. During the Scotch
 war of 1482 he laid the foundations of a system of posting
 in England by establishing relays of mounted messengers
 to carry despatches at intervals of twenty miles. In this

¹ T. More, Richard III, 2, 3; Polydore, 683. For an entertainment in Waltham Forest, and other attentions to the leading citizens in 1482, see Fabian, 667; but the King was raising a loan in the City at the time.

² T. More, 2.

³ "Id vitium ejus non admodum fuit molestum populo quod neque unius voluptas viri diffundere se tam late posset ut omnibus fieret gravis: et ille vel precio quod libuit emercari solebat vel precibus eblandiri"; T. More, Latin ed., p. 3.

⁴ T. More, 54 (ed. Lumby); E. Hall, 353. The names of the other two ladies are not given. More did not know them: Hall says that they were "somewhat greater personages than mistress Shore". She lived till 1526-1527. Both writers apparently knew her. She died in poverty. An Eton tradition has it that she interfered to save the college from suppression.

manner more than one hundred miles a day could be covered¹. CH. XXXI.
1461-1483.

Towards the Church and her ordinances Edward's attitude was respectful: he had no toleration for Lollards, and some "small benefactions" gained him a cheap reputation as a friend of the clergy and a patron of men of letters². His gift of £20 to William Caxton may be recalled in connexion with this.

Among the foundations of the reign we may notice the refounding in 1465 by Queen Elizabeth of Queen's College, Cambridge; the foundation in 1473 of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, by Richard Wodelarke, Provost of King's³; and the enlargement in 1479 of Lincoln College, Oxford, by Thomas Rotherham, then Bishop of Lincoln, and shortly afterwards Archbishop of York⁴.

The execution of one Lollard is recorded, namely that of John Goos, who was burnt on Tower Hill in 1474. In a John
Goos. slippery and faithless age it is refreshing to find one man who could die for his convictions. Staunch to the last, he asked to be allowed to dine before going to execution. He said, "I ete nowe a good and competent dyner for I shall passe a lytell sharpe shower or I go to souper"⁵. The heart of old England was not dead though it seemed to slumber.

Almost the only other spiritual movement of the reign was the discussion which agitated London in 1464 and 1465 as to the Mendicancy of Christ, asserted by the White Friars. The teaching of the latter was condemned by the Bishops with the King's sanction, and finally extinguished by a Bull of Paul II⁶.

On his deathbed Edward appears to have republished

¹ Croyland, Cont. 571. The idea was taken from France, where Louis XI issued an ordinance establishing post-horses in June, 1464; Duclos, Louis XI, Preuves, 214. The system, however, was not organised for ten years; Martin, France, vii. 119.

² Croyland, Cont. 564.

³ Cambridge University Calendar.

⁴ Oxford University Calendar.

⁵ MS. Vitellius; R. Fabian, 663.

⁶ See Three Fifteenth Century Chron. 181.

CH. XXXI. his will, made in 1475, a few days before sailing for France:
 1483. it would also seem that he specially recommended to his executors' notice the provisions directing payment of all just debts and claims upon him; even of claims which Parliament had empowered him to compound, if only there was "ground in conscience" for making payment; the "moost pourest and ferrest from helpe" to be "furst herd and satisfied"¹.

From the point of view of his own times his "Benevolences" were his most unconstitutional acts; but those of 1481-1482 appear for the most part to have been granted by county and borough assemblies, like the contingents of men sent by York and the Ainsty, which are nevertheless described as "Benevolences". Of the £4461 entered under this head on the Tellers' Roll (Easter 22 Edward IV), £3673 are stated to have been given by Wales and the Welsh March. This money may be supposed to have been voted by provincial assemblies, such as we find at other times in Wales voting subsidies².

Edward's
matri-
monial
schemes.

Of all the many proposals put forward by Edward for the marriage of his children to foreign princes not one came to anything. The failure of all these schemes no doubt suggests that with all his successes "he was regarded by the Kings of Europe as somewhat of an outlaw"³. Since the proposal for the marriage between the Lady Anne and Philip of Austria the following schemes had been mooted. One for the marriage of Edward's fifth surviving daughter, Catherine, to the Infante Juan, son of Ferdinand and Isabella⁴. It may be remembered that Edward himself had been a suitor for the hand of Isabella. Another proposal was for the union of the Prince of Wales to Anne of

¹ Croyland, Cont., sup. For the will see *Excerpta Historica*, 366.

² On the Ministers' accounts for North Wales, No 144 (Michaelmas 6-7 Edward IV), we find 400 marks voted by the freeholders and towns of Anglesey; again we have a "tallagium recognitionis" granted to the Prince of Wales, in honour of his first visit, by the county of Carmarthen; and the same by Cardiganshire; Id. No. 181 (Michaelmas 13-14).

³ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* iii. 218.

⁴ August, 1479; *Foed.* xii. 110, 147.

Brittany, only child of Duke Francis II ¹. Lastly came the disgraceful suggestion for substituting Albany for young James as the suitor for the hand of the Lady Cecille ². The failure of the marriage between the future James IV and the Lady Cecille, the most sensible and practical of all Edward's matches, was his own doing.

CH. XXXI.
1461-1483.

Fond of money, and keen to make money in any way he could, Edward IV succeeded in his latter years, with the help of the French subvention, in raising a fair revenue, and his economical habits made him a rich man; but without the French crowns he would not have been very well off. The paucity of the Parliamentary grants, and the decay of most, if not of all, the ordinary branches of the Revenue were the causes of this state of things. Edward was sharp in the exaction of petty dues, fines, and forfeitures; he could exact Benevolences from yeomen, and force small creditors to accept compositions ³; he could sell Church patronage ⁴; tax the victuals supplied to the garrison of Calais ⁵; or even retail wine on his own account among the soldiers on an expedition ⁶; but he could not devise a fertile tax, or draw money from Parliament. One extra Subsidy would probably have more than covered all the money raised by unpopular and illegal Benevolences. Yet the borrowing of the reign, as we shall see, was moderate, and only resorted to in cases of distinct need.

Financial
Review of
the Reign.
Edward
not a real
financier.

To form a fair estimate of the Revenue of Edward IV it will be well to leave altogether out of consideration the period of the struggle with Warwick leading up to and

¹ 10th May, 1481; Lobineau, Bretagne, ii. c. 1397; Foed. xii. 142.

² June, 1482, sup., and Foed. 156.

³ Strings of these appear on the Issue Rolls of the later years.

⁴ So Croyland, Cont. 559. No entries however of any receipts from sales of Preferment appear on the Rolls.

⁵ The tax is given as 40 pence on the £1 value. One third of the wages were paid in kind. We have £540 paid in under this head, Receipts, Michaelmas 21 Edward IV; so again in January, 1482.

⁶ So in the Scots war of 1482; Tellers' Roll, Easter 22 Edward IV. It is also clear that Edward traded with the Continent in various kinds of goods.

CH. XXXI. including the "Readeption" of Henry VI. For financial
 1461-1483. purposes this period may be made to extend from March
 1469 to March 1472. Leaving this interval out of con-
 sideration, we will endeavour to frame estimates first for the
 eight years from March 1461 to March 1469; and secondly
 for the eleven years from March 1472 to March 1483, the
 financial years, however, being in fact taken from Michael-
 mas to Michaelmas.

Old
 Crown
 Revenues.
 Pipe Rolls.

(1) Old Crown Revenues.

These are still our chief *crux*. Our analysis of the Pipe
 Roll of the 25th year of Henry VI (1446-1447) gave the
 following results:—

<i>Nominal Charge.</i>	<i>Paid in. (‘In Tho.’)</i>	<i>Accounted for otherwise.</i>	<i>Left owing.</i>
£17,414	£3179	£10,480	£4327 ¹

We have waded through one Pipe Roll of the reign of
 Edward IV, namely that for the year from Michaelmas
 1476 to Michaelmas 1477², a year selected as one coming
 after the cessation of all internal troubles, when the land
 was at peace, and the kingdom firmly established in
 Edward's hands. The analysis shows a further decline even
 from the days of Henry VI.

<i>Nominal Charge.</i>	<i>Paid in. (‘In Tho.’)</i>	<i>Accounted for otherwise.</i>	<i>Left owing.</i>
£16,813	£2359	£10,118	£4207

The result falls in with the generalisation already in-
 dicated by us, that times of trouble, being times when the
 Crown stood most in need of support, were just the times
 when the Crown could least afford to stand on its rights or
 haggle about terms. The utmost therefore that we can
 allow for the revenues accounted for in the Pipe Rolls will
 be £12,500 gross and £2500 net, and that must stand for
 both our periods. These accounts, it may be remembered,
 include besides the County and Borough Ferms, the receipts
 from the Escheators, from aulnage of cloth, and vacant
 Sees; and the proceeds of the smaller fines, forfeitures,
 wardships, marriages, and estates in hand. The larger

Estates 'in
 hand.'

¹ Above, p. 252.

² Pipe Roll, 16-17 Edward IV.

estates in hand were administered separately. But the returns from these, at any rate up to the time when Clarence's forfeiture accrued, were surprisingly small. On the Enrolled Foreign Accounts for the first two or three years of the reign we find the Buckingham estates yielding £23 a year: the Shrewsbury estates, in seven counties, £38: the Percy inheritance something equivalent to £656 a year. After two or three years the large forfeited estates disappear altogether. No wonder that the Commons grumbled. But there is reason to believe that some of these receipts, at any rate, if not entered on any general accounts that we have yet discovered, were still available as part of the King's Revenue. Thus late in the reign we find the Shrewsbury, Morley, and Wiltshire estates providing £1100 to £1400 a year for the rebuilding of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Again, occasional windfalls came in, as in the case of the 7000 marks paid by the Queen and her sons for the Holland estates. It may be that further allowance ought to be made for these casual or unrecorded profits: and so at a venture we will allow for them £3000 a year gross, and say £1000 a year net.

Duchy of Cornwall.

Cornwall.

Here for the first period we have on the Enrolled Foreign Accounts returns for seven years out of the eight, and they show on the average an income of £3100 a year gross, and £2300 a year net. For the second period we have only one year to go by, but as the returns agree with those of the earlier years the same estimate will hold good.

Earldom of Chester.

Chester.

For this branch we have examined three Chamberlain's Rolls for the first years of the reign, the Chamberlain being Sir William Stanley, appointed for the term of his natural life by Edward on the 1st May, 1461¹. The gross receipts for the three years are given as £4246. But in the first place this included £1666 13s. 4d. on account of the extraordinary grant of 3000 marks payable to Edward on becoming Earl of Chester; and, in the second place, it included

¹ Chester, Chamberlain's Accounts, Mich. 2-5 Ed. IV.

CH. XXXI.
1461-1483. a swelling item of arrears carried on from year to year. Without these items the gross income would not exceed £500 a year. With respect to the expenditure a curious fact is the large proportion of the money that found its way into the pockets of the Stanley family; the names of Thomas Lord Stanley, "Alienore" his wife, John his son, and Sir William his uncle, all recurring at short intervals. The average net yield, after local demands had been satisfied, would not seem to exceed £100 a year: and in the first year even that went to the Stanleys, being received by Sir William for his services at the siege of Rhuddlan. For our first period, however, the extra £2000 will furnish a yearly addition of £250 both to the gross and the net receipts, making £750 for the one and £350 for the other.

Wales. Wales (North).

Here we have accounts for two years within our first period¹. The gross receipts in each year come to about £1000, almost all expended locally, £52 being the amount in the two years entered as paid for the King. Here again we may call attention to a subsidy of 400 marks (£233 6s. 8d.) voted to the King by the freeholders and towns of Anglesey². Failing further evidence the same estimate must serve for the second period as well as the first.

Wales (South).

Under this head we have accounts for two years, one falling within our first, and one within our second period³. The former exhibits gross receipts (excluding arrears) a little under £700, with some £360 paid in. The latter shows a gross total (without arrears) of £1247, with £985 paid in. But this included another extraordinary grant of 800 marks (£533 6s. 8d.) styled a 'Tallage of Recognition' from the county of Carmarthen to the Prince of Wales in honour of his first advent into the Principality⁴. Our

¹ Q. R. Ministers' Accounts, Nos. 143, 144.

² The grant was made on the 26th April, 1466.

³ Q. R. Ministers' Accounts, Nos. 181, 190.

⁴ The grant was made on the Morrow of the Trinity, "anno vi", i. e. 2nd June, 1466.

estimate for the first period will therefore serve for the second period also.

Lancaster Estates.

For our first period there appear to be no Lancaster accounts forthcoming: we must therefore be content with the estimate formed for the latter years of Henry VI, namely, £4300 a year gross, and £2800 a year net. For our second period returns for four years are extant¹, and they give on the average an income of £3565 a year gross, and £3000 a year net.

(2) Customs.

CH. XXXI.

1461-1483.

Lancaster
Estates.

Customs.

In the financial history of a commercial nation this branch of the Revenue must always be one of especial interest. The reader will see by our Table that we lay before him the proceeds for nine years, taken from the authoritative Enrolled Customs Accounts. The first of these years is the broken twelvemonth falling partly in the reign of Henry VI and partly in that of Edward IV (Michaelmas, 1460-1461). The comparison of the returns for this year with those for the following year exhibits in a strong light the effect of maritime warfare upon commerce. The time covered by the financial year 1460-1461 was by no means one of peace and quiet. It witnessed the armed return of the Duke of York from exile; the battles of Wakefield, Mortimer's Cross, and St. Albans (No. 2), and the whole Towton campaign. Yet the Customs produced £30,628, only £2000 less than in the previous year². The next year (1461-1462) brought an alarm of foreign invasion and naval warfare, and the Customs sink to £16,192. Next year the alarm passed away, and the Customs rise to £23,241, while three years later (1465-1466) they attain the respectable sum of £35,715. The average however of the years falling within our first period is only £25,000 gross, or, deducting the allowances to the Collectors, the only real deduction to be made, £24,500 net. The years falling within our second period show a further recovery,

¹ Duchy of Lancaster, Class 28, Bundle 4, No. 18.

² See above, Table, p. 266.

CH. XXXI. enabling us to allow £35,000 a year for the gross, and
 1461-1483. £34,500 a year for the net returns. It is right to state that our totals include duties nominally exigible, but not in fact paid, on goods shipped on the King's private account, or on the account of Hanse merchants, Italians, and others, who had received remissions in return for money due or services performed; the King having, in our estimation, received value in one way or another for the duties so remitted.

Rates of
Duty.

Of the Parliamentary duties—the only duties that varied—Tonnage and Poundage remained as under Henry VI, viz. at 3*s.* on the tun of wine, and 12*d.* on the £1 value of general goods. The wool duties at Edward's accession stood nominally at the totals of 51*s.* 4*d.* the sack from natives¹, and 111*s.* 4*d.* from foreigners²:—the rates fixed in 1453. The latter rate of course was totally prohibitive, and no foreigner ever shipped a sack of wool unless he had previously arranged with the Government for a remission of duty: 56*s.* 8*d.* appears the utmost ever actually paid by a foreigner, while natives were usually let off with 40*s.* the sack. In 1465 the wool duties were reformed, the total from natives being reduced to 41*s.* 4*d.* and that from aliens to 78*s.*, everything included; the latter, however, was still an impossible duty, never paid in practice³.

Direct
Grants.

(3) Subsidies.

The Parliamentary Subsidy, or Fifteenth on goods and chattels from counties, and Tenth from towns, remains at £30,000; that is to say after deduction of the usual £6000 for the benefit of decayed and impoverished places.

¹ I. e. Magna Custuma, 6*s.* 8*d.* + subsidy, 43*s.* 4*d.* + Cocket and Calais dues, 1*s.* 4*d.* = 51*s.* 4*d.*

² I. e. Magna Custuma, 6*s.* 8*d.* + Parva Custuma, 3*s.* 4*d.* + subsidy, 100*s.* + Cocket and Calais dues, 1*s.* 4*d.* = 111*s.* 4*d.*

³ These nominal rates give trouble to the investigator of the Customs Accounts, because at some ports the Collectors charged themselves with the full nominal duty, taking credit on the other side of the account for the amount remitted by the King; in other cases only the amount actually collected is entered. On the 18th December, 1482, Edward, making a virtue of necessity, reduced the duty on the sack of wool from Italians to 53*s.* 4*d.* the sack, or 54*s.* with Cocket and Calais dues; Foed. xii. 255.

The special Tenth on land granted in 1472 came to CH. XXXI.
1461-1483.
£35,000 or £36,000¹.

Of Fifteenths and Tenths just three were granted in the first nine years of the reign, and two and three-quarters in the last eleven years, besides the special Tenth on land. The Subsidy of 1483 need not be noticed, as it was not raised during Edward's life. The three Subsidies of the earlier period may be taken as furnishing, on the plan we have hitherto adopted, an average contribution of £11,250 to each year from 1461 to 1469. So too the Subsidies of the second period may be taken as contributing an average of, say, £11,000 a year, from 1472 to 1483. But the reader must bear in mind that practically the whole of this money was laid out on extraordinary war expenditure, as stipulated by Parliament; and that Edward really received for himself nothing, or next to nothing, from Parliament, during the latter years of his reign. In fact Parliament discounted the French tribute.

The Canterbury Tenth may be taken at about £13,000, as under Henry VI². Four of these Subsidies were granted in our first period, and five and a-half in the latter period, making just £6500 a year, or half a Subsidy a year all over. The Northern Province was less liberal, and only vouchsafed two and a-half Subsidies in the first period, and four in the latter period. The total yield of a York Tenth does not appear to have materially exceeded £1400 in any one case³: at any rate we cannot under this head allow more than £500 a year for the first period, and £550 for the second period.

(4) Hanaper in Chancery.

Hanaper.

The yield of this source of income may again be given

¹ See Rot. Parl. vi. 113, 115.

² On the Enrolled Foreign Accounts, Edward IV-Richard III, £6104 8s. 4d. is given as the yield, "*unius integræ decimæ*", granted in April, 1481. As a half-tenth granted in 1425 gave £6422 12s. 9d., I think we must read "*medietatis unius integræ decimæ*." The grant was payable by halves, so that only one half at a time would come under notice.

³ On the Pell Receipt Rolls, Easter and Michaelmas 22 Edward IV, the payments for the Tenth granted at York 29th October, 1481, come to £1417 9s. 11d.

CH. XXXI. with great exactitude, as we have on the Enrolled Foreign
 1461-1483. Accounts practically full returns for both our periods.
 These give on the average £1625 a year gross, and £1230 a
 year net for the earlier years ; and £1500 a year gross, and
 £925 a year net for the later years.

Tower
 Mint. (5) Tower Mint and Exchange.

Here we have from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts
 returns for five years in our first period and full returns for
 our second period. With the bonus of the recoinage of
 1464-1465 the figures in the former case will be £3430
 a year gross, and £1980 net ; and in the latter case £915
 a year gross, and £320 a year net.

So far we get in round numbers a legitimate gross
 Revenue of £74,000 a year for our first period, and £80,000
 a year for the earlier years of our second period.

Loans, &c. (6) The head of money raised by Gifts, Loans, and
 Benevolences still remains.

The defective state of the Pell Receipt Rolls for the
 reign makes it impossible to speak with certainty on this
 point. From the Rolls that are extant it appears that
 occasionally very large sums were borrowed, at times as
 much as £13,000, £15,000, and £17,000 in a single term¹.
 But as a rule these were merely anticipations of grants
 agreed to by Parliament or Convocation, and repaid shortly
 out of those proceeds. Other loans were repaid at the ex-
 pense of the Customs revenues. Of the above item of
 £13,000 the whole is marked as repaid, saving only £54 ;
 of the £17,000 only £10 were left unpaid. But occasionally
 we do find considerable sums left owing, as in particular
 the £11,000 advanced by the Mayor and Aldermen of
 London in the first half-year of the reign. The total of
 these unpaid loans on the eight Receipt Rolls which are
 available for our first period amount in round numbers to
 £16,000, which sum spread over the eight terms would
 give on the average £2000 a term or £4000 a year as an
 addition to the revenue of our first period.

¹ These sums were borrowed in Easter 3, Michaelmas 5, and Michaelmas
 4 Edward IV.

If, as Sir John Fortescue seems to intimate, the King paid 'the fourth or the fifth penny' on all that he borrowed¹ he would gain little on the whole; but the Rolls throw no light on this point. Perhaps the loans were paid in under discount, the King being charged with a larger sum than he had actually received².

The Lancastrian Government of the "Readeption" of course was not strong enough to borrow; but after the battle of Tewkesbury, when Edward was again master of the situation, the backsliding bishops and gentry who had supported Henry were made to pay for their mistake. Accordingly the Tellers' Roll for Easter 11 Edward IV records Gifts and Loans (*Dona et Mutua*) to the amount of £13,200; while the Michaelmas Roll has £12,900 of the same³. But these exactions fell in the period excluded from our survey, and even so the Revenue would fall far below either of our estimates.

For our second period, from the spring of 1472 to that of 1483, the testimony of the Rolls is again favourable to the King. During the times of preparation for war with France and Scotland we find a certain amount of loans, some repaid and some not repaid, besides the Benevolences. In the years of peace the loans really sink to nothing. The total amount of unpaid loans that can be traced is less than £13,000⁴.

The Benevolences of 1480-1482 come to something more than £6000; those of 1474 are not traceable on the Rolls. If we assume them to have equalled those of 1480-1482

CH. XXXI.
1461-1483.

The Benevolences.

¹ Governance of England, 118.

² On the Rolls, the creditors when paid in full get the exact sum advanced and nothing more; interest in any shape or form is nowhere mentioned.

³ The Pell Receipt Roll, which ought to be, but perhaps is not, the best authority, does not contain one of the items which make up this £12,900; but it has other items to the sum of £1040 all marked as repaid. In a matter of this sort every presumption should be taken against the King. The Tellers' Rolls, it should be stated, do not show whether a given loan was or was not repaid.

⁴ The Vitellius MS. and Fabian under the year 1481 record a loan of 5000 marks raised from the parishes of London and repaid next year. No such loan appears in 1481, but in 1482 we have such a loan of 3000 marks, and that was settled by Richard III in 1483.

**

H h

CH. XXXI. we shall get £12,000 of Benevolences, and £13,000 of un-
 1461-1483. repaid loans, or £25,000 in all, which when spread over eleven years will give an average addition of £2200 a year to the estimates already formed.

Final
 Estimates.

We thus get a final estimate of £77,655 gross for our first period, and £84,230 for the first three years of our second period. In 1475 the receipts under the treaty of Picquigny began. Under this head Edward received £15,000 on signing the treaty; £10,000 as the ransom of Margaret of Anjou; and £10,000 a year tribute for six years, one year being due and unpaid at his death. The total came to £85,000, which spread over eight years would make £10,625 a year. Lastly, in 1478 we have the Clarence forfeiture, bringing in £3263 net a year; and raising Edward's revenues for the last four or five years of his reign in round numbers to £96,000 a year gross, and £79,000 a year net. But the reader must again be reminded that our averages are obtained by equalising the lean years with the years of plenty: in the years when the Parliamentary grants came in the Revenue would be largely in excess; in all other years considerably below the standards given; while the £11,000 a year for Parliamentary grants allowed in our second period ought really to be excluded from our estimates of the King's general Revenue: £85,000 would thus be the highest average Revenue of which Edward could dispose.

Revenues
 of Scot-
 land.

If we may be allowed one glance at the Revenues of the kingdom of Scotland, these during the latter part of Edward's reign appear to have amounted to something like £16,000 Scots, or rather more than £5000 sterling, two-thirds of this coming from Crown lands¹.

Expendi-
 ture.

Of the expenditure of the reign the only heads that need be noticed are those of the Household and the Chamber, the one very moderate and the other very extravagant.

Household,

Four complete year-books of the 'Wardrobe of Household' are extant for the first period, and three for the second².

¹ See Exchequer Rolls Scotland, ix. lxxviii-lxxvi.

² Q. R. Miscell. Wardrobe, 7²-77.

From these it would seem that the King spent about £10,000 CH. XXXI. a year on his weekly bills in his earlier years, and £11,000 1461-1483. in his later years: to these sums should be added £2500 or £3000 a year for the expenses of the Great Wardrobe¹. £11,000 a year was the amount appropriated by Parliament in 1483 for the expenses of the Royal Household. It is clear that Edward kept a frugal household, and saw little company, even at the time-honoured festival seasons. Thus in 1478-9, when the weekly average was about £200, the expenditure for the great weeks of Christmas, Easter, and the Garter Feast only rose to £344, £276, and 250. Edward liked to enjoy himself in his own way, but he cared little for show, and State entertainments probably bored him.

The expenditure of the "Chamber" was very large; in Chamber. the first eight years it ran from £6,600 the lowest, to £19,600 the highest, in a single year, with an average of £13,820 all over². As no accounts of this branch of the Royal expenditure were audited we cannot tell how the money went. It was the King's private purse. Perhaps Edward drew on it for military expenditure, as Henry V had done, and as Richard III did afterwards. For the latter half of the reign the defective state of the Rolls makes it impossible to say exactly what the expenditure was; though still high, it was decidedly lower: the only complete years, the fourteenth and the twenty-second, give in round numbers £4500 and £6300; but again in one term (Easter 11) we have £9700, while another (Mich. 13) shows only £1060 spent³.

That on the whole Edward was a thrifty man appears from the fact that he was the first King since Richard II who left anything but debts. In fact he had scraped together something of a hoard, from which we find him lending out sums of money at interest.

One of the last items of expenditure in the reign was that for laying out a new garden within the precincts of

¹ See L. T. R. Wardrobe, Roll 13, Series 2.

² Pell Issue Rolls.

³ Pell Issue and Tellers' Rolls, *in annis*.

CH. XXXI. the Palace at Westminster¹. But Edward's great work
 1461-1483. was the new chapel of St. George's, Windsor. Edward III's
 St. George's building having begun to show symptoms of instability a
 Chapel, new and larger edifice was taken in hand, the choir of the
 Windsor. new chapel being made to cover the space previously occu-
 pied by Wykeham's chapel, which was wholly removed;
 the earlier chapel of Henry III remaining² as a detached
 building to the east of the new chapel.

Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, was appointed
 surveyor of the work, special funds to the amount of
 £1200 to £1400 a year being allocated. The presence of
 the Yorkist "*Rose en Soleil*" shows that the lower courses
 of the building must have been laid in the reign: but only
 the aisle round the east end can have been vaulted over at
 Edward's death, the vaulting of the nave showing Tudor
 emblems. The whole building however was hardly com-
 pleted by the end of Henry VIII's reign³.

Crosby
Hall.

As a specimen of the domestic architecture of the time
 we may take Crosby Hall in Bishopsgate Street, a mansion
 built during the reign by John Crosby, Sheriff of London
 in 1470-1471.

The
English-
women
of the
Fifteenth
Century.

If we are led to form an unfavourable opinion of
 the male aristocracy of the period, far otherwise is it
 with regard to the ladies. Whether as wives, sisters, or
 daughters, their letters create most favourable impressions.
 Towards husbands the tone would in these days be
 thought absurdly submissive, but from Royalty downwards
 the wish to be helpful and sympathetic is everywhere
 conspicuous⁴.

The King's
Issue.

By Elizabeth Wydeville, widow of Sir John Grey of
 Groby, and daughter of Richard first Earl Rivers by Jac-

¹ Tellers' Roll, Michaelmas 22 Edward IV.

² So correctly J. Stow, 432, only he gives Henry I instead of Henry III as
 the builder of the old chapel. This was pulled down and rebuilt by Henry VII,
 all but the original west door, which may yet be seen.

³ Wyatville, Illustrations of Windsor Castle, Preface by A. Poynter, 8, 9.

⁴ See Paston Letters, *passim*; Excerpta Historica, 354.

quette of Luxemburg, widow of John Duke of Bedford, CH. XXXI.
Edward IV had issue:—

(1) Elizabeth, born at Westminster 11th February, 1466¹; married HENRY VII; died 11th February, 1503².
1461-1483.

(2) Mary, born at Windsor August, 1467³; died Thursday, 23rd May, 1482⁴.

(3) Cecille, born late in 1469⁵; married, first, John Viscount Welles; secondly, Thomas Kyme or Kymbe; died 24th August, 1507⁶.

(4) EDWARD V, born at Westminster 1-4th November, 1470⁷; died August, 1483 (murdered in the Tower).

(5) Margaret, born at Windsor 10th April, 1472; died 11th December, 1472⁸.

(6) Richard "of Salop," born 1473-1474; created Duke of York 28th May, 1474⁹; died August, 1483 (murdered in the Tower¹⁰).

(7) Anne, born 2nd November, 1475; married Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), 4th February, 1495; died 1510-1512¹¹.

(8) George, Duke of Bedford, born before 9th August, 1478 (before January, 1478?)¹²; died March, 1479¹³.

(9) Catherine, born at Eltham latter part of 1479; married Sir William Courtenay 1495; died 15th November, 1527¹⁴.

¹ MS. Cott. Vitellius A. xvi. f. 126; R. Fabian; "*circa* x Feb."; Three Fifteenth Century Chron.

² Pauli.

³ W. Worcester; Three Fifteenth Century Chron.; Green, Princesses.

⁴ Sandford; £56 were paid for her funeral in Easter term, 1482, 22 Edward IV; Tellers' Roll.

⁵ Green, Princesses. On the 10th October the King had still but two daughters; Issues, Michaelmas 9. Cecille is the most common spelling, but we have also Cecile; and Mrs. Green, sup. iii. 424, gives "Cecyl" as the Princess's own signature.

⁶ Green, Princesses, iii. 435.

⁷ See below.

⁸ Green, 437, citing Monum. Inscript.; Paston Letters, iii. 40.

⁹ Lords' Report, Append. v. 393.

¹⁰ See below.

¹¹ Green, Princesses, iv. 1-11.

¹² Foed. xii. 89; see above, 426, note.

¹³ Given as March, 1463(!); inscription on coffin, Lysons, Magn. Britt., Berkshire, 471 (ed. 1813); cf. Foed. 109.

¹⁴ Green, iv. 16-39.

CH. XXXI. (10) Bridget, born at Eltham 10th November, 1480;
1461-1483. took the veil at Dartford; died before 1513(?)¹.

Edward also left a natural son Arthur Plantagenet, created Viscount Lisle 25th April, 1523; died 1542, in the Tower, s. p. m.²; and a natural daughter Elizabeth Plantagenet, who married Sir Thomas Lumley³.

Queen Elizabeth died 8th June, 1492⁴.

¹ Green, iv. 44-47.

² Stow, Doyle, Official Baronage; Historic Peerage.

³ Sandford, 421. Was this Elizabeth the daughter of Elizabeth Lucy, born about or before the time of the King's marriage? See More, Richard III, p. 21; E. Hall, 367.

⁴ Dictionary of Nat. Biography. For her Will, see Nichols's Royal Wills, 350.

TABLE I.

CUSTOMS OF EDWARD IV.

(All dues included, i.e. Antiqua Custuma, Parva Custuma, Subsidy on Wool, Tonnage and Poundage, and Butlerage.)

From the L. T. R. Enrolled Customs Accounts.

Michaelmas, 39 Hen. VI-1 Ed. IV (1460-1461)	£30,628
„ 1-2 Ed. IV (1461-1462)	16,192
„ 2-3 „ (1462-1463)	23,241
„ 3-4 „ (1463-1464)	23,439
„ 4-5 „ (1464-1465)	21,251
„ 5-6 „ (1465-1466)	35,715
„ 15-16 „ (1475-1476)	34,954
„ 16-17 „ (1476-1477)	23,497
„ 17-18 „ (1477-1478)	45,544

TABLE II.

REVENUES OF EDWARD IV.

(Estimated yearly average.)

PERIOD I. MARCH 1461-1469.

(1) Old Crown Revenues—	<i>Gross.</i>	<i>Net.</i>
Sheriffs' and Escheators'		
Accounts, &c., as per		
Pipe Rolls . . .	£12,500	£2,500
Duchy of Cornwall . .	3,100	2,300
Earldom of Chester . .	750	350
Wales (North) . . .	1,000	25
Wales (South) . . .	700	360
Lancaster Estates (say) .	4,300	2,800
Sundry and Estates in		
hand (say) . . .	3,000	1,000
	— £25,350	— £9,335
(2) Customs	25,000	24,500
(3) Subsidies—		
Lay Grants	11,250	11,250
Canterbury Tenths . . .	6,500	6,500
York Tenths	500	500
(4) Hanaper in Chancery .	1,625	1,230
(5) Tower Mint and Exchange	3,430	1,980
(6) Loans not repaid . . .	4,000	4,000
	<u>£77,655</u>	<u>£59,295</u>

CH. XXXI.

1461-1483.

TABLE III.

REVENUES OF EDWARD IV.

(Estimated yearly average.)

PERIOD II. MARCH 1472-1483.

A. 1472-1475.		<i>Gross.</i>	<i>Net.</i>
(1) Old Crown Revenues—			
Sheriffs' and Escheators'			
Accounts, &c., as per			
Pipe Rolls	£12,500		£2,500
Duchy of Cornwall . .	3,100		2,300
Earldom of Chester . .	500		100
Wales (North)	1,000		25
Wales (South)	700		360
Lancaster Estates . . .	3,565		3,000
Sundry and further Estates			
in hand	3,000		1,000
	— £24,365		— £9,285
(2) Customs	35,000		34,500
(3) Subsidies—			
Lay Fifteenths and Tenths	11,000		11,000
Canterbury Tenths	6,500		6,500
York Tenths	550		550
(4) Hanaper in Chancery . . .	1,500		925
(5) Tower Mint	915		320
(6) Loans not repaid and Bene-			
volences	2,200		2,200
	£82,030		£65,280
B. 1475-1478.			
Add to above French Tribute .	10,625		10,625
C. 1478-1483.			
Add further Clarence Estates .	3,263		3,263
	<u>£95,918</u>		<u>£79,168</u>

CHAPTER XXXII.

EDWARD V. "PLANTAGENET."

Born in Sanctuary at Westminster *circa* 1st November, 1470¹. Began to reign 9th April, 1483². Deposed 25th June, 1483. Died August, 1483 (murdered in the Tower).

Parties at Court.—Action of the Duke of Gloucester.—Arrest of Earl Rivers, the King's Governor.—Gloucester Protector.—The Council purged.—The King and his brother removed to the Tower.—Assumption of the Crown by Gloucester.

NO kingdom could seem less divided against itself than that of Edward IV at the time of his death. Not a breath of political discontent had ruffled the atmosphere since the death of Clarence (1478). The King had just concluded a successful war with Scotland, and recovered Berwick. He was at peace with all his neighbours. The baronage had been wellnigh bled to death by the sword or the axe. The Throne was surrounded by a body of faithful and experienced servants, tried through years of vicissitude. The Earl of Essex the Treasurer had died a few days before Edward; but Archbishop Rotherham was still Chancellor, and John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Next to these officials the leading men on the Council were the Lords Stanley, Hastings, and Howard.

The Stanleys had been covertly, if not openly, Yorkists

¹ 1st November, Croyland, Cont. 554; 2nd November, Dethick MS. (B. M. Add. 6113), f. 49 *dorso*; and Ashmolean MS. cited Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 101. 24, and vol. 102. 200; 3rd November, MS. Vitellius A. xvi; R. Fabian, 659; 4th November, J. Stow, 423.

² See Grants of Edward V, p. 19.

CH. XXXII. since the campaign of Bloore Heath (1469). Thomas Stanley II, the present Baron, had married Warwick's sister Eleanor Neville; and by Warwick he had been appointed Justiciar of Chester in January, 1461¹. But he had kept clear of Warwick's treasons, and was at the time we have reached Steward of the Household². Apparently he had just received the hand of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond: she his second wife; he her third husband³.

Lord Hastings. William Lord Hastings owed everything to Edward IV. Descended from the younger son of a noble family⁴ he had been raised to the peerage in 1461, receiving the hand of another sister of the King-maker, Catherine, widow of William Bonville III, Lord Haryngton. Hastings had stuck to Edward through all his troubles; had held commands at Barnet and Tewkesbury; and at the King's death was Lieutenant of Calais (the Captaincy being in abeyance)⁵, and King's Chamberlain⁶.

Lord Howard. John Lord Howard, again, owed his peerage to Edward IV, and had done him faithful service in war and diplomacy from the day when he earned his knighthood on the field of Towton.

The Duke of Gloucester. If ever there was a man bound to an elder brother by ties of affection and gratitude that man should have been Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving son of the Protector. Deprived of his father's care before he was nine years old, he had found a second father in his elder brother, whose lead he had followed through storm and sunshine ever since. With him he had retired

¹ Doyle, *Official Baronage*.

² *Ib.*

³ Margaret's first husband, Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond, died 3rd November, 1456; her second husband, Sir Henry Stafford, second son of the first Duke of Buckingham, died before 4th May, 1482 (will then proved); soon after that Margaret married Lord Stanley. See Margaret Countess of Richmond; C. H. Cooper, 17, 18 (1874).

⁴ *So Historic Peerage*.

⁵ *Issues*, Easter 18 Edward IV.

⁶ Doyle. His brother, Richard Hastings, was Lord Welles in right of Joan, sister and heiress of Sir Robert Welles, executed in 1470. We also hear of one Ralph Hastings as Esquire of the Body to Edward IV.

into exile in 1470; with him he had returned to triumph in 1471; with him and Hastings he had divided the commands at Barnet and Tewkesbury. Whatever he was, he was Edward IV's pupil. Still Edward had recently deprived him of the Constable's staff, as already mentioned, and had seemed disposed to keep his brother employed at a distance from Court; but Richard still retained the posts of Great Chamberlain, and Admiral of England, besides the important jurisdiction on the West March.

"Somewhat outside" the official circle stood the Dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk.

Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, represented the line of Thomas of Woodstock. A man under thirty years of age, he had not been much employed in the public service; but his fidelity might seem secured by the fact that he was married to the Queen's sister, Catherine Wydeville.

John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the son of a staunch Lancastrian, had been faithful throughout to the rival Dynasty, and had received his due share of favours. His wife was Elisabeth Plantagenet, Edward's sister.

Lastly, Edward IV had thought fit to bring forward a group of personally attached adherents, in the sons and brothers of his Queen, the Greys and Wydevilles. Of the brothers, Anthony the eldest was Earl Rivers, and Governor to the Prince of Wales: another brother, Lionel Wydeville, was Bishop of Salisbury¹. Sir Edward Wydeville had received high commands in the operations against Scotland, and there was yet another surviving brother, Richard. Of the Greys, the elder, Thomas, was Marquis of Dorset, lord of the Bonville and Haryngton estates through the hand of Cecille Bonville². Edward's infatuation with regard to these men, which had already cost him the breach with the Nevilles, was destined to prove the ruin of his son. The Wydevilles were as obnoxious to the older baronage as ever: Hastings and

¹ Consecrated in April, 1482; Reg. Sacrum.

² See above, 403.

CH. XXXII. Rivers were afraid to meet. Yet it was clear that to her relations the widowed Queen would first turn for counsel and support. In short, "the King's death at once broke up the unity of the Court"¹, and let loose all the jealousies till then only kept in check by his personal influence.

Question
of the
Regency.

The
Queen.
The Lords
of the
Council.

The first and most obvious question to be faced was that of the Regency and the guardianship of the young King's person. At the time of his father's death he was at Ludlow, keeping his Court as Prince of Wales under his uncle Rivers. His Council included John Alcock, Bishop of Rochester; Richard Martin, Bishop of St. David's; Sir Richard Grey, the Queen's second son; and Sir William Stanley, Chamberlain of Chester². It would seem that the Queen "naturally but unwisely" claimed the Regency for herself. The Lords of the Council, "led by Lord Hastings and supported by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham", would have preferred the system of a Regency Council, as during the minority of Henry VI, with Gloucester as Protector³. Perhaps they fancied that they could control Gloucester, as the Beauforts had controlled the former Gloucester, Duke Humphrey.

Disruption. In the deadlock a rush was made to secure points of vantage. Dorset invaded the Tower, and dipped his hands into the treasure in the late King's private 'coffer'⁴. Sir Edward Wydeville assumed the command of the King's ships in the Thames; while the Lords of the Council sent a hasty reinforcement to Calais⁵. In all other respects the

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* iii. 220.

² Ordinances for the regulation of his son's Household were drawn up by Edward in September 1473, and February 1483. See *Ordinances of the Household*, *27-*33 (J. Nichols, 1790); *Grants Edward V*, vii, viii.

³ Stubbs, *sup.*

⁴ T. More, *Richard III*, p. 17. He represents Dorset as being Constable of the Tower, but Lord Dudley certainly held the post up to Edward IV's death; *Tellers' Roll*, Michaelmas 22 Edward IV.

⁵ *Grants Edward V*, p. ix; *Tellers' Roll*, Michaelmas 22 Edward IV. In the autumn of 1477 the garrison had been reduced from 530 to 151 men; *Issues*, Easter 18 Edward IV. Shortly before Edward's death a reinforcement of 500 archers had been ordered. Perhaps they had not gone out. At any rate, Hastings evidently feared a *coup de main* by the Wydevilles.

action of the young King's Government showed palpable weakness. Nothing seems to have been done till after the funeral of the late King, but on the 21st April the Judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas were re-appointed; on the 23rd writs for the election of Coroners were issued; and on the 27th commissions for collecting the Alien Tax were sealed; Hastings, Dorset, and Rivers being named as commissioners, but not Buckingham or Gloucester¹. This was all that was done in three weeks towards setting the machinery of the new reign a-going². Instructions however were promptly forwarded to Rivers to bring his ward to London to be crowned, the 4th May being provisionally fixed for the ceremony.

CH. XXXII.
1483.

But here a most singular question cropped up, some of the Council insisting upon discussing the number of men that the young King should be allowed to bring with him as his escort. Impartial men were amazed at the idea of limiting the number of followers that a King should bring with him to his Coronation; but Hastings declared that he would retire to Calais rather than be at the mercy of Dorset and Rivers without security. The Queen settled the difficulty by writing to her son not to bring more than 2000 men with him. Hastings acquiesced, feeling satisfied, we are told, that Gloucester and Buckingham between them could easily manage to bring as many followers. In Hastings' mind, apparently, the elimination of 'the Queen's blood' from the Government was the first thing to be thought of³.

In this state of parties everything depended on the action of the Duke of Gloucester. How sensitive on this point

Anxiety as to the attitude of Gloucester.

¹ At the foot of the commission for the Alien Tax comes one addressed to Gloucester as Protector; but this commission is simply one to appoint him a Justice of the Peace, and the entry is struck out as misplaced, and belonging to 14th May; see the Patent Roll of Edward V m. 7 *dorso*.

² Grants Edward V, xxix, xxxii; Foed. xii. 179.

³ "Metuebat enim ne si suprema potestas ad eorum de sanguine Regiæ manus accederet ipsi prætensas in eos ab illo domino illatas injurias jam acerrime vindicarent. Duravit enim jam diu malevolentia grandis inter ipsum dominum de Hastynge atque eos"; Croyland, Cont. 565.

CH. XXXII. the public mind was may be gathered from an incident that occurred at York shortly before Edward's death. A knot of ale-house politicians were discussing the candidates for the Mayoralty of the city during the coming year, when one man said, "And it plees the communs I wold we had Maister Wrangwysh, for he is the man that my lord of Gloucestre will doo for". The reference to Gloucester's wishes in the matter was thought so imprudent, so likely to bring the city into trouble, that the whole party were summoned before the Town Council to render an account of what had happened¹.

Prompt-
ness of
his action.

When the King's death became known in the North, Richard went to work with equal craft and vigour. His first act was to write to the Queen, assuring her of his entire devotion to the Throne of her son. His next step was to come to York to celebrate the obsequies of his brother. He then proceeded to exact oaths of allegiance to Edward V from the northern gentry, he himself setting them the example. That done he started for London. At Northampton he was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, with whom an understanding must already have been effected². Meanwhile Rivers was bringing the young King to London, and had reached Stony Stratford³. Leaving his charge there he turned aside to Northampton with Sir Richard Grey to pay his respects to the Duke of Gloucester and consult his wishes. They were received in the most friendly manner, and dined with the Duke, Buckingham joining the party after dinner. Next morning they started together for Stony Stratford, but just before reaching the town Rivers and Grey were seized and sent off to the North⁴. Gloucester then entered Stratford, dismissed the King's Council, and with humblest genuflections and

Arrest of
the King's
Governor,

¹ Davies, York Records, 140. The actual mayor was not friendly to Gloucester, as he retired when Gloucester's designs became apparent; Wrangwish clearly was his friend.

² So Polydore.

³ They left Ludlow on the 24th April, having celebrated the Garter Feast the day before; J. Ross, *Hist. Regum Angliae*, 212.

⁴ Rivers was sent to Sheriff-Hutton, Grey to Middleham, both places belonging to Gloucester.

obeisances took possession of the King's person. Some more arrests were made¹, but Bishop Alcock was allowed to go free (30th April).

When the news reached London next day the unfortunate Queen once more hurried into Sanctuary at Westminster with all her children: she knew what to expect². Her brother the Bishop of Salisbury went with her³; Dorset and Edward Wydeville took to the sea⁴. The town was greatly agitated, men drawing either to the Queen at Westminster, or to the Lords of the Council in the City⁵.

Advancing by easy stages Gloucester brought the young King to London on the 4th May, the day originally fixed for his coronation. The Mayor and Aldermen and some 500 citizens met them at Hornsey Park, the Mayor and his brethren robed in scarlet, the commoners in violet: the King wore "blewe velvet"; Gloucester "blak cloth like a mourner"⁶. So they proceeded to the Bishop's palace at St. Paul's, where the young King was established. At the palace homage was done to him by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Civic authorities. Gloucester gained golden opinions by his deferential attitude towards his young charge⁷.

The vital question of the Protectorate was apparently not settled under some nine days' discussion and intrigue. Gloucester had a clear *prima facie* claim not easy to be resisted: the Lords of the Council had no man to set against him: his pretensions could only be overruled by ascribing to him the foulest intentions, always an awkward and disagreeable line to take, but especially in dealing with an able and unscrupulous opponent. In giving him his

CH. XXXII.

1483.

and seizure
of the
King's
person.The Queen
takes Sanc-
tuary.Gloucester
brings the
King to
London.Question
of the Pro-
tectorate.

¹ The men detained were Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Haute, a cousin of the Queen. Both were on the Prince's Council.

² See Croyland, Cont. 565; J. Ross, sup.; Polydore, 686; Grants Edward V, xv, xvii.

³ Excerpta Historica, 16.

⁴ Grants Edward V, 2, 3.

⁵ Croyland, Cont.

⁶ MS. Vitellius A. xvi. f. 138; R. Fabian, 668.

⁷ Croyland, Cont. 566; T. More, 22; E. Hall, 351.

CH. XXXII. support Hastings perhaps vainly flattered himself that "he was securing the safety of the realm".

1483.

The Seal
taken from
Arch-
bishop
Rother-
ham.

Gloucester
Protector.

No proper Minutes of the Proceedings of the Privy Council are extant for this period; but a record of one meeting has been preserved at Lambeth, as dealing with the administration of the late King's will. The Council was held on the 7th May at Baynard's Castle¹, where Gloucester may then have been residing. The two Archbishops were present, also the Bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Worcester, Chichester, Lincoln, Ely, and Rochester; the lay Peers included Gloucester, Buckingham, Arundel, Hastings, and Stanley. As the majority of these men were not executors of the King's will, it is clear that it was not a meeting of executors but of the Privy Council. Archbishop Bouchier reported that owing to the delay of the executors in undertaking their duties he had sequestered the late King's effects, including the Great Seal, the Privy Seal, and the Signet; of which he then and there took possession as in right of his office during an interregnum. This was clearly a device for getting the Great Seal out of the hands of Archbishop Rotherham, who favoured the Queen². Gloucester is not styled Protector on the record, so that his appointment cannot have been sanctioned by the 7th May, when this meeting was held. But he must have been appointed by the 13th May, as on that day writs were issued for a Parliament to meet on the 25th June³. Now the history of the reign of Henry VI has shown us that the holding of a Parliament was just one of the things for which the intervention of a Protector, Regent, or King was held absolutely necessary. For the sake of holding a Parliament Margaret of Anjou had submitted to the Protectorate

¹ The name is not given, but the meeting is stated to have been held "*infra domum solitae habitacionis dominae Ceciliae*", &c. Baynard's Castle was her Town house.

² See the Lambeth entry, printed by J. Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 345.

³ See the writ addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, printed by Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 347. A writ was sent to the city of York calling for the unprecedented return of four members; Davies, *York Records*, 146. The election was made on the 6th June. Wrangwish was the first man elected.

of the Duke of York. At any rate, on the 14th May we have writs addressed to Gloucester as Protector¹. CH. XXXII.
1483.

Concurrent with Gloucester's appointment as Protector must have been that of John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, and late Keeper of the Privy Seal, as Chancellor. A Privy Seal of Edward V, addressed to him as Chancellor, and ordering him to issue the writs for the Parliament, is extant: the writ is undated, but, as it must have preceded the issuing of any Parliamentary writs, the 13th May is the latest date that can be assigned it². Russell was a man of character and literary attainments, and, we are told, accepted the post with considerable reluctance³. Three days later Sir John Wode, the late Speaker, was made Treasurer. With the powers of the Executive under his legal control Gloucester could now go to work to organise a party. New
Ministry.

Party
appoint-
ments.

The first men taken in hand were Lord Howard and the Duke of Buckingham. The former, as we have seen, had been greatly employed and promoted by Edward IV; but his mother was a Mowbray, daughter of Bolingbroke's antagonist of 1397. He was not the heir to the Norfolk estates, which had been settled on the little Duke of York, but he might be lured by a suggestion of a possible re-grant in his favour; meanwhile he was appointed Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster South of the Trent⁴. Next day Buckingham was made Justiciar and Chamberlain of North and South Wales, and Constable of all Royal castles in the Principality and in the neighbouring counties of Salop, Hereford, Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts; with the right of issuing Commissions of Array in the same counties; an amazing grant, and a proof that for the moment Richard was Lord
Howard.

The Duke
of Bucking-
ham.

¹ Grants Edward V, 13. The Croyland writer, Sir T. More, and Polydore clearly state that Gloucester became Protector after coming to London, and not before.

² The Privy Seal is printed Seventh D. K. Report, Append. ii. 212.

³ T. More, p. 23; Latin version, p. 9; cf. the tone of the letters of Russell's servant, Simon Stalworth, *Excerpta Historica*, 16, 17.

⁴ Grants Edward V, p. 4. John Gunthorpe had been appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, 10th May; MS. Harl. 433, f. 23.

CH. XXXII. prepared to risk anything for the sake of securing the Duke¹.

1483.

But of Gloucester's first appointments this was the only grant to excite comment, all the others being moderate and ostensibly compatible with the interests of the young King. Northumberland was reappointed Warden of the East and Middle Marches, and Captain of Berwick, apparently on the same terms as before. This was a most proper, and, in fact, a necessary appointment; but the Earl did not wish to commit himself too deeply: he refused to undertake the charge of Berwick for more than five months certain; and even so he stipulated that if the wages of the garrison were not paid with punctuality he might at any time throw up the post². The Earl of Arundel³ was appointed Master of the Game in all the forests and chaces South of the Trent⁴. Arundel's son, Viscount Maltravers, was married to a Wydeville (Margaret). Lord Dynham, who was in command at Calais under Hastings, received the Stewardship of Cornwall for life; his brother-in-law, John Sapcote, being made Receiver of Cornwall⁵. More partisan in character was the appointment of Francis Viscount Lovel to the Chief Butlership; a post held by Rivers⁶: Lovel was one of the younger noblemen who had served under Gloucester in the North. Thomas Langton, the late King's confidential agent at the French Court, received the Bishopric of St. David's⁷: Sir William Stanley, the Chamberlain of the county Palatine of Chester, and late Steward of the Prince's Household, received the wardship of the Dutton estates in Cheshire⁸;

¹ Grants, 5-14; Foed. xii. 180. Hastings apparently had been Chamberlain of North Wales.

² Grants, 19, 20.

³ William of Arundel, the eleventh earl of his family: he was married to Warwick's sister, Joan Neville.

⁴ Grants, p. 7; cf. 31.

⁵ Id. 2, 16, 24; Historic Peerage. Here again Hastings was displaced, he having been Receiver of Cornwall.

⁶ Grants, p. 15.

⁷ Grants, 2; Foed. xii. 182.

⁸ Grants, 52, 63.

and Lord Audley received that of some lands in Sussex¹. CH. XXXII.
 Hastings was allowed to retain his position as King's Chamberlain: he was also made Master of the Tower Mint²; a post of some emolument, but not one that would give any territorial influence. For himself Gloucester took back the important office of Constable, recently put into commission³. 1483.

So far Gloucester might maintain that he was simply rallying a set of influential and experienced men round the Throne of his nephew. A series of minor appointments there were, however, that might be held to betray a more questionable purpose on his part, namely, those to the Royal castles. Particular attention was paid to these strategic centres. Apart from those placed under Buckingham's charge, we find the Mote (one of Rivers' places), Carisbrook, Porchester, Pembroke, Wallingford, Rising, Pontefract, St. Briavel's, Chester, and others, changing hands, the new appointments being mostly made for life as if to secure fidelity⁴. The public, moreover, could not help noticing the continued detention in prison of the King's servants and relations; the confiscation of their goods wherever found; and the personal hostility to the Queen evinced by the Protector⁵. Thus we hear that on one day the Council had sat at Westminster from ten till two, but that not a single lord had taken the trouble to call on the Queen⁶. The Royal Castles.

Gloucester, however, did not keep the public mind in suspense for any length of time. On the 19th May a further step of grave import was taken. A motion having been made in the Council, apparently by the young King's friends, for his removal from St. Paul's to some place of greater freedom, and Westminster having been proposed

¹ Grants, 24.

² T. More, 23; Grants, xxix.

³ He signs as Constable 19th May; Grants, 17.

⁴ 9th-21st May; Grants, *passim*.

⁵ "Maximum autem quod dubietatis scrupulum ingerebat erat detentio consanguineorum et servientium Regis in carcere; et quod dictus Protector non satis humaniter respiciebat honori et securitati Reginae"; Croyland, Cont. §66.

⁶ 9th June. See the letter of that date, Excerpta Historica, 16.

CH. XXXII. by some, and St. John's Hospital, Clerkenwell, by others,
 1483. Buckingham finally moved and carried a resolution for
 The King removed to the Tower. Edward's transference to the Tower, to be there in readiness for his coronation¹. After this, apparently, Gloucester took up his quarters at "Crosby's Place" in Bishopsgate Street².

Northern
levies
called to
London.

But with the little Duke of York safe among his friends the removal of his elder brother would not greatly advance the Protector's ends. The day that Edward V disappeared little Richard would be proclaimed, and the treacherous uncle swept away by a storm of public indignation. Gloucester's dread was that the little Duke might be sent abroad³. Conscious that ultimately force might have to be employed⁴, Gloucester began to urge his friends in the North to hasten up to Town with all the men that they could muster, "defensably arrayde". The object given out, however, was still merely protection against the Queen, "hir blode, adherents and affinitie which have entended and daly doith intend to murder and utterly distroy us and our cousyn the duc of Bukkyngham, and the old royal blode of this realme, &c., &c."⁵. To keep up appearances as much as possible a show of preparation for the coronation was maintained, Sunday, 22nd June, being the day now fixed⁶.

But Gloucester found that before he could seize on the Duke of York, or throw off the mask, the Council must be purged of certain elements, and primarily of Hastings. When the Protectorate was first established Hastings boasted that the Government had been transferred from

¹ Croyland, Cont. sup ; Polydore, 688. Edward signs at the Tower on the 19th May.

² R. Fabian.

³ T. More, 23 ; Polydore, 686.

⁴ T. More, 25.

⁵ See the letter dated 10th June ; it was delivered to the Corporation of York by Sir Richard Radcliffe on the 15th : 300 horsemen were voted from York and the Ainsty, Wrangwish being one of the captains ; Davies, sup. 149-156.

⁶ Excerpta Historica, 16 ; T. More, 15. Notices were sent to those selected to be knighted ; Grants, 69 ; Foed. xii. 185. Preparations were still going on at York on the 13th June ; Davies, 145.

the Queen's blood to the old blood Royal, and that without one drop of blood having been shed on either side¹. But it soon became apparent that Hastings contemplated no further change. When all was ready Gloucester divided the Council into two committees, summoning the one to meet at Westminster, and the other, which comprised the men he wanted to get rid of, to meet in the Tower under the presidency of the King². When the latter committee was assembled Gloucester entered the chamber with an apology for being late; and then playfully addressing Bishop Morton, complimented him on the report he had heard of the strawberries in his garden in Holborn³, and asked if they might have a dish. He then begged leave to retire for a moment. When he came back his countenance was changed: frowning heavily he threw himself on the seat, then, after a pause, said, 'What shall be done unto them that compass and imagine the destruction of me, being so near of blood to the King and Protector of the Realm?' Hastings, still without misgivings, answered that they were worthy to suffer the worst. 'It is my brother's wife', replied the Protector; then going on he said, 'Behold what yonder sorceress and Shore's wife, and other of their council, have done unto me with their witchcrafts': and therewith he bared an arm, the left arm, which, as all men knew, had been more or less withered from his birth. Hastings changed colour at the name of Shore's wife, as since Edward's death she had been living under his protection. 'Certainly, my lord,' he faltered, 'if they have so done they be worthy of heinous punishment.' 'But I tell thee they have done it, and that will I prove on thy body, traitor.' Gloucester then struck the table as a signal; a band of men entered the apartment, and Hastings, Arch-
CH. XXXII.
1483.
The Council
purged.
Arrest of
Hastings,

¹ Croyland, Cont. 566.

² "Nam pridie per Protectorem singulari astucia diviso concilio ut pars apud Westmonasterium, pars in Turri Lundoniarum, ubi Rex erat, mane conventum faceret"; *Ib.*

³ Ely Place, Holborn, had been the residence of the Bishops of Ely since the time of John Kirkby, who died in 1290; Wheatley and Cunningham.

CH. XXXII. bishop Rotherham, and Bishop Morton were apprehended.

1483.

Rotherham, Morton, and Stanley.

Execution of Hastings.

All three were apparently then and there impeached of treason by the Protector. Hastings was taken down to the yard, and after a short shrift beheaded on a log, 'soon upon noon': Rotherham and Morton were kept in close confinement: Lord Stanley, who had been wounded in the head in the scuffle, was set free after a short detention¹.

The Rubicon was crossed; but Gloucester hastened to confide to the Civic authorities, and to publish in the streets, a full, true, and particular account of the dangerous plot he had discovered; with quieting assurances for all peaceable citizens². But for all he could say or do London was terribly agitated. Simon Stalworth, a servant of the Chancellor, writing to Sir William Stonor in the country says, "I hold you happy that ye ar oute of the prese (*press*), for with huse (*us*) is myche trobulle, and every man dowtes other"³.

The Duke of York taken from Sanctuary

and removed to the Tower.

Gloucester, however, pushed on with unflinching purpose. Three days after the *coup d'état* in the Tower he went in force by water to Westminster, and invested the Sanctuary. To save the scandal of an open violation of the privileges of the Church, Cardinal Bouchier and Chancellor Russell, to their endless disgrace, exerted their influence with the unfortunate Queen to induce her to surrender her last precious pledge. Buckingham took the little Duke of York from their hands in the middle of Westminster Hall: a few steps further on, at the door of the Star Chamber, Gloucester was waiting to receive him, "with many lovyng wordys; and so is departed with my lord cardenale to the toure, wher he is; blessid be Jesu mery" (*Mary*)⁴.

¹ Friday, 13th June: see Croyland, Cont. sup.; R. Fabian, 668; T. More, 45-48; Polydore, 689, 690; Excerpta Hist. 16. Mistress Shore was also arrested and her goods confiscated. I give More's details, as he must have had many opportunities of hearing what happened, but his narrative is really a mere historical romance.

² T. More, 19.

³ Excerpta Hist. sup.

⁴ Monday, 16th June; Croyland, Cont. sup.; Excerpta Hist. sup.

All disguise could now be thrown off¹. The Patent Roll of Edward V was closed; and the Parliament countermanded². It had been summoned in the name of Edward V to establish his Throne³; but Gloucester no longer cared to recognise that title. The difficulty was to find a pretext, however flimsy, to veil the ugly fact of a cruel and unnatural usurpation⁴. The plea ultimately resolved upon was an allegation that the marriage between Edward and Elizabeth Grey was invalid, and that their children were illegitimate. As Clarence's issue were barred by his attainder in 1478, Richard thus became the "verraye sure and true"⁵ heir of the House of York. The grounds of invalidity assigned were that no banns had been published; that the service had been performed in a "prophane" (*unconsecrated*) place, "a private chamber"; and that the King already "stode maryed and trouth-plight to Dame Elianor Butteler daughter of the old Earl of Shrewesbury"⁶. Of these allegations the first two were

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1483.

Gloucester
claiming
the Crown:
his pleas.

¹ "Ab eo die ambo isti Duces non clanculo sed palam sua proposita ostendebant"; Croyland, Cont.

² The *supersedeas* was received at York on the 21st. The soldiers were ordered to march all the same, and were provided with Gloucester's badges; Davies, 154-156.

³ The sermon prepared for the opening of Parliament by Bishop Russell has been preserved and is printed by Mr. Nichols; Grants Edward V, xxxix-xlix. It is a good piece of English, ingeniously reasoned, and well put together: the Chancellor appeals to the magnates to act in harmony, to recognise Edward as King and Gloucester as Protector, and to vote necessary taxes.

⁴ T. More, 56-58; Polydore, 691.

⁵ Ellis, Letters, Second Series, ii. 148. Both More and Polydore, sup., assert that the first idea was to declare Edward IV and Clarence illegitimate; Polydore maintains that there were men living who had heard the Duchess of York complain of the stigma thrown on her by her son Richard; but these narratives are too loose to be fully credited without confirmation.

⁶ Rot. Parl. vi. 241; Croyland, Cont. 567; Lingard, iv. 115, refers to a pedigree by Glover of 1580 in the possession of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in which the Lady Eleanor is given as eldest daughter of John, first Earl of Shrewsbury, by his second wife, Margaret Beauchamp (cf. Rot. Parl. v. 41, A. D. 1442). Lady Eleanor married Ralph Butler, Lord Sudeley. As he did not die till 1473 she must have married him after the alleged contract to Edward. In More and those who copy him, the name of the lady appears as Elisabeth Lucy. This was a perversion circulated by Henry VII's Government in order to throw further discredit on the allegation, as Elisabeth Lucy was a well-known mistress of Edward IV, by whom he had a child.

CH. XXXII. probably true in fact. With respect to the pre-contract, placed so timidly in the third rank, instead of the forefront of the case, the reader may give what credit he pleases to an allegation produced under such circumstances, without a particle of evidence, to invalidate a marriage which had passed unchallenged through all the vicissitudes of the last eighteen years. De Comines' assertions that the troth of Edward and Eleanor had been received by the Bishop of Bath¹ was doubtless based on the mere fact that the case was got up by Stillington².

Meanwhile armed retainers kept pouring into London from Wales and the North. By the end of the week we are told that all Hastings' 'men' had become Buckingham's 'men'; and that even the Queen's brother-in-law, Lord de L'Isle³, had joined the Protector⁴.

Sermon at
St. Paul's.

On Sunday, 22nd June, Dr. Ralph Shaw, brother to the Mayor of London, was put up at St. Paul's to preach the illegitimacy of Edward's children, and the rightful title of his brother: "Bastard's slips shall not take deep root"⁵. The presence of Richard and the Duke of Buckingham gave an official character to the discourse⁶. Two days later Buckingham held a meeting of citizens in the Guildhall, and made an animated speech to the same effect as Shaw's sermon of the Sunday⁷, ending with the suggestion that they should call on the Protector to assume the Crown⁸.

Meeting
in the
Guildhall.

¹ Comines-Dupont, ii. 156; and again 244.

² "Le Evesque de B. fist le bill", Year Book, Hilary Term, 1 Henry VII; Lingard. The Croyland writer, without giving the name, says that the authorship was notorious.

³ Edward Grey, younger brother of Sir John, recognised in 1475 as Lord de L'Isle in right of his wife, Elisabeth Talbot, surviving sister of the last Lord de L'Isle, Thomas Talbot; Historic Peerage.

⁴ Excerpta Historica, 17. The Northern troops were mustered in Finsbury Field, very ill-harnessed and equipped.

⁵ Wisdom, iv. 3.

⁶ MS. Vitellius A. xvi. f. 138; R. Fabian, 669. They seem to give the day as the Sunday after Hastings' execution, the 15th; but it was clearly the Sunday after the Duke of York's seizure.

⁷ 24th June; Ib.

⁸ R. Fabian, sup. Again he seems to place the date a week too soon. For a speech composed for the Duke see T. More, 65-72; Hall, 369-372. It is

The public mind having thus been worked up to the proper pitch, on the next day, the day for which Parliament had originally been summoned, a sort of self-constituted Convention-Parliament, or Grand Council, was held at St. Paul's, at which representatives of the three Estates of the Realm gave their attendance "in grete multitude"¹. A roll of parchment was produced containing a "Consideracion Election and Peticion" addressed "To the High and Myghty Prince Richard, Duc of Gloucester", and presented in the name of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons of the Realm. The document began with the statement that in time past the land stood in great prosperity, honour, and tranquillity, both at home and abroad. That was because the Kings that reigned used and followed the advice of Lords and other persons of approved "sadnesse" and experience; men "dreding God" and seeking the common weal of the land. "But afterward, whan that such as had the rule and governaunce of this land, delityng in adulation and flattery, and lede by sensuality and concupiscence, followed the counsail of personnes insolent, vicious, and of inordinate avarice, . . . felicite was turned into miserie and prosperite into adversite". The petitioners next pointed out that "after the ungracious pretended marriage . . . betwixt . . . King Edward and Elisabeth, sometye wife to Sir John Grey", the laws and liberties of Church and Realm were broken and subverted; the land being "ruled by selfewill and pleasure, feare and drede, all manner of Equite and Lawes layd apart and despised, . . . soo that no man was sure of his lif land ne lyvelode, ne of his wif doughter ne servaunt". The objections to the

CH. XXXII.

1483.

Conven-
tion at
St. Paul's.Address to
Gloucester.Indictment
of Edward
IV's life
and govern-
ment.

an indictment of the late Government; Clarence's death, the Benevolences, the cases of Burdet, Chief Justice Markham, and Sir T. Cook, and the influence of Shore's wife, are among the points touched upon.

¹ It is a curious coincidence, which may not have been accidental, that this meeting was held on the day appointed for the Parliament; but that it was not a Parliament appears clearly from the ratification passed in the Parliament of 1484, to say nothing of the writs of *supersedeas* which certainly had been issued.

CH. XXXII. validity of Edward's marriage, as given above, were then
 1483.

Richard's
 Title.

Prayer for
 his accept-
 ance of the
 Crown.

been made "without the knowyng and assent of the Lords of this lond, and also by sorcerie and wichecrafte committed by the said Elisabeth, and her moder Jaquett duchesse of Bedford", as the petitioners undertook to prove "in tyme and place convenient". The petition then recited the Act of Attainder by which the Duke of Clarence and his issue were barred of all right to the Crown, with the corollary that thus Richard became and was "the undoubted son and heire of Richard late Duke of Yorke", "verray enheritour" of the Crown, and, "as in right, Kyng of Englund by way of enheritaunce". An extra qualification was indicated in the fact that he had been "born withyn this lande". This had reference to the circumstance that Edward IV had been born in Normandy, and the Duke of Clarence in Ireland. A eulogy on the Duke's wit and courage and his public services followed: and then came the final conclusion, namely, that the petitioners desiring the "wele publique" of the land, and its "reducion" to its former estate and prosperity, had, so far as in them lay, chosen, and by that writing did choose Richard as their Sovereign Lord and King. The prayer of the petition was that Richard "accordyng to this Election of us the Thre Estates of this lande, as by youre true Enherritaunce", would accept of and take upon him the Crown with all things thereunto appertaining, "so that after great cloudes . . . the Son (*Sun*) of Justice and of Grace may shyne uppon us"¹. The petition having been adopted by the assembly, as we may suppose, without discussion or division, was then and there taken to the Protector, who was waiting to receive it hard by, at Baynard's Castle, his mother's residence. Where every detail shows marks of such careful consideration we may conjecture that that place had been selected with the view to create an impression that the Duchess was favourable

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 240, 241; E. Hall, 372; T. More, 74; Croyland, Cont. 567.

to his scheme. After a due show of hesitation Richard granted the prayer¹. CH. XXXII.

With respect to the petition it is superfluous to point out the ingenuity with which title by election was mixed up with title by descent; and every scandal and calumny raked up to discredit the administration of the late King. Richard could afford to be hard on his brother's irregularities, because his own private life passed for domestic.

Next day Richard formally assumed the Royal Dignity. First he rode to Westminster, and installed himself in the marble chair of state in the Hall². Lord Howard supported him on the right hand; his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, on the left. After taking the coronation oath he called the Judges before him and gave them "streyght commaundement" for the upright and punctual discharge of their duties³. From the Hall he proceeded to the Abbey, where he was met by the clergy in procession, the abbot tendering him the sceptre of the Confessor. He offered at the shrine; and then rode off to pay the like homage at St. Paul's, returning finally to take up his quarters in the palace at Westminster⁴. That same night he was proclaimed as King Richard the Third, and the coronation announced for the 6th July⁵.

In the proceedings of the week it is interesting to notice how closely Richard followed the precedents supplied by his brother's doings of the first week of March, 1461. Of those who took leading parts on the former occasion two men, and apparently two men alone, survived to guide the proceedings of the second Revolution, Cardinal Bourchier

¹ Wednesday, 25th June; T. More and Hall, sup.

² "Se . . . apud magnam aulam Westmonasterii in cathedram marmoream ibi intravit", Croyland, Cont. 566; "being sette in the great halle in the see royall", R. Fabian, sup.; "placed himself in the court of the Kinges bench", T. More, 79.

³ Croyland, Cont.; R. Fabian, sup.

⁴ Thursday, 26th June; E. Hall, 375; Letters Richard III, i. 12. For the proclamation of the King's Peace see Id. 16.

⁵ Year Book 1 Richard III, cited Davies, York Records, 157; R. Fabian; he still places the events a week too soon. The date is proved over and over again by the Enrolled Customs Accounts which give the 26th June as the day when Richard III succeeded the 'pretended' King Edward "the Bastard".

CH. XXXII. and Lord Ferrers of Chartley. Of Richard's personal action
 1483. we may say in the words of one we have so often quoted,

that "the craft and unscrupulousness with which he carried into effect his great adventure, are not more remarkable than the policy and the constitutional inventiveness with which he concealed the several steps of his progress"¹.

Execution
 of Rivers
 and Sir
 Richard
 Grey.

The day that saw Edward V deposed, also witnessed the execution of the Stratford prisoners. Richard knew that their opposition could not be bought off at any price, and accordingly had them removed from his path. On the 23rd June, Rivers being at Sheriff-Hutton, received an intimation to prepare for his end, and at once made his will². Next day he was hurried some five and thirty miles to Pontefract, where Sir Richard Radcliffe, one of Gloucester's satellites, had a body of troops on the march to London. Sir Richard Grey from Middleham, and Vaughan and Haute from their places of confinement, had likewise been brought to suffer at Pontefract. On the 25th June Rivers was executed³; the others having already been put to death. Previously he had asked to be buried in the chapel of Our Lady of the Pew, near St. Stephen's, Westminster; but on hearing of Grey's death he added a line to his will asking to be buried "with my lord Richard in Pomfrete." All four were executed by Radcliffe on a mere allegation of having conspired the death of the Protector, and, apparently, without any form of judicial proceedings⁴. The affair was probably arranged as equivalent to a Yorkshire declaration in favour of Richard III.

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* iii. 233 (ed. 1890).

² See the will, *Excerpta Historica*, 246. That he had been warned of his end is implied by the direction that his servants should be paid their wages for Midsummer quarter and receive a black gown each: he implores Gloucester "in the worshipping of Cristes passhion" to allow the trusts of the will to be performed. It was never proved.

³ MS. Cott. Faustina B. viii. f. 4^b.

⁴ Croyland, *Cont.* 567; R. Fabian, 668; T. More, 55. The latter places the execution of Grey and Rivers on the same day as that of Hastings (13th June), Fabian before it. A monument was erected to Vaughan in the chapel of St. Paul, Westminster Abbey; Grants Edward V, xvi.

Anthony, second Earl Rivers, was one of the fine characters of the period. The reader need not be reminded of his gallant bearing in the lists at Smithfield against the Bastard of Burgundy, "*Monsieur Antoine*"¹. He had been on pilgrimage to Spain and Italy: he is styled "Defenseur of Causes Apostolique", or Papal Agent Extraordinary at the English Court. Edward IV's patronage of William Caxton was probably due to Rivers' influence; and the Earl's industry as a translator from the French supplied Caxton with some of his earliest material². His only offence was the greed with which he and the other members of his family, male and female, pushed themselves into the best matches in the Kingdom.

"Such is my dawnce
 Wyllyng to dye.
 Me thynkys truly
 Bowndyn am I,
 And that gretly,
 To be content;
 Seying playnly
 That fortune doth wry
 All contrary
 From myn entent.
 My lyff was lent
 Me to on intent
 Hytt is ny spent.
 Welcome fortune.
 But I ne went³
 Thus to be shent⁴
 But sho hit ment
 Such is her won"⁵.

¹ See above, A. D. 1467.

² See Caxton's Memoir of him in the *Cordyal*; Excerpta Hist. 245.

³ *Never weened, thought.*

⁴ *Disgraced, destroyed.*

⁵ *Went.* See the ballad composed by Rivers in his last hours, given imperfectly by J. Ross, *História*, 214; but fully by Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, ii. 3.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RICHARD III. "PLANTAGENET"¹.

Born at Fotheringhay 2nd October, 1452².—Began to reign 26th June, 1483³.—Killed at Bosworth 22nd August, 1485⁴.

Coronation.—Royal Progress.—Edward V and his brother made away with.—Rising of the Duke of Buckingham.

CH. XXXIII. THE reign of Richard III was held to have begun on
1483. the 26th June, the day when he installed himself at Westminster, as his brother's reign was dated from the 4th March, 1461, when he had installed himself in like manner. Richard was evidently anxious to perfect his title by being crowned as soon as possible, as the day fixed for the rite allowed only ten days for preparation, an interval that probably would not have sufficed had not the preparations already made for the coronation of Edward V been to a certain extent available⁵.

Official ap- In the meantime a few pieces of pressing business were
pointments
and pro- transacted. On the 27th June, Bishop Russell of Lincoln
motions. was reappointed Chancellor, and John Gunthorp Keeper of the Privy Seal⁶. Next day Buckingham was appointed Great Chamberlain⁷. Lord Howard was created Earl Marshal and Duke of Norfolk, his son being created Earl of Surrey. Next to Buckingham, Howard was probably the man to whom Richard owed most. William Viscount

¹ So Year Book 1 Richard III, sup.

² W. Worcester.

³ Above, p. 491.

⁴ Below.

⁵ See Archaeol. i. 367, and the extracts there given from the Wardrobe Accounts.

⁶ Foed. xii. 189, 194.

⁷ MS. Harl. 433, f. 22 (the Chancellor's Docket Book).



RICHARD III.

From the original in the Royal Collection at Windsor.

To face page 494.

**

Berkeley, the proper heir to the Mowbray estates, received the Earldom of Nottingham, the original Mowbray title¹. On the same day Lord Dynham, who was kept on as Lieutenant of Calais, received a renewed commission to settle with the French for some recent depredations at sea²; while Sir Richard Hastings (brother of the late Lord) was ordered to surrender the Lieutenancy of Guisnes to Lord Mountjoy³. On the 30th June the necessary writs for the elections of Coroners and Verderers were issued⁴.

On the 4th July the coronation festivities began, the King going by water from Westminster to the Tower with the Queen, Anne Neville, second daughter of the King-maker, and relict of Prince Edward of Lancaster, who was killed at Tewkesbury. If Warwick's ambition was to place a daughter on the throne of England his end was now attained. In the evening Richard dubbed seventeen Knights of the Bath⁵, a usual ceremony; and perhaps invested the newly created Peers with their insignia⁶.

On Saturday, 5th July, came the state ride to Westminster, the Queen's procession comprising three "chares" or horse-litters, besides mounted ladies⁷. The Duke of Buckingham was conspicuous by the splendour of his trappings: the housings of his charger blazed with 'burning cart-naves of gold'⁸; as the new King-maker he

¹ Doyle, *Official Baronage*; Foed. xii. 190, 191. Viscount Berkeley and Lord Howard were the sons of Isabel and Margaret Mowbray, daughters of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk. As Berkeley is clearly recognised as the heir to the Mowbray estates (Rot. Parl. vi. 206), it follows that his mother was the elder sister. Norfolk was also appointed to act as High Steward at the coronation; Foed. sup.

² Foed. sup.; Letters Richard III, p. 18.

³ Letters Richard III, i. 14, 15; Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 150. Lord Mountjoy was Thomas Blount, uncle to the last Lord, and second son of Walter, the first Lord.

⁴ Foed. sup.

⁵ For their names see *Excerpta Historica*, 384.

⁶ E. Hall, 375. He gives them as being created on this day, but he is clearly wrong in that. At the same time, Peers were usually created at this point in the coronation proceedings; Rutland Papers (Camden Society, 1844).

⁷ *Antiquarian Repertory*, i. 43. Each "chare" had three saddles but only two horses; Rutland Papers, sup.

⁸ The cart-wheel nave was the Buckingham device; Pol. Poems, ii. 222.

CH. XXXIII. endeavoured to parade as many Stafford Knots as ever
 1483. Warwick did Ragged Staves; but the attempt, we are told, was not quite successful¹.

The ceremony. Next day again, Sunday, 6th July, the coronation took place. In the procession from the Palace to the Abbey the Earl of Surrey bore the King's sheathed Sword of State, and the Earl of Northumberland the pointless sword Curtana, the emblem of Royal mercy; the Earl of Kent and Viscount Lovel bearing the two pointed Swords of Justice on the King's right and left hands². The Duke of Buckingham, with the White Staff of Great Chamberlain, bore the King's train. The Barons of the Five Ports carried the canopies over the heads of the King and Queen. The Queen's train was borne by the Countess of Richmond, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, now wife of Lord Stanley. In the Abbey the hallowing was performed by the Bishop of Bath; the coronation of course by Cardinal Bourchier. Both King and Queen were hallowed and crowned together. The Cardinal then celebrated mass, and King and Queen communicated³.

The appeal to the people and the coronation oath were doubtless not omitted, as both were included in the scheme of proceedings prepared for Henry VII⁴; and we find the coronation oath specially referred to by Richard on more than one occasion.

The Banquet. The coronation banquet in Westminster Hall began at 4 p.m. It would seem that there were four principal tables: the High table on the dais, the Bishops' table, the Earls' table, and the Barons' table. On the King's right sat the Bishop of Durham⁵, instead of the Cardinal, a very old

¹ E. Hall, *sup.* and 382; J. Ross, 216.

² Three swords "oon with a flat poynte called curtana"; Great Wardrobe Accounts, *Antiquarian Repertory*, i. 38; Rutland Papers, II, 24.

³ See the account in *Excerpta Historica*, 380, which professes to give the ceremonial as it happened, but which is clearly wrong in some points, which may be corrected by reference to the Wardrobe Accounts in *Antiquarian Repertory*, i. 38, and Rutland Papers; the latter giving the scheme of proceedings proposed for Henry VII's coronation.

⁴ Rutland Papers.

⁵ William Dudley. He had been much in contact with Richard during the Scottish war.

man, who was probably exhausted with the ceremonial in the Abbey. The Queen sat on the King's left, "nye at the bord's end"; the Mayor of London sat at the Earls' table; the Judges and Barons of the Five Ports¹ at the Barons' table. The ladies sat at different tables, according to their rank, on one side, and apart from the men. During the second course the King's Champion, Sir Robert Dymock, rode into the hall "in whyt harnesse," and offered the usual challenge; "and when he had all seyde, anon all the hall cryed Kyng Rychard all with one voyce." When the time for the third course came "yt was so late that there myght no servyce be served savyng wafers and Ipocrace. And when this was done, anone came into the hall grete lights of wax torches and torchets; and as sone as the lyghts come upe into the hall the Lords beganne to ryse fro there bords and yed up to the Kyng, makynge there obesans." And so the long day came to an end².

CH. XXXIII.
1483.

Richard was now a crowned anointed King. The time-honoured rite "had invested his person with a sanctity which it had not before, and he had spared no pains to make it as splendid and imposing as any such rite could be"³.

For a fortnight or so after the coronation, Richard remained in or near London for the transaction of business. Relations were opened with France⁴ and Castile⁵; and an agent accredited to Brittany, with instructions to enquire particularly after Sir Richard Wydeville and his movements⁶. Patents were sealed appointing Buckingham Constable of England, and confirming his appointments as Justiciar and Chamberlain of North and South Wales, and Constable of all Royal castles in Salop and Hereford, with

Foreign
Relations.

Official
appoint-
ments.

¹ See E. Hall.

² *Excerpta Historica*, 382. The account seems to have been used by Hall, 375, 376.

³ Gairdner, *Richard III.*, 131.

⁴ The intimation of Richard's accession is acknowledged by Louis with polite brevity in a letter dated Moutils-lès-Tours, 21st July; *Letters Richard III.*, i. p. 25.

⁵ 12th July; *Foed.* xii. 193; *Letters*, sup. 23.

⁶ 13th July; *Foed.* 194; *Letters*, sup. 22.

CH. XXXIII. the right of calling out levies in the Principality; but not
 1483. apparently outside of it¹. The Duke of Norfolk was made
 Admiral of England, and empowered to call out levies in
 ten South-Eastern counties from Derbyshire to Kent².
 Robert Brakenbury was made Constable of the Tower³:
 and the King's son, Prince Edward Earl of Salisbury,
 appointed King's Lieutenant of Ireland⁴.

Royal
 Progress.

On the 22nd or 23rd July⁵ the King started from
 Windsor on a grand Progress to make friends and establish
 his authority. He probably felt that his Throne would
 need all the buttressing he could give it. As usual on
 state Progresses, a judicial commission formed part of the
 suite, to attend to any appeals that might be made to the
 Royal judgment-seat⁶. On the 23rd July the King was at
 Reading, and by way of a beginning made peace with his
 cousin Catherine Lady Hastings, sister of the King-maker;
 undertaking to pass no attainder on her late husband, but
 to allow his property to devolve on his children in due
 course of law⁷.

Visit to
 Oxford.

On the 24th he came to Oxford, where the President and
 Fellows of Magdalen College entertained him, their aged
 founder, William of Waynflete, having come from Win-
 chester for the occasion⁸. The King, however, apparently
 went on to sleep at Woodstock, returning the next two
 days to Oxford, to hear disputations and see sights⁹. At
 Woodstock, he graciously granted a petition for the disaf-
 foresting of certain lands illegally annexed to Whichwood
 Forest by his brother¹⁰. The next move was to Gloucester,

¹ 15th July; Pat. 1 Richard III, pt. i. Nos. 29, 30, 43.

² 15th, 25th July; Id. mm. 17, 18.

³ 17th July; Id. m. 19.

⁴ 19th July; Calendar Pat. Rolls, 9th Deputy Keeper's Report, ii. p. 50.

⁵ Richard signs at Windsor on the 21st July; Privy Seals.

⁶ See Davies, York Records, 163; Foed. xii. 204.

⁷ MS. Harl. 433, ff. 108 b, 109.

⁸ Magdalen College, Oxford, was founded by Waynflete in 1456.

⁹ According to Wood, History and Antiquities of Oxford, i. 638, Richard
 slept at Magdalen on the 24th and 25th July; but as he signs at Woodstock
 on the 24th this must be a mistake (Privy Seal).

¹⁰ J. Ross, 216.

a place entitled to the compliment of an early visit from its former connexion with the King. In honour of the occasion the city was raised to the dignity of an independent county¹.

Here Buckingham took his leave, retiring to Brecon, never again to behold the face of Richard III². But the King appreciated the temper in which the Duke went off, and kept a careful eye on his movements. In spite of all that Richard could do, reports of popular discontent were already beginning to come in.

On the 4th August Richard looked once more on the battle-field of Tewkesbury: on the 5th he was at Worcester; on the 7th he had reached Warwick, there to spend a festive week. The Queen joined him from Windsor; and he also received an embassy from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; and a personal visit from the Scottish Duke of Albany. Among others in the Court circle we may notice the young Earl of Warwick, Clarence's son³.

The Spanish envoy must have been accredited to Edward V, as his credentials are dated the 6th June. He came to ask for a renewal of the former league between England and Castile, in view of the unfriendly action of Louis XI, who objected to a marriage between Catherine the young Queen of Navarre and Prince Juan of Spain. Accepting with diplomatic readiness the existing state of things, the Spaniard concluded his league with Richard III, promising every facility for an attack on France if Richard should feel inclined to assert the old pretensions⁴. It would also seem that the suggestion of a matrimonial alliance between the King's son and a daughter of Castile was mooted⁵.

¹ 2nd August; Gairdner, Richard III, 143.

² E. Hall, 382; Kennet, England, 502.

³ J. Ross, 217.

⁴ See Foed. xii. 193-199; Letters Richard III, 23, 31; Ellis, Letters, Second Series, ii. 152-155. The confirmation of the league is dated 31st August. In a letter to the Lords of the Council in London Richard refers to the rejection of the hand of Isabella as having caused a coolness between her and his brother Edward.

⁵ J. Ross, 217.

CH. XXXIII. Albany had once more exhausted the patience of his countrymen. In February he had, through his agent the Earl of Angus, renewed his league with Edward IV, pledging his 'honour and knighthood' never to come to terms with James III¹. Five weeks later he accepted a full pardon from his brother, undertaking to break all treasonable bonds with England². But as his intrigues with the English Court were never intermitted for one moment, the Scots Parliament on the 8th July, 1483, finally attainted him³. His last act had been to place his castle of Dunbar in the hands of the English⁴.

Murder of the Princes in the Tower. Lastly, among the incidents of the Warwick week, we must record a cruel mandate sent to the Tower of London by the trusty hand of Sir James Tyrell. Till then, the little Princes had been spared, in accordance with Richard's policy of shedding no unnecessary blood. But symptoms of possible trouble were beginning to manifest themselves, and then the thread of their young lives was at once cut short. In pursuance of the orders carried by Tyrell to the Constable of the Tower, Robert Brakenbury, the two were smothered in their beds by night, and secretly buried at the foot of the staircase leading up to the chapel in the White Tower, there to lie, lost to human ken, till their skeletons were accidentally brought to light in the year 1674⁵.

As evidence that the King was preparing for disturbances at this time, we may take an order issued on the 17th August for a store of 2000 "Welsh bills" or "glayves" to

¹ 12th February; Foed. xii. 172-176.

² 16th March, 1483; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Index vol. p. 31, Burnet.

³ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. 146-151.

⁴ Whitsunday (18th May), Exchequer Rolls Scotland, ix. 433; Ferrerius, 397; J. Lesley, 51; Pinkerton, i. 314. James III still kept pressing for a truce and friendly relations with England, but Richard apparently evaded him till the 2nd December, when he signed a safe-conduct for Scots ambassadors without granting any truce. See Letters Richard III, 51, 53; Ellis, Letters, Third Series, i. 109, 111; Foed. 207. Yet according to an entry in the Harleian MS. 433, it would seem that an 'abstinence of war' for two months was proclaimed on the 24th September; f. 119.

⁵ For details and authorities see Appendix to this chapter.

be laid in ; while on the following day, he invited seventy gentlemen to meet him at Pontefract ^{CH. XXXIII.} ^{1483.} ^{1.}

From Warwick the Court moved on towards York by Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, Doncaster, and Pontefract, spending about a fortnight on the way ^{2.} Great preparation had been made in the Northern Capital. The Corporation had been busy for a month.

The King ordered stores of drapery from the Great Wardrobe. At the coronation in London 8000 of the King's cognizances, "fustyan with bores" (*boars*), had been thought enough: for the York doings 13,000 emblems were ordered ^{3.} ^{Doings at York.}

On the 30th or 31st August the King made his entry into York, the Sheriffs of the city riding to meet him at Tadcaster; the Mayor and Aldermen receiving him at "Brekles Mylnys" (*Mills*). As usual on such occasions offerings were presented to the King and Queen. Richard received 100 marks "in a pare of baysyns of sylwyr gylt": the Queen received £100 "of gold in a pees ^{4.}" On Sunday, 7th September, the York "Crede Play" or Mystery ⁵ was performed before their Graces; but the 8th was the grand day, when King and Queen went to the Minster in procession wearing their crowns. After the service Richard held a Council and knighted his son Edward and created him Prince of Wales ^{6.} ^{The York "Mystery."} ^{A Prince of Wales.}

But Richard's need of popular support is shown by the fact that he thought fit to remit to the Corporation £58 of

¹ MS. Harl. 433, f. 110 b.

² Richard signs at Coventry 15th, 16th August; at Leicester 17th-19th August; at Nottingham 21st-23rd August, &c. See Privy Seals and MS. Harl. 433, &c.

³ Davies, sup. 159, 160; MS. Harl. 433, f. 126. For a letter from the King's secretary bespeaking the hanging of the streets with arras see Davies, 163.

⁴ Davies, 159, 166, 167. The subscription by the leading citizens for the gifts to the King and Queen came to £437; p. 169.

⁵ For a history, &c. of this performance see Davies, 244, Appendix.

⁶ Foed. xii. 200; Croyland, Cont. 267; J. Ross, 217; Polydore, 695, &c. The Croyland writer goes beyond the mark in alleging that the King was recrowned: no reference to any such ceremony is to be found in the York records; Davies, 280, Appendix.

CH. XXXIII. their fee-farm-rent, undertaking further to allow them
 1483. a subsidy of £58 a year from the Exchequer¹.

The Duke
 of Bucking-
 ham in
 revolt.

About the 21st September the King returned to Pontefract, remaining there in comparative privacy for more than a fortnight. On the 10th October we find him at Gainsborough; on the 11th at Lincoln. Two days later, his friends at York must have been startled at receiving from him a letter dated the 11th, informing them that the Duke of Buckingham had turned traitor; and asking for as many mounted men as they could send, to be at Leicester on the 21st of the month. On the 15th October the fact was heralded to all by a proclamation issued against Buckingham².

If not altogether taken unawares, the King was not the less furiously indignant: with his own Royal hand he writes to the Chancellor, "Here, loved be God, ys all well and trewly determyned for to resyste the malysse of hym that hadde best cawse to be trewe, th' Duc of Bokyngham, the most untrew creature lyvyng We assure you ther was never false traytor better purvayde for, as this berrer Gloucestr' shall sheue you³."

That Richard, however, had not been anticipating immediate trouble is proved by the fact that he had just issued writs for a Parliament to meet on the 6th November⁴.

Uncer-
 tainty as
 to his
 motives.

Historians have been and still are puzzled to find reasons to account satisfactorily for the sudden breach between Buckingham and his master. A suggestion which has found considerable acceptance is that Richard had refused to admit the Duke's claim to be recognised as heir to the Lancaster portion of the Bohun inheritance, the issue of Mary Bohun,

¹ 17th September; Davies, 173. In February, 1484, the men of Hull in like manner were allowed £60 a year out of their own Customs; Foed. xii. 213.

² Davies, 177, 179. The proclamation was published at Hull on the 17th October; Tickell, History of Hull, 134; Cairdner. On the 12th October the King sent to London for the Great Seal and received it on the 19th, apparently at the Angel Inn at Grantham; Foed. 203; Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 159.

³ Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 160.

⁴ Wake, State of Church, 382; Stubbs.

the wife of Henry IV, having failed at the death of Henry VI¹. The other half of the Bohun inheritance, of course, was already held by the Duke as heir of Eleanor Bohun, the wife of Thomas of Gloucester. The claim might easily have been rejected as the lands now demanded had been annexed to the Crown by Henry V². But the fact is that Richard had granted the demand on the 13th July (1483) at Greenwich, undertaking to procure an Act of Parliament to reverse the attainder of Henry VI so far as these estates were concerned, and in the meantime giving the Duke the rents and profits as from Easter³. CH. XXXIII.
1483.

Another suggestion thrown out by More is that the Duke wanted to marry his daughter to the King's son⁴. That was a proposal that Richard would certainly reject. In himself Duke Harry was "but a degenerate representative of the peacemaking duke who fell at Northampton. He had betrayed his great position, and become a tool of Richard; but his position was too great to suffer his ambition or Richard's suspicions to sleep."⁵

At the same time it does not appear that the rising originated with Buckingham. It was in its inception a popular movement, as things went in those days; that is to say, a rising of country squires personally connected either with Edward IV, Clarence, the Wydevilles, or the Greys; aided by broken-down Lancastrians; "Sanctuary men"; and the like. Among the leaders were Lionel Wydeville Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Richard Wydeville; the Marquis of Dorset; Peter Courtenay Bishop of Exeter, and Edward and Walter Courtenay, representatives of a fallen House. Richard Beauchamp, Lord St. Amand, and Sir Roger

The rising
not origin-
ated by
him.
Its true
character.

¹ T. More, 42, 87; the writer, however, admits that the correctness of the suggestion was disputed.

² Rot. Parl. iv. 136; A. D. 1421.

³ MS. Harl. 433, f. 107 b; also printed from a duplicate in the Stafford archives; Dugdale, Baronage, i. 168. The schedule of lands in Richard's agreement with Buckingham is a transcript of that in the Parliament Rolls, sup.

⁴ T. More, 42; this occurs in one of the passages not contained in the original English, but added in the later Latin version.

⁵ Stubbs.

CH. XXXIII. Tocotes, had apparently at one time been connected with Clarence. Then there was Sir Thomas St. Leger, of Guildford, the King's brother-in-law, whose daughter, styled by courtesy the Duchess of Exeter, was to have married Dorset's son¹; Sir Thomas Arundel of Lanherne, was an old Lancastrian; but he had been knighted at Richard's coronation. Sir John Fogge had been Treasurer of the Household to Edward IV. Richard had granted him an ostentatious pardon for some unrecorded offence², but Sir John was still hostile. Richard Haute of Ightam was a relative of the man executed at Pontefract, and so on³.

In short the movement represented a coalition of all hostile elements.

These gentlemen had originally banded together in the cause of Edward V, and with the intention of replacing him on the throne. But Richard was beforehand with them, as we have seen, and at the first intimation of the coming danger cut this ground from under their feet by removing the ex-King and his brother.

Original
purpose
of the
Insurgents.
Substituted
plan.

The scheme of restoring Edward V having thus been checkmated, the conspirators were at fault for a while, till it was announced that the Duke of Buckingham would take the field in the name of the Earl of Richmond and Elizabeth of York, the claims of the two Houses to be fused by the marriage of the pair⁴.

Its authors.
John
Morton,

One of the first promoters, if not the originator, of this happy scheme was John Morton, the Bishop of Ely, who was in detention, under Buckingham's charge, at Brecon. On retiring to Brecon from Gloucester the discontented Duke fell into the hands of his astute prisoner, who had little trouble in moulding him to his purpose⁵. Morton put

¹ Grants Ed. V, p. 12.

² T. More, 80.

³ See Rot. Parl. vi. 245, and MS. Harl. 433.

⁴ See Croyland, Cont. 567, 568. The writer seems to intimate that the Duke was in correspondence with the malcontents before the Tower murder was divulged; that would confirm the date above given to the deed. See also Polydore, 697, 698, who clearly states that the Duke joined a conspiracy already on foot.

⁵ Ib. See also the lengthy speeches composed for them by T. More, 88-91, and E. Hall, 384-389. Here More's work breaks off.

the Duke into communication with the Countess of Richmond (the Lady Margaret), who entered heart and soul into the scheme,—if indeed she had not started it originally,—and she found means for communicating with Queen Elizabeth in her Sanctuary, a matter of some difficulty as Richard kept the place invested with armed men¹. A trusty go-between however was found in the person of one Lewis, physician to the Countess. Elizabeth gave a joyful consent, and passed the word for all her friends to follow the Duke of Buckingham; while the Countess negotiated and raised money for her son². On the other hand her husband, Lord Stanley, and his son by his first wife, Lord le Strange, stood by Richard, and prevented the movement spreading into Lancashire³.

By the 24th September the plans of the insurgent party had been sufficiently matured to enable a day to be fixed for a rising; and the 18th October was the day named: Richmond and his uncle Jasper, late Earl of Pembroke, were invited to come over from Brittany in time to co-operate⁴.

But Richard soon learned everything. On the 11th October, as we have seen, he was calling for men to act against Buckingham; while the day before that the Duke of Norfolk, writing from London to his friends in the country, informed them that the Weald of Kent was already "up"⁵.

True to time, about the 18th October the standard of revolt was unfurled at Newbury, Guildford, Maidstone, Salisbury, and Exeter. Buckingham with an army of Welshmen advanced from Brecon to Weobley⁶. But Richard had two able adherents ready to watch and thwart the Duke's movements. Sir Thomas Vaughan of Tretower⁷ hung on his rear; while in front Humphrey

CH. XXXIII.
1483.
the Lady Margaret,
and Queen Elizabeth.

The Rising.

¹ Croyland, Cont. 567.

² Polydore, 697-699; Rot. Parl. vi. 250. If the Countess was a Beaufort on her father's side, on her mother's side she was a Stafford.

³ Plumptre, Corresp. 44.

⁴ Rot. Parl. vi. 245.

⁵ Paston Letters, iii. 308.

⁶ Rot. Parl. vi. 245; Croyland, Cont. sup.

⁷ See Gairdner, Richard III, 171.

CH. XXXIII. Stafford of Grafton in Worcestershire¹ guarded the crossings of the Wye and Severn. But Stafford's task was made easy by an October flood of extraordinary height which absolutely blocked the Duke's line of march into England². After ten days of helpless inactivity at Weobley his whole force had melted away, and he fled in disguise northwards towards Shrewsbury, while John Morton made off to the South³.

About the 21st October Richard came to Leicester to meet his northern levies⁴. On the 23rd a most acrimonious proclamation was issued for circulation in the troubled districts. Dorset, the Bishops of Ely and Salisbury, and other leaders were denounced as well as Buckingham; £1000 was offered for the apprehension of the latter; and sweeping charges of immorality brought against the party of the insurgents; "Shore's wife" being now brought in as Dorset's mistress⁵. On the 24th October the King was at Coventry and appointed Sir Ralph Assheton Vice-constable to try cases of treason, 'without formalities or appeal'⁶. Pushing rapidly southwards Richard must have reached Salisbury by the 1st November, as on that day the unfortunate Buckingham was brought in a prisoner by John Mytton the Sheriff of Shropshire. The Duke had taken refuge with a follower, Ralph "Banastre", or Bannister, of Lacon Hall near Wem⁷, who did by him as the Haryngtons, Talbots, and Tempests had done by Henry VI: that is to say, he concealed him as long as he could, and when concealment was no longer possible claimed the reward for giving him up⁸. Turning a deaf

1483.
Buckingham's advance checked.

Royal Proclamation.

Buckingham arrested

¹ Owen and Elakeway, Shrewsbury, i. 235.

² E. Hall, 394. According to him the flood was still locally known in his time as "the Duke of Buckingham's water". See also Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol*, ii. 202, cited Gairdner. The flood was accompanied by a great gale on the 15th October.

³ E. Hall; Croyland, Cont. sup.

⁴ He signs at Melton Mowbray on the 21st October.

⁵ Foed. xii. 204.

⁶ Id. 205; "sine strepitu et figura justicie appellatione quacunque remota".

⁷ Hutton, *Battle of Bosworth*, 18.

⁸ On the 13th December he received Buckingham's manor of Yalding in

ear to the entreaties of his late accomplice for a personal interview, Richard ordered him to execution; and on the morrow, though a Sunday, he suffered in the market-place, after a summary condemnation, as we may suppose, by the court of the Vice-constable¹.

CH. XXXIII.

1483.

and put to death.

We may call to mind that the Duke's first act in public life had been to pass sentence on Clarence.

His fall made an end of the rising; but till then the public had been in considerable doubt as to which side it would be prudent to take². Dorset, however, and the Courtenays were still 'up' in Devon, waiting for the Earl of Richmond, so Richard pressed on after them. On the 5th November he was at Bridport; on the 12th at Exeter. Sir Thomas St. Leger and two others were taken there and executed³. Richmond had been delayed, perhaps by the stormy weather; more likely perhaps by want of money, shipping being always expensive in those days. On the 30th October however he received 10,000 gold crowns from the Duke of Brittany⁴, and with that money he crossed the Channel, putting into Plymouth about the time that Richard reached Exeter. Of course all chance was gone for the moment, so the Earl at once returned to Brittany⁵.

Collapse of the movement.

After a few days at Exeter Richard began to return towards London through the scenes of the late disturbances. On the 15th November he was at Bridgewater;

The King returns to London.

Kent as his reward, also the Keepership of Everley Park; MS. Harl. 433, ff. 37 b and 38.

¹ Sunday, 2nd November; Croyland, Cont. sup. "He was there behedyd . . . without speche or syght of the Kynge"; R. Fabian, 671; E. Hall, 394, 395; Polydore, 700, 701. On the same day Buckingham's estates were confiscated; MS. Harl. 433, ff. 120, 121. The Duke was executed "the second day after his coming" to Salisbury; MS. Vitellius, sup. f. 140.

² So MS. Vitellius, sup.

³ R. Fabian, 671.

⁴ The receipt is dated at Pampol on the Breton coast; B. M. Additional MS. 19,398, f. 33, cited Gairdner; cf. Letters Richard III, 54.

⁵ Croyland, Cont.; Polydore, 701 b, and Hall, 395, 396, narrate an attempt to land at Poole before the middle of October. Perhaps the Earl made two attempts. Some Breton ships were driven on to the coasts of Devon and Cornwall and seized; MS. Harl. 433, f. 134.

CH. XXXIII. on the 21st and 22nd at Winchester; on the 23rd at Farnham; on the 24th at Guildford; on the 29th November he entered London in triumph.

1483.

Appoint-
ments to
vacant
posts.

The chief posts left vacant by Buckingham's death had already been filled up. Sir William Stanley was appointed Justiciar of North Wales; Herbert, the Earl of Huntingdon, Justiciar of South Wales. Lord Stanley had been made Constable of England, and the Earl of Northumberland Great Chamberlain¹. A few, but only a few, executions had also taken place. Sir George Browne of Bechworth and William Clifford had been beheaded at the Tower; and four yeomen of the Crown, traitors of double dye, had been hanged at Tyburn².

Extent of
the dis-
affection.

The insurrection had come to nothing, but the number of persons implicated was very alarming; of these, Sir William Berkeley, of Beverston, had been appointed Warden of the Isle of Wight by Richard; and knighted at his coronation: Sir William Knyvett had been made Steward of Castle Rising³. The Bouchiers were a thoroughly Yorkist family; but they were also cousins of the Duke of Buckingham, as being descended from Anne of Gloucester. Among the insurgents we find Sir Thomas Bouchier of Barnes, Richard's first cousin⁴. Still more disquieting must have been the discovery that Cardinal Bouchier himself was to some extent implicated. Small blame to him if he was. Had he not pledged his honour to Queen Elizabeth for the safety of the little Duke of York, and where was the boy now? The Cardinal however must have offered prompt explanations, which the King must have accepted as promptly, as on the 8th December we have a Royal order to the Archbishop's tenantry directing them to pay their dues without hesitation,

¹ Pat. 1 Richard III, pt. 1, mm. 23, 24.

² R. Fabian, sup.; Browne had been knighted at Tewkesbury.

³ MS. Harl. 433, ff. 25, 121; Grants Edward V, 1, 18.

⁴ MS. Harl. 433, f. 121 b. He was the fifth son of Henry Earl of Essex by Isabel of Cambridge (see Table). On the Pipe Roll 16 Edward IV, he appears as steward for his uncle the Cardinal, so that he probably had not acted independently.

the Cardinal having been accepted and received to grace, CH. XXXI
 while five days later a formal pardon in his favour passed 1483.
 the Great Seal¹.

If little blood had been shed, the cost of the campaign had not been inconsiderable; but probably most of the soldiers had been sent on 'Benevolence'; while the forfeitures placed new funds at the King's disposal. Endless Richard's leniency. grants and remissions to high and low testify to the King's anxiety to make friends².

We cannot close the year 1483 without noticing the Death of Louis XI. death of Edward IV's rival and contemporary, Louis XI. On the 30th August he breathed his last in the stronghold he had laboured to render impregnable, Plessis-lès-Tours³; a man of great ability and restless activity both of body and mind, wholly unfettered by any scrap of moral principle. He had greatly forwarded the work of the unification of France, advancing her frontiers to the Pyrenees and the Jura. He had developed her intellectual and material resources, but debased her moral character by establishing the religion of force and fraud, the worship of success. His hand had been equally heavy on Feudalism and Constitutionalism: he laid the foundations of a centralised despotism resting on bayonets⁴.

¹ MS. Harl. 433, f. 128; Foed. xii. 208.

² MS. Harl. 433 and Patent Roll, *passim*. Edmund Shaw the ex-Mayor received 400 marks. Besides the persons already mentioned, John Lord Dudley, John Lord Andley, and Ralph Lord Neville, received grants.

³ Comines-Dupont, ii. 270.

⁴ See Martin, France, vi. 154.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER.

CH. XXXIII. THE fate of the little Princes in the Tower has always
1483. excited the deepest interest. From the black Monday on which the gates of the fortress closed on the Duke of York neither of the brothers was ever again seen by the outer world¹. The universal belief of the time was that they were put to death by the orders of their uncle. The Chancellor of France, addressing the Estates General which met at Tours in the following January, could speak of the murder as known to all². But the writers of the time had no details to give³; and the fact appears to be that the circumstances were not divulged till many years afterwards; hence the doubts that arose, and the attempts made to personate the princes⁴.

With respect to the time at which the murder was perpetrated it might be supposed that a man of Richard's unflinching purpose would lose no time in getting rid of

¹ R. Fabian, 669; "the prynce . . . with his broder the duke of Yorke were put under suer keypyng within the Tower in suche wyse that they never came abrode after."

² Documents Inédits, États Généraux, p. 39, cited Gairdner, Richard III.

³ "Vulgatum est dictos Regis Edwardi pueros, quo genere violenti interitus ignoratur, decessisse in fata"; Croyland, Cont. 568. "Ita quod ex post paucissimis notum fuit qua morte martirizati sunt. Thronum tunc ascendit occisorum," &c.; J. Ross, 214 and 215. "He also put to deth the ii children of Kyng Edward for whiche cawse he lost the hertes of the people"; MS. Vitellius, A. xvi, f. 139 b; R. Fabian, 670. "Richard, lequel avoit faict mourir les deux filz du roy Edouard son frere"; Comines-Dupont, ii. 243. So too the Burgundian, Jean Molinet, another writer of the time, ii. 402, cited Dupont, sup.; also B. André, Vita Henrici Septimi; Memorials Henry VII, p. 24 (Rolls Series).

⁴ See T. More, 80; Polydore, 723.

rivals; and it is certain that in the first week of his reign CH. XXXIII.
 Richard gave away titles held by the Duke of York as if 1483.
 they were vacant. But if we are to write history not from conjecture, but from available testimony, we must do Richard the justice to admit that he refrained from dipping his hands in his nephew's blood till he found that a substantial party might be rallied in their names, and that their lives could not be prolonged without imminent risk to his Throne. Sir Thomas More, the only writer who has ventured to give details of the affair, represents the fatal mandate as sent by Richard from Warwick during the state Progress which we have followed; and we know that the King was at Warwick from the 7th to the 15th of August. The Croyland writer, our primary authority, distinctly intimates that the Princes were still alive when Richard started on his Progress in July; and intimates as distinctly that they had passed away before Buckingham's rebellion came to a head¹, that is to say before October. John Ross, who as a man then in his prime, ought to be another good witness, seems to place the murder three months and a little more from the time when Richard took charge of Edward V². Three months and something more from the 30th April would again bring us to the first week in August. Molinet, the Flemish writer, understood that the Princes were murdered after five weeks' captivity in the Tower. Reckoned from the time when the Duke of York was taken there, five weeks would bring us to the latter part of July³.

More does not give his account of the murder as the only version that was current, but as the one that best commended itself to his judgment; one that he had received from "such men and by such meanes" that he

¹ "Interim remanserunt duo praedicti Regis Edwardi filii ... infra Turrim", &c., 567, 568; at page 575 the writer speaks of the battle of Bosworth as having been fought mainly to avenge their deaths, "quorum causa hoc bello fortissime vindicata est".

² "Edwardum quintum blandiendo cum amplexibus et osculis recepit et infra circiter tres menses vel parum ultra cum fratre suo interfecit"; p. 215.

³ Molinet, ii. 402, cited Comines-Dupont, ii. 243.

CH. XXXIII. thought "it were hard, but it should be true."¹ Like the
 1483. rest of his narrative it is confused and inexact, but it seems to rest on substantial fact; and on some points it can be strongly corroborated.

More tells us that Richard came to the resolution of making away with his nephews as he was on his way to Gloucester on the Progress above referred to. From the Croyland writer we may gather that reports were beginning to reach him of popular discontent at the prolonged imprisonment of the Princes, and of threatened risings on their behalf². Richard therefore sent one John Green to "Sir Robert Brakenbery," the Constable of the Tower, with orders to despatch the boys. Brakenbury was not yet a knight, but his appointment as Constable of the Tower was one of Richard's first acts as King³. With respect to John Green, early in November we find a man of that name, a Yeoman of the Chamber, appointed Receiver of the Isle of Wight⁴.

Brakenbury, we are told, at first refused to do as he was bid⁵. This assertion seems rather inconsistent with Brakenbury's retention in office as Constable of the Tower, to say nothing of the donations of estates subsequently conferred on him 'for special services to the Crown'⁶. Green reported the failure of his mission to the King at Warwick (7th-15th August). Richard was deeply dejected till a page suggested Sir James Tyrell as a man worthy of all confidence, and anxious to distinguish himself in the King's service⁷.

Here again we must remark that Tyrell needed no recommendation from a page. He had been made a Knight Banneret by Richard himself in 1482 for his services in the

¹ Pp. 80, 81.

² Croyland, Cont. 567.

³ The patent is dated 17 July; Pat. 1 Richard III, pt. i, m. 19. But on the chancellor's docket book (MS. Harl. 433) the order for the appointment is one of the first entries after the 28th June; f. 23 b.

⁴ MS. Harl. 433, f. 122.

⁵ T. More, 81.

⁶ He received Rivers' estates of the Mote with other estates in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; MS. Harl. sup. f. 56; Pat. 1 Richard III, pt. 2, No. 104.

⁷ T. More, 81, 82.

Scotch campaign¹; he was one of the Commissioners CH. XXXIII.
1483. appointed in November, 1482, to execute the office of Constable; he was Master of the King's Henchmen at the coronation; and he was made Master of the Horse not long after the time of which we are writing². He was, in fact, a man of much higher position than Brakenbury, of whom nothing seems to be known prior to Richard's accession³. It may be however that Brakenbury declined to take verbal orders on so delicate a matter from a mere Yeoman of the Chamber. Anyhow, Tyrell was sent to London with a letter directing Brakenbury to give him the keys of the Castle for one night.

This detail, again, looks as if it has been suggested by Brakenbury's friends to shield him at Tyrell's expense.

By virtue of this authority, More tells us, Tyrell had the two boys smothered by night in their beds; the actual agents being Miles Forest, one of the warders in charge of the Princes, and John Dighton, Tyrell's "own horse keeper."

With respect to these men, Forest died soon after; but he had a post in the Great Wardrobe at Blackfriars; while after his death an annuity was settled on his wife and his son⁴. John Dighton received the office of Bailiff of the Manor of Ayton in Staffordshire⁵.

When the deed was done Tyrell was brought in to view the bodies; having satisfied himself that the victims were dead, he had them buried "at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde under a great heape of stones⁶." And there the skeletons of two lads of corresponding ages were

¹ MS. Harl. 293, f. 208, cited Gairdner.

² Archaeol. i. 375. His brother Thomas acted as Master of the Horse at the coronation.

³ In Davies' York Records we have frequent mention of John Brakenbury, Esquire to the Mace, and Captain of the city contingents in 1481, 1482, and 1483; he received a pension from Richard in the autumn; MS. Harl. 433, f. 53; but no other Brakenbury is named.

⁴ On the 12th September, 1484, his widow received five marks due to him up to Michaelmas; MS. Harl. 433, f. 187.

⁵ MS. Harl. sup. f. 55.

⁶ T. More, 83, 84.

CH. XXXIII. found on the 17th July, 1674, when the staircase leading
1483. up to the chapel in the White Tower was being repaired¹.

More understood that the bodies had been removed to some unknown place of burial; but this is only another instance of the curious way in which truth and error are interwoven in his uncritical narrative. Dighton was still living when More wrote. Sir James Tyrell, after having been trusted and employed by Henry VII for many years, was executed in 1502 on a charge of treason, arising out of other matters². More asserts, in the most positive manner³, that both Tyrell and Dighton were then examined, and that both "confessed the murther in maner above writen," his narrative being, in fact, based on what he understood them to have said. At the same time it does not appear that their confession was ever published in writing.

¹ See the inscription from the monument in Westminster Abbey; Kennet's *England*, i. 551, note. The traditions of the Tower were unable to frame any other hypothesis to account for the presence of the bodies.

² E. Hall, 496; Rot. Parl. vi. 545.

³ "Very trouthe is it and well knowen", &c., p. 84.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

RICHARD III (*continued*).

Parliament.—Settlement of the Crown.—Death of the Prince of Wales.—
Foreign affairs.—Failure of the King to win popularity.—Alarms of
invasion.

ON the 23rd January, 1484, a Parliament, the first and CH. XXXIV.
only Parliament of Richard III, met at Westminster. Writs 1484.
had originally been issued for the 6th November¹; but the Parliament
assembly had been countermanded on account of Bucking- at West-
ham's rebellion. Bishop Russell preached on the apposite minster.
text, "We have many members in one body and all mem-
bers have not the same office." He urged his hearers to
'render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's; and to
search diligently for the "Tenth drachma," the lost piece
of silver'; meaning apparently united action leading to
national prosperity².

Thirty-seven lay Peers had been summoned as against Richard's
forty-eight summoned in the previous year by Edward IV³. House of
Lords.
In the first year of Edward III eighty-three Peers at least
had received writs. On the present occasion the lay Triers
of Petitions were the Duke of Norfolk and his son the
Earl of Surrey; the Earl of Kent, formerly Lord Grey of

¹ Wake, *State of the Church*, 382. The original draft of the Chancellor's
speech, printed by Nichols in the *Grants of Edward V*, p. l., took its text from
the Gospel for St. Leonard's day, the 6th November; see Gairdner, 196,
correcting Nichols, *sup*.

² Rot. Parl. vi. 237, and *Grants Edward V*, l. and lviii., where the speech is
given at length.

³ Stubbs.

CH. XXXIV. Ruthyn;—the man who deserted Henry VI at the battle
 1484 of Northampton, the murderer of Speaker Tresham;—
 Viscount Lovel; and the Lords Grey, Audley, and Powyk¹.
 Neither the Duke of Suffolk nor the Earl of Northumber-
 land; neither Stanley nor le Strange were on the list. On
 the 26th January, William Catesby, "one of Richard's most
 unscrupulous servants," was presented and approved as
 Speaker².

Settlement
 of the
 Crown.

The first thing taken in hand was naturally the settle-
 ment of the Crown. The Bill for the purpose was intro-
 duced in the Lords and sent down to the Commons, who
 gave their assent. The Bill was then returned to the Lords,
 where the King was apparently waiting to give his assent;
 and that having been given, with words of emphatic approval,
 the measure then and there became law. The Act was in fact
 a mere ratification of the "Consideracion Election and Peti-
 tion" of the previous 25th June, which was set out in full,
 with some prefatory recitals and a supplementary declaration.
 The preface explained that although the Petition had been
 presented to the King in the name of the Three Estates of
 the Realm, yet it had not been presented by persons
 "assembled in fourme of Parliament; by occasion whereof
 diverse doubts questions and ambiquitees been moved and
 engendered in the minds of diverse personnes, as it is said."
 The Act therefore, "to the perpetuall memorie of the
 trouth," ordained that the Petition "with all the contynue
 of the same bee ratified enrolled recorded approved
 and auctorised; soo that all things said affirmed
 specified desired and remembred in the said Rolle
 bee of like effect vertue and force as if all the same things
 have ben soo said affirmed specified desired and remem-
 bred in full Parliament."

The reader will notice that the ratification extends not
 merely to the offer and acceptance of the Crown, but also to

¹ Otherwise Richard Lord Beauchamp of Powyk; he was son of John Lord
 Beauchamp, the Treasurer of 1450-1452.

² Rot. Parl. vi. 238; Stubbs. Catesby was one of the Chamberlains of the
 Exchequer.

the truth of the historical averments on which the King's title was based ; and in fact even to personal aspirations and recollections.

CH. XXXIV.
1484.

To make assurance doubly sure the supplemental Enactment declared Richard "veray and undoubted Kyng of this Reame of Englund"; the Crown being settled on him for his life with remainder to the "heires of his body begotten." The Act, however, was careful to explain that the King's title was really too clear to need recognition, and that the declaration of right was added merely out of regard for the ignorance of the 'unlearned' public, and to remove "occasion of all doubts and seditious language"¹.

The next business taken up was the punishment of the participators in the late rising. Buckingham, Dorset, "Henry callyng hymself erle of Richemound"; "Jasper late Erle of Pembroke," and some ninety-five gentlemen and yeomen were attainted in due form. Besides the names which have already appeared we may notice those of Sir William Stonor, a man connected with the Chancellor, and Steward of the Manor of Thame² belonging to the see of Norwich; Sir Thomas Leukenor of Tratton; Sir John Guildford of Rolvenden; Sir William Norris of Yakendon; Sir Thomas De La Mare of Aldermanston; Sir John Seintlo of Kensham; Sir Nicholas Latimer of Duntish; Sir Giles Daubeney of Barnington; Sir William Brandon; Sir Robert Willoughby of Beer-Ferrers; "Amys" (*Amyas*) Pawlet; John Harcourt of Stanton; Edward Poynings of Marsham; Walter Hungerford and John Welles. These last two again represented fallen Houses³.

The three Bishops were declared worthy of death; but from respect for their holy office were only sentenced to forfeit their temporalities and worldly goods⁴: The Countess of Richmond was declared incapable of holding or inheriting any estate or dignity; but the actual

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 240-242.

² Excerpta Historica, 13, 15.

³ See Rot. Parl. vi. 244-249. Brandon and Seintlo had been knighted at Tewkesbury, Leukenor at Richard's coronation. Latimer was a Lancastrian.

⁴ Id. 250.

CH. XXXIV. confiscation of the property was suspended till after the death of her husband, Lord Stanley¹. The settlement of the Exeter estates ratified in the last Parliament was also cancelled², and all grants made in favour of Queen Elizabeth resumed³.

1484.

Bene-
factions.

Private business and the rewarding of the faithful followed. To facilitate this process the King had taken power to make grants of the forfeited estates without waiting for the formalities of escheators' "Offices and Inquisitions"; that is to say, without waiting for any legal ascertainment of what the traitors had to forfeit⁴. The Earl of Northumberland (Henry Percy IV) obtained a reversal of the attainders passed in 1404 and 1406 against the first Earl, his son Hotspur, and his brother Thomas Earl of Worcester; the Earl alleging that his grandfather the second Earl, the son of Hotspur, had not been fully reinstated in 1416. All intermediate Crown grants were summarily cancelled⁵. Viscount Lovel was allowed to succeed to part of the Exeter estates as heir to Maud Holland, who had married one of his ancestors⁶. Sir James Tyrell was allowed to enter on the estates of Sir Thomas Arundel, his wife Anne being an Arundel⁷.

Statute.

Richard's
Legisla-
tion.

The Statutes of the Parliament have always been regarded with interest as giving some indication of the domestic policy that Richard would have followed had his reign been prolonged. The legislation was of a mixed character, a good deal of it following old and well-worn paths. But we also have honest attempts to grapple with admitted evils. Thus we have on the one hand a re-enactment of the never-ending regulations for keeping up the standards in quality and quantity of the higher sorts of cloth, prefaced with the old old allegation, come down from the days of

¹ Rot. Parl. vi. 250.

² Id. 242, see also 215.

³ Stat. 1 Richard III. c. 15.

⁴ Rot. Parl. 249.

⁵ Rot. Parl. 252. On the 1st December the Earl had been admitted to the estates (in six southern counties) 'late of Robert Lord Poynings'; he was already Lord Poynings in right of his wife, so we may suppose that these estates had passed to a male heir, probably Edward Poynings the rebel.

⁶ Rot. Parl. 254.

⁷ Id. 255.

Edward III, that in 'time past' English broadcloths were good and true, but that now they were so "deceyvably wrought" that they had lost all character; an allegation refuted by the steady increase in the export of English cloth¹. So again we have an attempt to prevent wool for exportation being "barded" or "clakked"; i.e. trimmed and cleaned. So too we have the old jealous interference with the action of foreign traders in England; and the prohibition on wrought silks and miscellaneous articles of foreign manufacture². Here, however, we are bound to notice a special exception in favour of "bokes, wrytten or imprynted," our first notice of the art of printing in any public record³.

Against these we may set first a well-meant attempt to deal with secret feoffments, that is to say, secret conveyances upon trust, whereby a man could relieve his land of all liability for his future acts; a practice greatly fostered by the civil wars, but one which involved the title to estates in the greatest uncertainty. The enactment is so loosely worded as to be useless, but we may fairly regard it as an anticipation of the Statute of Uses⁴. Closely connected with this was the provision requiring the due proclamation of "Fines," a legal process by which the lands of married women were conveyed; while the requirement that suits should be brought within five years of the time when the right accrued gives us a first Statute of Limitations⁵. Again, Justices of the Peace sitting singly were given the

CH. XXXIV.
1484.

Secret
Feoff-
ments.

Proclama-
tion of
Fines.

¹ Stat. 1 Richard III, c. 8.

² See Id. c. 12, comparing Stat. 3 Edward IV, c. 3.

³ Statute, cc. 9, 10, 12. The Statute was published in print shortly after the close of the session by Maclinia or Caxton; the later Statutes of Edward IV had been printed in the previous year. Statutes, ii. 431, 477, notes. [Record Comm.]

⁴ Id. c. 1. The measure simply provides that every feoffment, grant, lease, &c. shall be good as against the feoffor, grantor, lessor, &c., and his heirs claiming as such only, and all persons holding to his or their use. The act perhaps meant to say 'every feoffment, &c. *made for valuable consideration* shall be good as against the feoffor', &c. Voluntary settlements were the abuses to be checked. A feoffment was the symbolical delivery of the land by the delivery of a rod or clod. It had to be performed on the land conveyed, but neither writing nor witnesses were needed.

⁵ Id. cap. 7.

CH. XXXIV. same power to admit prisoners to bail as Justices sitting
 1484. in Sessions. Officers of Justice were forbidden to seize prisoners' goods before conviction. Jurors to be impanelled on inquests held by the sheriffs in their "Turns" were required to be men of good name and fame, and worth twenty shillings a year in freehold land; and the temporary measure of Edward IV for keeping the jurisdiction of "Pie-powder" courts within proper limits (17 Edw. IV, c. 2) was made perpetual¹.

Benevo-
lences con-
demned.

From the constitutional point of view the chief measure of the Session was that professing to abolish the practice of exacting "Benevolences." The Act stigmatises them as a "newe and unlawfull invencion"; and describes with some apparent exaggeration the hardships to which many "worshipfull men" had been subjected by them; households had been broken up, debts left unpaid, children unpreferred². Lastly the clergy obtained an Act to protect collectors of clerical Tenthhs from the hardship of being harassed by private suitors when summoned before the Barons of the Exchequer to pass their accounts of the Tenthhs in ordinary course³.

The
Customs
granted.

On the 20th February Parliament rose; the only Supply vouchsafed by the Commons being a grant of the Customs duties at existing rates for the term of the King's life. The grant was only made to run from the first day of the Parliament, no retrospective effect being given to it⁴.

Convoca-
tion.

Concurrently with Parliament the Convocation of Canterbury had been sitting at St. Paul's. The assembly has been criticised for an address to the King, in which, while inviting his attention to their grievances, they recognise his 'most noble and blessed disposition in all other things.' Such, however, was the ordinary language of the time. One clerical grievance had already been dealt with in Parliament; on the 23rd February Richard granted the clergy a charter confirming the privileges recognised by Edward IV

¹ Stat. cc. 3, 4, 6. For Pie-powder Courts see above, 427.

² Statute, c. 2.

³ Id. c. 14.

⁴ Rot. Parl. vi. 238.

in 1462¹; on the next day they gave him a Tenth—no excessive grant. CH. XXXIV.

It would seem that during the Parliament Richard, following the example of his brother², exacted from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal oaths of allegiance to the Prince of Wales as Heir Apparent. The Duke of Norfolk, who as Lord Howard had sworn on the former occasion, now took the lead³. At the same time great efforts were made to induce Queen Elizabeth to leave her Sanctuary, the King being sensible of the odium reflected on himself by the situation. He was also probably aware that he could really keep better watch upon Elizabeth's actions outside the purlieus of the crowded Sanctuary than within them. 1484.
Queen Elizabeth and her daughters. The Queen Dowager, who was not a woman of much character or consistency of purpose, gave way, Richard having taken a personal "oath and promise," in the presence of sundry Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Mayor and Aldermen of London, that if her daughters, the Ladies Elizabeth, Cecille, Anne, Catherine, and Bridget, would place themselves in his hands he would guarantee them life, liberty, and a suitable "exibicion"; that he would marry them to "Gentilmen born"; and allow "dame Elizabeth Gray" 700 marks (£466 13s. 4d.) a year by the hands of John Nesfield, Esquire of the Body⁴.

Thus again, for the moment, to outward appearance, Richard's Throne seemed fairly established; but rumours of war and preparations against invasion never ceased. Uneasy state of public feeling. On the 18th December, 1483, a squadron was fitting out to encounter Breton ships reported to be cruising in Flemish waters⁵. Again, in January, 1484, we hear of ships preparing for sea, and of a Spanish ship bought by the King. To superintend the fitting out he went down to Sandwich

¹ Wilkins, Conc. iii. 583, 616; Ford. xi. 493.

² 3rd July, 1471; see above p. 388, and Rot. Parl. vi. 234.

³ Croyland, Cont. 570.

⁴ 1st March. See the oath; Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 149, from MS. Harl. 433; Croyland, Cont. sup.; Polydore, 706. Nesfield was the man who kept guard on the Sanctuary.

⁵ MS. Harl. 433, ff. 135, 136.

CH. XXXIV. in the middle of the month, and took the opportunity of
 1484. exacting oaths of allegiance from the men of Kent, who were still in a disturbed state, warning them by proclamation against wearing illegal badges¹. On the 1st March Commissions of Array for most of the counties in England were issued; on the 5th of the month a landing on the south coast was announced as imminent².

Death of
the Prince
of Wales.

Richard, however, must have felt satisfied with the precautionary measures he had taken, as next week he started on a Progress through East Anglia and the North, which may be said to have lasted eight months. On the 10th March he was at Cambridge, presumably resting at King's College; on the 17th he was at Nottingham, where his headquarters remained till the 27th April³, and where, in fact, he spent a considerable part of the year. But the dynastic prospects were doomed to be speedily dashed, and the hearts of the King and Queen were distracted with grief by the loss of their son, their only son—in fact their only child—Prince Edward, who died suddenly at Middleham on the 9th April⁴.

The
Succession.

Richard had now to look out for an heir. Clarence's son, the Earl of Warwick, was his nearest male relative, and we are told that Richard at first was disposed to recognise him⁵. But he was a boy in his ninth year, who could give no help in the work of governing; and the reversal of Clarence's attainder would have given the young Earl an immediate claim to the Throne. The recognition of any of Edward's daughters was equally impossible. Richard therefore resigned himself to his nephew, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, son of his eldest surviving sister Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk, a young man of some promise. In July he was appointed President of the Council of the

¹ MS. Harl. 433, f. 140, &c.

² See the Calendar of the Patent Rolls in Ninth Dep. Keeper's Report, Append. ii, p. 45, &c. For further references see Gairdner, Richard III, 191, 214.

³ MS. Harl. 433, *passim*.

⁴ Croyland, Cont.; "vidisses tantisper patrem et matrem . . . prae subitis doloribus paene insanire".

⁵ So J. Ross, 217, 218.

North—a new institution¹; in August he was made CH. XXXIV.
 Lieutenant of Ireland², a dignity previously enjoyed by 1484.
 the late Prince of Wales.

But whatever his private feelings Richard still turned a bold front to his enemies at home and abroad. The extradition of the Earl of Richmond was a primary aim of his diplomacy. Duke Francis II had again given shelter to Henry and his followers; and these, as if to console themselves for the failure of the autumn, held a great demonstration at Rennes on Christmas day, 1483, proclaiming Henry King of England, while he pledged himself to marry the Lady Elizabeth. But Duke Francis, we are told, became incapacitated by illness, and Richard's correspondence had to be carried on with the Duke's Minister, Pierre Landois, an unpopular man, who, whether to relieve his master of a heavy burden, or to make for himself friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, came to terms with King Richard. On the 8th June Richard signed a truce with Truce with Brittany.
 Brittany to last from the 1st July to the 24th April, 1485³. Landois was preparing to seize the exiles, but John Morton, who was kept informed of events in England, was able to forward a timely warning to his friends at Rennes; whereupon Richmond, Jasper Tudor, and the other leaders at The Earl of Richmond retires to France.
 once decamped, and, slipping across the frontier, made their way to Angers, where they were received as friends by the young King Charles VIII. Richard thus took little by his motion, while his adversary had made a distinct gain by transferring his headquarters from the Court of Brittany to that of France. The Earl of Oxford⁴ and

¹ Letters Richard III, p. 56; York Records, 192, 193. The Countess of Richmond's estates were given to John in April, subject to Lord Stanley's life estate; and in the meantime £176 a year were allowed to him; Privy Seal, and MS. Harl. 433, f. 62.

² 21st August; Calendar Pat. Rolls, sup. 96.

³ Foed. xii. 226.

⁴ The Earl escaped from Ham through the connivance of James Blount, the commander; Polydore, 707. This probably happened before the 14th August, 1484, when T. Montgomery was appointed to succeed John Blount, Lord Mountjoy, as Lieutenant of Guisnes, of which Ham was a dependancy; Foed. xii. 231.

CH. XXXIV. other old Lancastrians joined him, and his position kept improving from day to day¹.

1484.

Hostilities
with Scot-
land.

Relations with Scotland also had a share of Richard's attention at this time. Dependent on North-country support, he was probably anxious to make what he could of North-country hostility to the Scots. Perhaps he had not forgotten his hopes of establishing a Palatinate in Dumfriesshire: and he certainly hoped to make something of the footing Albany had given him at Dunbar. Thus James III's pacific overtures still came to nothing. In February an intention of invading Scotland was announced². Relief was repeatedly sent to Dunbar, and the superintendence of these outfits called the King to Scarborough once in May, and once in June³. But Richard had the mortification of seeing some of his ships captured off Scarborough by a French squadron⁴.

Nor did a petty attack on Dumfriesshire bring him more credit. On the 22nd July, Albany and Douglas attacked Lochmaben with 500 horse, during the time of an annual fair: but their influence in the district had died out. The townspeople and traders made a stout fight in defence of their goods, till the neighbouring gentry came to the rescue, when the English were overpowered and expelled⁵. Douglas was carried off a prisoner and brought to King James, who, with his usual leniency, took pity on the Earl's grey hairs, and sent him to end his days in the peaceful retirement of the Abbey of Lindores in Fife. Albany

¹ Polydore, 703-705; cf. Comines-Dupont, ii. 509. On the 26th June Richard commissioned Lord Grey of Powis to take 1,000 archers to Brittany; Foed. xii. 229. In the previous autumn the Duke had suggested that the services of 4000 English archers on the French Border would be very acceptable; Letters Richard III, i. 40, 41. The 1000 archers apparently never went. Powis was at Court all September.

² Halliwell, Letters of Kings, i. 156.

³ MS. Harl. 433, ff. 156 b, 174 b, 181 b; Richard was at Scarborough on the 22nd May, having previously visited Newcastle and Durham: he was again at Scarborough 27th June-11th July; Id. and Privy Seals.

⁴ Croyland, Cont. 571.

⁵ Albany and Douglas were with Richard, at York, as late as the 25th June; Foed. xii. 228. Douglas' annuities had been fully paid up in the spring. The raid could not have been attempted without Richard's support.

had escaped, thanks to the goodness of his horse; but CH. XXXIV.
 he soon had to leave England¹, and retired once more 1484.
 to France, where he died a year later from an injury
 received from the splinter of a lance while looking on at
 a tournament².

Richard now resigned himself to peace with Scotland. Richard makes peace.
 His position was too weak to be bolstered up by foreign
 war. Even before this last attempt he had written to
 suggest a marriage between the Duke of Rothesay, Scot-
 land's Heir, and his niece the Lady Anne de La Pole, sister
 to the Earl of Lincoln³. On the 6th August, he signed a
 safe-conduct for Scots ambassadors to come to Nottingham⁴,
 and James gave them full powers to treat. On the 11th
 September, they entered the town. At their presentation A complimentary speech.
 to the King, David Whitelaw, Archdeacon of Lothian,
 delivered a singular address, complimenting Richard's
 mental and moral powers at the expense of his personal
 appearance. 'Never had Nature endowed so small a body
 with so great a soul'.

"Nunquam tantum animum natura minori
 Corpore nec tantas ausa est includere vires"⁵.

The discussions, however, lasted nine days, Dunbar being
 probably the difficulty. On the 20th September, Richard
 at last authorised his agents to come to terms. Next day
 two treaties were sealed.

By the first a truce for three years was agreed upon,
 except as to Dunbar; with respect to which place it was
 agreed that the Scots might resume hostilities at the end
 of six months, without prejudice to the continuance of
 the truce elsewhere. The two Kings also pledged them-

¹ Albany was at Nottingham with Richard, 3rd November; MS. Harl. 433, f. 194 b.

² G. Buchanan, xii. c. 52; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, ix. 519; Acts Parliament Scotland, ii. 173; W. Drummond, 53; Francisque-Michel, *Écossais en France*, i. 264.

³ Letters Richard III, i. 59, 61.

⁴ Feod. xii. 230.

⁵ Letters Richard III, i. 63, 64; MS. Cott. Vespasian, c. xvi. f. 76. The quotation was from Statius.

CH. XXXIV. selves to give no further protection to rebels on either side.

1484

By the second treaty, the Duke of Rothesay, then in his fourteenth year, was provisionally engaged to the Lady Anne, the terms of the final contract being adjourned to a 'Diet' to be held on the 8th September, 1485¹, a day that Richard did not live to see. Clearly the Scots had no great confidence in his position.

Foreign
affairs.
Flanders.

From Flanders Richard had little trouble in obtaining recognition, the commercial and political interests of the two countries being so closely linked. But even there the truce had suffered; and the two countries had been more or less at war by sea since Richard's accession. On the 15th June, 1484, however, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in England pending negotiations for a treaty². On the 25th September, a treaty with Maximilian was sealed at Antwerp, confirming the conventions made with the late Dukes Philip and Charles without modification. On the 6th October a parallel treaty was sealed with the men of Ghent, who still rejected the authority of Maximilian, and affected to act in the name of his son³.

The
Papacy.

Recognition by the Papacy was a point for which Richard was naturally very anxious. On the 29th February, 1484, he had written to Sixtus IV to announce his 'assumption' to the Throne, explaining that but for a recent rebellion⁴ he would have written sooner. Sixtus had already approved of the appointment of John Shirwood, the King's Proctor, to the bishopric of Durham; but he withheld the cardinal's Hat urgently requested by Richard⁵. On the 13th August,

¹ Foed. xii. 232-247; J. Lesley, 52, 53. The siege of Dunbar was eventually resumed by the Scots in August, 1485, and the place apparently recovered by the 6th December; Exchequer Rolls Scotland, ix. 433, 435.

² See Gairdner, Richard III, 221; Calendar Patent Rolls, sup. 75; Foed. 227. For the friendly relations during the time of Edward V; see Grants, II.

³ Foed. 232, 248, 249. Double commissions to treat had been given to the English agents; Privy Seals, 12th August, 2 Richard III.

⁴ "Nephanda conjuratio."

⁵ Foed. 214, 216, 220; Grants Edward V, p. 2.

1484, Sixtus died, and was succeeded by Innocent VIII¹. CH. XXXIV.
1484.
To secure his support, Richard went the length of authorising the Bishops of Durham and St. David's to offer to the Pope 'the obedience by the Kings of England of old due and accustomed'².

The reader need not be reminded that the 'obedience' originated with John the murderer of his nephew Arthur.

In August, Richard had left the Midlands for a visit to London, returning to spend September and October at Nottingham. On the 4th or 5th November he left that place; and on the 9th of the month made his entry into Town, taking up his quarters at the Great Wardrobe, Blackfriars³. Wherever he went anxious work awaited him. His situation was one of the utmost anxiety and difficulty. Nobody resisted him, but he could trust no one; everything ran through his fingers like sand. In vain he did everything that a king could do to make himself popular. In vain he showed kindness to the widows of his fallen enemies—Lady Hastings, Lady Rivers, the Duchess of Buckingham, Lady Arundel. In vain he translated the remains of Henry VI, as a fresh protest that he was not responsible for the misdeeds of his brother⁴. In vain he scattered offers of pardon and restitution among the followers of Richmond⁵: not a man would stoop to pick one of them up. Failure of
Richard's
efforts
to win
popularity.

The whole garrison of Ham had been more or less implicated in the escape of the Earl of Oxford; and James

¹ Cardinal Giovanni Battista Cibo was elected on the 29th August, and took the style of Innocent VIII; H. Nicolas.

² 16th December; Foed. 255. Bishop Stubbs calls attention to the fact that a similar act on the part of Henry VI is recorded in Foed. xi. 422 (16th May, 1459). Henry also was in a weak position at the time, but from so devout a churchman as he was the act was less significant.

³ R. Fabian, Privy Seals, &c.

⁴ The body of Henry VI was taken from Chertsey and laid in the new chapel at Windsor, 12th August; J. Ross, 217; J. Stow, 466. Pilgrims resorted to the tomb at Windsor, and miracles were reported; Wilkins, Conc. iii. 527. Doubtless the same had happened at Chertsey.

⁵ Among these we find John Morton, Sir Richard Wydeville, Sir Roger Tocotes, James Blount, the Lieutenant of Ham, &c.; MS. Harl. 433, *passim*; also Gairdner, Richard III, 203, 204.

CH. XXXIV. Blount, their commander, had gone to Paris with him.

1484.

Richard sent men from Calais to reduce the mutineers; while the Earl of Oxford came down from Paris to rescue Blount's wife who had remained at Ham. After some skirmishing the garrison made terms with Richard, and Mistress Blount was allowed to rejoin her husband in Paris¹.

Case of
William
Colling-
bourne.

William Collingbourne of Lydiard, Wilts, had apparently been Steward to the Duchess of York in that county. He had been Sheriff of Wilts in the fifteenth year of Edward IV, and Sheriff of Somerset and Wilts in the seventeenth year². In 1483, he was in the Commission of the Peace³, but not afterwards, so that he may have already fallen under suspicion; at any rate, on the 3rd June, 1484, we find Richard writing to his mother to ask that Lord Lovell may be her "officer" in Wilts, "in suche as Colingbourne had⁴." Collingbourne revenged himself by circulating in London an immortal couplet:—

"The catte, the ratte, and Lovell our dogge
Rulyth all Englande under a hogge."

"The whiche was ment that Catisby, Ratclyffe, and the lorde Lovell ruled the lande under the Kynge, which bare the whyte bore for his conysaunce⁵."

Some time elapsed before the authorship could be traced; but on the 29th November a special commission, with the Duke of Suffolk at its head, was appointed to try Collingbourne and another⁶. Collingbourne's indictment contained two counts. The first, apparently a clumsy concoction, charged him with treasonable correspondence with the Earl of Richmond to bring about a landing on the 18th October 'in the second year', i.e. 1484: that having been

¹ Polydore, 707, 708; Hall. On the 30th November a charter of pardon was ordered for fifty-three men of the garrison of Ham; MS. Harl. 433, f. 83. The amnesty was eventually extended to seventy-five men, besides Elizabeth, wife of James Blount; Calendar Pat. Rolls, sup. 130.

² So J. Stow, 466. He also served in the army of 1475.

³ Calendar Pat. Rolls.

⁴ Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 161.

⁵ R. Fabian, 672.

⁶ Pat. 2 Richard III, pt. 2, No. 6, dorso.

the date of the rising in 1483. The second count charged him with devising and setting up "certeine bills and writings in rime" to stir the people against the King, the 18th Juiy, 1484, being the date assigned. Collingbourne's companion was acquitted, but he himself was condemned and executed at Tyburn with all the horrors of a traitor's doom¹.

But the real danger was that of invasion: if that could be averted Richard might hope in time to overcome domestic unpopularity. In November and December we hear of watch being kept at Harwich, of orders to impress seamen. Careful instructions were issued to the Commissioners of Array in every county. They are directed to see that the contingents "graunted" by the several townships and hundreds are all right; and that the money for their maintenance when called out is right also. In Surrey, Herts, and Middlesex the Commissioners were directed to enquire of the gentry how many 'defensible' men they could turn out at half a day's warning². On the 7th December the Chancellor was directed to prepare a proclamation to be issued against the Earl of Richmond and his leading followers, if necessary³.

¹ R. Fabian, sup.; for the indictment see Holinshed, 423, who probably took it from the *Baga de Secretis*; see Third Dep. Keeper's Report, app. ii. 213. A commission to seize Collingbourne's lands and goods was issued on the 29th December; MS. Harl. 433, f. 197. Doubtless he had already been executed.

² MS. Harl. 433, ff. 195, 198, 208 b, 274, 275, &c.

³ Id. ff. 273 b, 274. See also MS. Harl. 787, f. 2, and Gairdner, Richard III, 244, for a letter of the 6th December to the Mayor of Windsor directing him to punish persons circulating lying rumours and seditious writings.

CHAPTER XXXV.

RICHARD III (*continued*).

Death of Queen Anne.—“Benevolences”.—Preparations for war.—Sweating Sickness.—Landing of the Earl of Richmond.—Battle of Bosworth and death of Richard III.

CH. XXXV.

1484.

Christmas
Festivities.

THE Christmas festivities of the year 1484 were celebrated at Westminster with a gaiety probably intended to veil the gloom of the situation. On the Epiphany, the closing day, Richard wore his crown and gave a banquet in Westminster Hall worthy of a coronation. Throughout the merry-makings it was noticed that the Lady Elizabeth appeared in robes of the same colour and make as those of the Queen. “The eldest daughter of King Edward danced at her uncle’s court arrayed like a second Queen”. Men asked in amazement if Richard meant to make her a Queen indeed¹.

Death of
the Queen
(Anne
Neville).

It would seem that Richard, in conversation with Archbishop Rotherham and others, complained of the Queen’s barrenness, speaking of the importance of having a Consort who might be expected to give an heir to the Throne. We are also told that he separated from his wife, as if in contemplation of a divorce. Queen Anne, in despair, took to her bed never to rise again. She died on the 16th March during an eclipse of the sun², a coincidence that made

¹ Croyland, Cont. 571; Gairdner, Richard III, 245.

² Polydore, 707; Croyland, Cont. 572; J. Stow, 467. Ross would tax Richard with having poisoned her, “intoxicavit”, p. 215.

a deep impression. We are told that the Queen Dowager Elizabeth approved of the nefarious scheme for the marriage of her daughter, and that she wrote to her son Dorset urging him to abandon Richmond and come back to England. We are also told that Dorset, acting on his mother's advice, left Paris secretly; but that he was pursued, overtaken at Compiègne, and brought back perforce to share the fortunes of the future Henry VII¹. Polydore Vergil, who gives these facts, denies that the Princess herself was willing. But he might hesitate to inculcate the mother of Henry VIII for whom he wrote. On the other hand, Buck, the writer of the time of James I, quotes an autograph letter in the Howard archives, written by the Lady Elizabeth to the Duke of Norfolk, in which she bespeaks his good offices in the matter of the marriage, speaks of Richard as her 'only joy', and hints that the Queen was very long of dying².

CH. XXXV.
1485.
Richard
contem-
plating a
marriage
with his
niece
Elizabeth.

Queen Anne dead and gone, the project began to take shape. But the public feeling excited was so strong that Radcliffe and Catesby took upon themselves to tell the King to his face that the marriage must be abandoned. Even Yorkshiremen would turn against him if they could believe him guilty of the death of Anne Neville, in whose right Middleham and Hutton had been originally his³. Accordingly, a few days before Easter (3rd April), the King called the Mayor and Aldermen of London before him, and with his own mouth gave a formal contradiction to the rumour of his intended marriage. On the 5th April he wrote to the Corporation of York complaining of seeds of "noise and disclaundre" sown against his person; referring to the meeting with the Mayor and Aldermen of London, to whom he had "largely showed" his "true entent and mynd in all such things as the said noise and disclaundre renne upon"; finally ordering his servants at

The
scheme
dropped.

¹ Polydore, 706-709; Bernard André, *Vita Regis Henrici Septimi*, Memorials of Henry the Seventh, p. 24.

² Kennet, i. 568.

³ Croyland, Cont. 572.

CH. XXXV. York to suppress and punish all "telling of tales" and 'setting up of bills' ¹.
1485.

The report that Richard was intending to marry the Lady Elizabeth reached the ears of the Earl of Richmond at Rouen, and disconcerted him and his friends not a little. So fully did they believe the report that a fresh alliance was suggested for him, namely, one with a sister of William Herbert, the Earl of Huntingdon; as another sister, Maud, was married to the Earl of Northumberland, the connexion might be expected to give important results. But nothing came of the scheme, and the alarm which led to it soon blew over ².

Financial difficulties;

For the various measures of precaution that had to be taken money was of course needed: ships had to be kept afloat or in readiness; garrisons and outposts maintained; and intelligence paid for. The contingents to be called out when actual invasion came would be supported by the districts or persons sending them. Richard had not ventured to call another Parliament, but the clergy of the southern Province had been brought to St. Paul's in February, and had voted another Tenth ³; though only half of that would be available at once. Much more was needed. The pay for the levies, as we have seen, was usually spoken of as a 'Benevolence', and as such had been abjured by the King. But he was now obliged to proceed to the more objectionable form of Benevolence by raising money on bonds under the Privy Seal. In these bonds, and the letters of request with which they were accompanied, the use of the word Benevolence was carefully avoided ⁴. The bonds were drawn in strict legal form,

a Tenth granted by Canterbury.

'Benevolences.'

¹ Davies, 208. The Princess was sent to Sheriff-Hutton to be kept there safely.

² Polydore, 709; E. Hall, 409; Collins' Peerage, ii. 301, &c. Henry probably remembered the lady from his boyhood, as he had lived under the charge of her father and mother. Polydore and his copyists give Herbert's name as Sir Walter; there was a Sir Walter Herbert (Rot. Parl. vi. 379), but the brother-in-law of the Earl of Northumberland was Earl William II.

³ Receipts, Easter 2-3 Richard III.

⁴ "Benevolentiae vocabulum modis omnibus aspernatus", &c.; Croyland Cont. 571. The writer's accuracy is borne out by the text of the bonds as given in the Harleian MS. 433.

binding the King to repayment, while the money was asked as a favour for the defence of the Realm and the 'keeping of the sea'. "His grace and all his lords thinketh that every true Englissheman woll help him in this behalve of which number his grace reputeth and taketh you for oon" ¹.

The bonds were delivered to agents, in batches, between the 21st February and the 5th April, with commissions authorising their emission in the several counties. The total amount asked for came to £29,125 10s. 8d., besides twenty letters for the city of London, on which the amounts to be borrowed are not given. Taking these, at a high estimate, at £100 a piece, the grand total would come to something over £31,000, or just an ordinary Parliamentary Fifteenth and Tenth, a coincidence which was probably not accidental. But of this total we must point out in the first place that £5,120 were to be drawn from the clergy, and this may be regarded as only the usual, in fact the invariable, anticipation of the clerical half-Tenth which they would have to pay two or three months later. Then of the remainder it is worthy of notice that the bonds addressed to named individuals only came to £5,000 or £6,000; the blank bonds to be "placed" by the King's agents as best they could amounting to £18,600 ². The reader may form his own estimate of the difficulties the King's agents would meet with, and the rates of discount and deductions to which they might have to submit in floating these unpopular securities.

The whole business was in fact a repetition of the "Ragemans" and Blank Charters of Richard II ³; but the probability is that if the memoranda of other Chancellors

¹ MS. Harl. 433, ff. 275 b, 276; Croyland, Cont. sup.; R. Fabian, 671, 672.

² See MS. Harl. sup. 275-277. On the Receipt Roll for the term (Easter 2-3 Richard III) the borrowings come to £4293, but the Roll is defective. For the previous term, Michaelmas 2 Richard III, the borrowings were £4165.

³ The transactions however were shaped differently in the two cases. Richard II took from his subjects covenants for the payment of money without any counter-covenant for repayment. Richard III demanded ready money with a covenant by him for repayment.

CH. XXXV.

1485.

Amount
raised.

CH. XXXV. had been preserved as carefully as those of Bishop Russell
 1485. precedents in abundance would not be lacking. In its bearing on Richard's position in the country the attempt to raise this money must have been disastrous.

Bene- Among other papers in Russell's collection is one of
 factions conferred singular interest, drawn up as if in vindication of the King
 by Richard against his own followers. It is a statement of the lands
 on his given away by him, with their assessed rentals in one column, and the amounts of quit-rent reserved to himself in another column. The rentals roughly added up come to nearly £12,000 a year, without the estates conferred on John Howard, the Duke of Norfolk, for which we can hardly allow less than £1000 a year more. The quit-rents amount to £753 15s. The names of the chief beneficiaries seem worth recording.

	<i>Annual value.</i>		
	£	s.	d.
Earl of Northumberland	933	6	8
Lord Stanley	687	0	0
Sir Richard Radcliffe	666	0	0
Sir Thomas Montgomery	412	0	0
Viscount Lovel	400	0	0
Earl of Huntingdon	400	0	0
Lord Scrope of Bolton	340	0	0
Earl of Lincoln	333	0	0
"Queene College, Cambridge" ¹	330	0	0
Sir Richard Haryngton	326	0	0
William Catesby	273	0	0
Lord Grey of Codnor	266	0	0
Lord Neville ²	200	0	0 ³
&c., &c.			

Richard's
 officers.

But with all his giving away the number of men whom Richard could trust was very small. Lord Lovel was given

¹ Founded in 1448 by Margaret of Anjou, and refounded in 1465 by Queen Elizabeth (Cambridge Calendar). The college received a further annuity of £110 from the fee farm rents of Aylesbury and Ramsey; Calendar Pat. Rolls, p. 96.

² Ralph Neville, son of John, Lord Neville, who fell at Towton; he had succeeded as third Earl of Westmorland in November (1484).

³ MS. Harl. 433, f. 282, &c.

the command of the chief fleet at Portsmouth¹, the natural station from whence to watch the Earl of Richmond, who was fitting out in the Seine. Sir George Neville, son of Lord Abergavenny, also had a naval command². The lieges in Cheshire and Lancashire were told in case of rebellion to follow the lead of the Stanleys. Sir James Tyrell was sent to Guisnes as an important outpost: he had previously been in command in Glamorgan and "Morgannok"; but, as the King apparently could find no man to trust in those parts, the people were told still to take their orders from Tyrell, though he had gone to Guisnes³. The King's natural son, John of Gloucester, was appointed Captain of Calais, though under age⁴.

In the middle of May, 1485, Richard moved down to the Midlands, as we may suppose to take up a central position; the earlier part of the year having been divided between London and Windsor. On the 17th May, presumably, he saw his last of Windsor Castle, as on that day he signs at Berkhamstead: by the 22nd of the month (Whitsunday) he had reached Kenilworth, remaining there till the 6th June. By the 9th he had returned to his old quarters at Nottingham.

Before the end of the month the prevalent alarm had risen to a climax. On the 22nd orders to arm at once were sent to the Commissioners of Array and the gentry in the different counties; rebels were coming over in concert with the French: the sheriffs must keep within their counties; all must be ready at "an houre warnyng": the proclamation against Richmond and his adherents was finally issued⁵. Richard was not sparing in his abuse of his enemies. He stigmatises them as attainted traitors, "of whom many be knowen for open murdrers advouters (*adulterers*) and extorcioners"; they had forsaken their

CH. XXXV.
1485.

The King
again at
Notting-
ham.

Proclama-
tions
against
Richmond.

¹ "Prope Southamptonam"; Croyland, Cont. 572.

² Calendar Pat. Rolls, sup. p. 142.

³ January; MS. Harl. 433, ff. 200, 205.

⁴ 11th March; Foed. xii. 265.

⁵ MS. Harl. 433, ff. 220, &c. A copy of the proclamation was laid before the Town Council of York on the 8th July; Davies, 214.

CH. XXXV. natural country "a yerst all trouth honour and nature":
 1485. having failed to obtain what they wanted from the Duke of Brittany, they had betaken themselves to the "auncient enemy" of France: they had chosen as the captain of their enterprise "Herry" late calling himself Earl of Richmond; a man "of bastard blood bothe of ffather side and of mother side"¹; to delude the people he had usurped the name and style of King of England, "without interest right title or colour": to purchase the support of France he had bargained to release all the right and title that the Kings of England "have had and ought to have" to the Crown and Realm of France, the Duchies of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Gascony, and Guienne; Calais and its Marches. The King called on all his subjects "like gode and true Englishmen" to "endevoir themselves in defence of their wives children goods and inheritances"².

Counter-
Manifesto
of Rich-
mond.

Whatever its effect may have been, it was in itself "a spirited appeal". Certainly a manifesto addressed by Henry to his friends in England reads tamely beside it. Having heard of their good "devoir" to advance him to his due and lineal inheritance of the Crown, for the 'just depriving' of the homicide and unnatural tyrant who bore rule over them, he gives them to understand that no Christian heart could be more full of joy and gladness than that of him 'their poor exiled friend'. He assures them that he will cross the sea 'upon the instant of their sure advertising what power they will make ready, and what captains and leaders they can get to conduct'³.

The
Sweating
Sickness.

But all was not ready for some weeks yet. In the interval, to add to the general confusion and alarm, a new and terrible epidemic, the Sweating Sickness, began to make its ravages felt⁴.

¹ Richard alleged that Owen Tudor was illegitimate, but raised no question as to the validity of his marriage with Queen Catherine.

² See the document, MS. Harl. 433, ff. 220 b, 273 b; also in print, Paston Letters, iii. 316; Ellis, Letters, Second Series, i. 162; cf. Davies, York Records, 214.

³ Undated; Halliwell, Letters, i. 161.

⁴ The pestilence was prevalent at York by the 6th June. The malady is

Throughout the revolutions of the last six and twenty years the House of Stanley had been singularly successful in keeping out of hot water. Thomas the present Lord had throughout supported the Yorkist cause; but without committing himself to such an extent as to involve the active hostility of the Lancastrians, when their fortunes were in the ascendant. He had kept clear of Warwick and Clarence and their intrigues. His prompt liberation after the 13th June, 1483, was attributed to the fact that his son Lord le Strange was at home ready to lead out the family forces if any mischance had befallen his father¹. The Lady Margaret had been fully implicated in Buckingham's rising; but Richard had to accept the loyal assurances of her husband. On the list of those who had profited by Richard's bounty we have seen that Stanley's name was second only to those of Norfolk and Northumberland. Men wondered that Richard could trust the Stanleys; but if Richard were here to explain his conduct he would doubtless tell us that he could not help himself; and that he had to trust them and hope for the best. When Richmond's landing seemed imminent Lord Stanley, being Steward of the Household, asked for leave to go home on private affairs. Richard turned the tables on him, intimating that he would be free to depart when his son came to take his place. Lord le Strange accordingly came to Nottingham, and Lord Stanley went home to Lathom².

CH. XXXV.

1485.

The
Stanleys
and their
politics.

described as an infectious disease, nearly akin to miliary fever. The attack usually began with cold shivers and pains in the limbs, followed by profuse perspiration, and, in fatal cases, by high fever and ultimate collapse. The course of the illness was very rapid, the patient often succumbing in two or three hours, while those who lived over twenty-four hours were considered out of danger. The movements of the epidemic were also very rapid, coming and going with equal suddenness. It was first noticed in England and supposed to have originated here; it was alleged not to have reached the Continent till 1528-1529, England having been visited by it several times before that. The last recorded outbreak was in 1551; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

¹ R. Fabian, 669.

² Croyland, Cont. 573. Le Strange was at Nottingham on the 1st August when the Great Seal was brought from London and placed in the hands of Thomas Barowe, Master of the Rolls, as Keeper; Foed. xii. 272.

CH. XXXV. Richmond's preparations attracted little notice on the Continent, and foreign writers have not much to tell us. ^{1485.} He got some money from Charles VIII, and the services of a French captain, Philibert de Shaundé¹; but the troops enlisted are described as wretched², and the greater part of the funds had been contributed by private individuals.

He sails from Har-
fleur. At last, on the 1st of August Henry set sail from Harfleur with a force estimated at 2000 men³, but probably inferior both in numbers and quality to that with which Edward IV had recovered England in 1471. The names of his chief followers are already known to the reader: among these were John Earl of Oxford, Jasper Tudor, Sir John Welles, Sir Edward Wydeville, Sir John Cheyne, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir William Berkeley, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir John Guldeford of Rolvenden, Edward Poynings, James Blount. The clerics of the party were Peter Courtenay Bishop of Exeter; John Morton Bishop of Ely; Christopher Urswick, and Richard Fox⁴. The Marquis of Dorset was not with the expedition: not being fully trusted he had been left in Paris as a security for borrowed money⁵.

and lands
near Mil-
ford. On the evening of the 7th August the force entered Milford Haven, and proceeded to disembark, not, however, at Milford but at Dale⁶. It is said that Henry on landing

¹ Bernard André, *Memorials Henry VII*, 24, 25, and note; E. Hall, 424. André informs us that Charles' sister, Anne of Beaujeu, afterwards Duchess of Bourbon, was Henry's chief friend.

² "Avec quelque peu d'argent du Roy et quelques trois mil hommes prins en la duché de Normandie et des plus meschans que l'on peut trouver"; Comines-Dupont, ii. 246. "Le roy Charles lui delivra soixante mille francs et dix-huit cents compagnons de guerre, non point de ses ordonnances, mais gens rassemblés avec certains navires pour les mener"; J. Molinet, ii. 406, ed. Buchon.

³ Polydore, 709; cf. Comines and Molinet, *sup.*

⁴ Croyland, *Cont.* 574. Urswick had been active during Buckingham's rising. Fox had only been proclaimed a rebel in January, 1485, having recently gone abroad; MS. Harl. 433, f. 206.

⁵ Polydore, *sup.*

⁶ "In portum delatus quem Mylfordium vocant . . . primum occupavit locum cui Dalla nomen", &c.; Id. "In the parte which is called the Dale";

kneeled down, and recited the Psalm, "*Judica me Deus et decerne causam meam*," &c. Having finished the Psalm he "kyssed the grounde mekely," crossed himself, and then, in the name of God and Saint George, ordered his men to "sette forward" ¹. The army, however, remained at the landing-place through the night, but next morning they advanced to Haverford West, some ten miles off. Their march was so rapid that they occupied the place almost before the news of their landing had been received ².

CH. XXXV.
1485.
Advance to
Haverford
West,

The movement to Haverford West indicated that Henry was not prepared to take the direct road either to London or Nottingham. His future depended on the attitude of the Stanleys and Talbots. Sir William Stanley was Justiciar of North Wales, and residing at Holt on the Dee; while the seat of the Talbot influence was in Shropshire. Though personally connected with South Wales, Henry's position there was very uncertain. His uncle Jasper in former times had held the earldom of Pembroke; but his influence had been weakened by long absence; and the earldom had been transferred to the Herberts, staunch Yorkists. The dignity in fact was in abeyance, having been surrendered by William Herbert II to Edward IV, as already mentioned, in exchange for that of Huntingdon; but he was married to a natural daughter of Richard III ³, and he was actually Justiciar of South Wales; while the castles of Pembroke and Tenby were under the charge of one Richard Williams ⁴, who also was loyal. On the other hand, Henry had received overtures from John ap Morgan of Kidwelly, Richard's own Attorney-General, better known as Morgan Kidwelly ⁵, who had promised the adhesion of Rice ap

Harding, Cont. 541; so, too, Cambrian Register, 1795, p. 98. For the date see also MS. cited Phillip's Shrewsbury, p. 41.

¹ R. Fabian, 672.

² Polydore.

³ MS. Harl. 258, f. 11 b; and MS. Harl. 433, ff. 40, 46.

⁴ Calendar Pat. Rolls, sup.

⁵ "A Joanne Morgano jurisconsulto"; "Joannes Morganus", Polydore, 709, 710. "Ihon ap Morgan a temporall lawyer"; Harding, Cont. 541. "Morgan Kydwelly", E. Hall, 410; and again "Morganus Kydvellus", Polydore, 719.

CH. XXXV. Thomas and Sir John Savage. Rice, as the leading man
 1485. in Caermarthenshire, had a pension of forty marks a year from Richard; Savage was a Kentish man and a Knight of the Royal Body; but he drew a stipend from the revenues of Holt Castle on the Dee, so that probably he was posted there to watch Sir William Stanley¹.

At Haverford Henry was among his own people, but his spirits were damped by the lack of intelligence from Morgan Kidwelly; while rumour had it that after all Rice ap Thomas and Savage would stand by Richard. On the other hand, a message came in from the men of Pembroke to the effect that they would gladly receive back their old Earl Jasper. Hoping for the best the adventurers moved on towards Cardigan². We may suppose that Henry had already issued the proclamations and letters in which he asserted his right to the Crown of England, and called on all 'true subjects' to support him³. His claims as the Heir of the House of Cadwalader, and the fateful champion of the Red Dragon, would need no telling in Welsh ears⁴. Five miles on the road to Cardigan, the army halted for refreshment; and there something like a panic seized them on receipt of a report that Sir Walter Herbert⁵ was marching after them from Caermarthen. It is clear that at this stage of the proceedings a small amount of vigorous resistance would have crushed the enterprise.

Supporters coming in. The rumour, however, proved to be unfounded, and alarm was turned into joy by the appearance of Richard Griffith, a man of some importance, who brought a small

¹ Calendar Pat. Rolls, sup.

² Polydore, 710.

³ See one of these addressed to Henry's kinsman, John ap Meredith; Gairdner, Richard III, 270, from Wynne's Hist. of the Gwydir Family, 72. The letter bears no date but was written after the landing.

⁴ A standard with a fiery red dragon "beaten upon white and grene sarsenet" was one of the three flags offered at St. Paul's by Henry after his victory, the other two being those of St. George, and a dun cow upon yellow "tarterne"; E. Hall, 423; Gairdner, sup. Bernard André lays great stress on the descent from Cadwalader; Memorials, p. 9.

⁵ This name does not occur on the Patent Rolls of Richard III, but he was made Steward of the lordships of Usk and Caerleon by Henry VII; Rot. Parl. vi. 379.

contingent; while, later in the day, Morgan Kidwelly CH. XXXV. himself came in to negotiate terms on behalf of Rice ap 1485. Thomas.

Assured now that his passage through Wales was safe, Henry sent word to his mother, the Stanleys, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, uncle of the young Earl of Shrewsbury, that he intended to cross the Severn at Shrewsbury, and that he would hope to see or hear from them there¹. Pushing on by Cardigan², Machynlleth³, New Town, and Welshpool⁴, Henry soon reached the banks of the Severn. Rice ap Thomas had already joined him, the stipulated promise of the Justiciarship of South Wales having been conceded⁵. Divers agents also who had been sent out on roving commissions returned with promises of speedy help, and better still a fair supply of ready cash⁶. Money was very needful, as the troops had been forbidden to plunder. Henry had written in confident terms of his anticipated reception at Shrewsbury: but it seems that before coming up to the town he had the prudence to make sure of a passage over the Severn by seizing the bridge between Monford and Forton. Advancing to Shrewsbury he found "the gates shutt . . . and the pulleys let downe." The chief Bailiff of the town was one Thomas Mytton, of the same family as John Mytton, the Sheriff of 1483 who apprehended Buckingham; Mytton adhered to Richard, and Henry and his "companye" had to fall back for the night to Forton⁷. Next morning Mytton came to terms, Henry urging the old plea that he had only come "to trye his

¹ Polydore, 710; E. Hall, 410, 411.

² Bernard André, sup. 30. Tradition records Henry's entertainment at two places in Cardiganshire, viz. Llwyn Dufydd in the parish of Llandissilio Cogo, and Wernnewyd in the parish of Llanarth; Cambrian Register, 1795, p. 104.

³ Owen and Blakeway, Shrewsbury, i. 244.

⁴ Hutton, Battle of Bosworth, 34.

⁵ "Praefecturam perpetuam Walliae"; Polydore. Rice joined Henry at the Long Mountain on the confines of Salop; Owen and Blakeway, sup.

⁶ "Pecunia onusti"; Polydore.

⁷ Henry slept at the house of one Hugh Fortune, who was afterwards rewarded.

CH. XXXV. right." He was allowed to enter the town, and also to take away a small contingent at the cost of the townspeople¹.
 1485. His next encampment was on a hill near Newport: there his first English adherent joined him in the person of Sir Gilbert Talbot, who brought a force estimated at 500 men².

Henry enters Shrewsbury.

Richard's demeanour.

Richard received the news of Richmond's landing with real or affected satisfaction. The crisis was come and the land would soon be finally at rest. His demeanour was interpreted as evincing confident anticipation of success. He had made "but small provycion" against the Earl of Richmond's landing "for so moche as he feryd hym lytell"³. But these writers tell us in the same breath that Richard was "ledynge his lyfe in great agony and doubte, trustynge fewe of such as were about hym"; and again, that the sternest penalties had to be threatened to induce the levies to turn out⁴.

The reader may rest assured that Richard had left no measure of precaution untaken⁵; but the chroniclers did not realise the ruinous cost and practical impossibility of keeping armed bodies of men on foot for indefinite periods of time. We might venture to suggest that perhaps Richard's satisfaction at the news of Richmond's landing had a deeper meaning, and that he gladly hailed any prospect of relief from the agonising uncertainty of the situation⁶.

Attitude of the Stanleys.

The reports of Henry's unimpeded march through Wales brought Sir William Stanley under great suspicion. Lord Stanley was ordered to present himself at Nottingham; he excused himself, pleading an attack of the Sweating Sickness⁷; but immediately afterwards Lord le Strange was detected in an attempt to escape from Court. Upon being

¹ See the MS. cited Phillips, *sup.*; also Owen and Blakeway, *sup.* 245-247.

² Polydore, 711.

³ R. Fabian, 672. "*Facile triumphaturus*", &c.; Croyland, *Cont. sup.*

⁴ *Arbitrans Henricum . . . turpem . . . habiturum exitum*"; Polydore.

⁵ R. Fabian, 671; Croyland, *Cont. sup.*

⁶ So Polydore.

⁷ Richard had expressed the same satisfaction at Christmas when a report came in that Richmond's landing might be expected at any time. His confidence then was probably more real. Croyland, *Cont.* 571.

⁸ "*Pestem sudatoriam qua laborabat allegans.*"

questioned he implicated his uncle, but said he could guarantee his father's fidelity if his own life were spared ¹. CH. XXXV.
1485.

Under these circumstances the Stanleys were obliged to be very circumspect in their movements. From Newport Henry advanced to Stafford, where he received a visit from Sir William Stanley, who, after a short interview, went off again, presumably to Lichfield, where his brother was. But already he had been proclaimed a rebel. Henry
advances
to Stafford,

Henry's next advance brought him to Lichfield, but he did not enter the town at once, camping for the night outside. Next morning he was admitted with all honour. Two days before, Lord Stanley had been there with a force amply sufficient to hold the city if he had been so minded; but he preferred to fall back on Atherstone, to avoid the necessity of either resisting or openly joining the invaders. Henry's advance was thus, in fact, covered by the friendly neutrality of the Stanleys. A short march of eight miles brought Henry's army next day from Lichfield to Tamworth. Starting late, in the rear of his men, Henry was benighted, lost his way, and had to sleep the night at a little village ². The place has been identified with Whittington, three miles from Lichfield, and half a mile off the road to Tamworth ³. Rejoining his army next morning he pushed on the same day to arrange plans with the Stanleys at Atherstone ⁴. Lichfield,
and Tam-
worth.

Meanwhile Richard's calls to arms had rung through the length and breadth of the land. To enable him to act more promptly and directly he had sent to London for the Great Seal, receiving it at Nottingham on the 1st August ⁵. Clearly he was quite abreast of his rival's movements. Northumberland in the North, Lovel in the South, Norfolk in the East, rose at his bidding. Sir Robert Brakenbury was directed to bring arms and munitions from the Tower: he was also directed to bring with him Sir Thomas Richard's
Forces.

¹ Croyland, Cont. sup.

² Polydore, 711, 712, translated by Hall, 411-413.

³ Hutton, 54.

⁴ Polydore, sup.; 20th August?

⁵ Foed. xii. 271, 272.

CH. XXXV. Bouchier, Sir Walter Hungerford, and others of whose
 1485. fidelity the King felt doubtful. They justified his misgivings by eluding Brakenbury's vigilance at Stony Stratford, from whence they made their way to join Richmond's army at Tamworth¹.

The Duke of Norfolk, writing to John Paston, requested him to be at Bury St. Edmund's on the 16th August with as many "tall men" in "jakets" of the Duke's livery as he could get together: he also informed Paston that he had sure word that the King would move from Nottingham on the 16th, and that he would have arranged to start on the 15th but for the Feast of the Assumption, which would fall on that day². On the 15th, Henry, so far as we can calculate his movements, entered Shrewsbury, but no dates are given for his itinerary.

Again, on the 16th August, we find the Town Council of York sending to Nottingham to understand His Grace's pleasure as to the contingent they ought to provide. On the 19th, on receipt of a report from the King from "Beskwood"³, eighty men were ordered off with ten shillings apiece in their pockets, being a shilling a day for a ten days' campaign⁴.

Richard
 at Leices-
 ter.

Thus we can well believe that Richard's army was by no means fully mustered when he finally entered Leicester about the 19th August⁵. Still the numbers were very considerable, more than enough to win with, if they had been hearty in the cause⁶.

On Sunday 21st August Richard led his forces out to

¹ Polydore, 711, 712.

² Paston Letters, iii. 320.

³ Mr. Gairdner takes this as = Bestwood, Notts, p. 294. Perhaps Richard had gone thither to meet his northern levies. Mr. Davies would read "Prestwood" near Loughborough, but there does not appear to be any tradition of Richard's having rested there.

⁴ York Records, 214-216. The rate of pay implies that the men were mounted.

⁵ Polydore states that Richard came to Leicester on the day that Richmond left Lichfield for Tamworth.

⁶ See the Croyland writer: "*exercitum nondum integre congregatum*"; and again, "*numerus hominum ex parte Regis major quam antea visus unquam in Anglia*"; the expression must not, however, be taken too literally.

meet the foe. He wore a crown or coronet on his basnet ; the chief commands under him were held by the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Northumberland. The Earls of Lincoln and Surrey, Viscount Lovel, and the Lords Zouche and Ferrers of Chartley were also with him ¹.

CH. XXXV.
1485.
Advance
towards
Ather-
stone.

Richard, intending to arrest the enemy in his advance from Atherstone, where he had rested on the previous night, left Leicester by the south-western road through Leicester Forest, and after following it nine miles to Earlshilton, as we may suppose, struck across country some three more miles to a camping-ground on a slope just to the South of Stapleton village. Here he would have the road from Hinkley through Stapleton at his back, the Tweed rivulet on his left hand, and Stapleton village on his right hand. The ground in front falling away to the North-West would give a good view of any approach from that quarter ².

Richard's
last camp.

Henry meanwhile was making a simultaneous advance from Atherstone. The interview with the Stanleys apparently took place on the 20th August. It would seem that after the interview the Stanleys again marched a stage onwards, Richmond remaining at Atherstone, where tradition has it that he slept at the Three Tuns ³. The Stanleys may be supposed to have advanced to the neighbourhood of Shenton and Bosworth, marching in two bodies, but always in communication ⁴.

Rich-
mond's
move-
ments.

¹ Croyland, Cont.; Davies, York Records, 217; Rot. Parl. vi. 276. A fuller list of names is given by Hutton, 209, from MS. Harl. 542, f. 34.

² See map. Hutton places Richard's camp at the Bradshaws, a field three-quarters of a mile to the north-west on the same slope or ridge (p. 50). Local tradition, however, connects the camp with Abraham's Bridge or Brook. In Kennet (i. 510), Richard is said to have camped at "Arme Beame." Could this be a corruption for Abraham's Stream? The Croyland writer makes Richard camp "juxta abbatiam de Mirivall": as Merevale is close to Atherstone the writer must have confounded the point for which Richard was making with that which he reached; Gairdner, i. 296.

³ Hutton, 57, 61.

⁴ Hutton's view, that Lord Stanley encamped with only the Tweed Brook between him and Richard's army (p. 62), is unsupported by evidence, and seems quite out of accord with the facts of the situation. Norfolk may have camped there.

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N n

CH. XXXV. Henry's advance on the 21st seems to have been made
 1485. along the Watling Street and the Fenn Lanes, through
 Fenny Drayton. On reaching the point where the cross
 road to Shenton strikes off he would find himself within
 three miles, as the crow flies, of Richard's position at
 Stapleton. Further advance along the main road would
 expose him to a flank attack. Taking therefore the road
 to Shenton he established himself on a slight ridge between
 two brooks. The site, formerly called the White Moors, is
 now apparently known as the Moory Leys.

Richard spent his last evening in going round the camp
 encouraging his men¹: his night's rest, we are told, was
 short and broken by hideous nightmares. Rising early
 from his unrestful couch he was astir before either break-
 fast was ready or the chaplains prepared to celebrate. His
 lean features, pale at all times, were now darkened by the
 livid shadow of despair². Still he tried to stimulate his
 men by assuring them that Richmond would give no quarter,
 and he ordered them to give none. His last order before
 leaving camp was for the execution of Lord le Strange.
 In the confusion and uncertainty of the moment his
 attendants took upon themselves the responsibility of
 allowing the vindictive mandate to stand over³.

Battle of
 Bosworth.

From the camp at Abraham's Bridge Richard led his
 forces a couple of miles to the Radmore Plain and Ambion
 Hill, a most commanding position, overlooking Richmond's
 encampment on the Shenton Road. As we are assured that
 the adjacent country was still uninclosed⁴, Richard may
 not have troubled himself to follow any road. The Sence
 brook was the only obstacle he had to cross. From the

¹ Polydore. The speeches attributed by Hall to Richard and Henry are
 not to be found either in Polydore or in the first edition of Hall's own work,
 known as the Continuation of Hardyng: they are among the additions of
 the later edition published under Hall's own name.

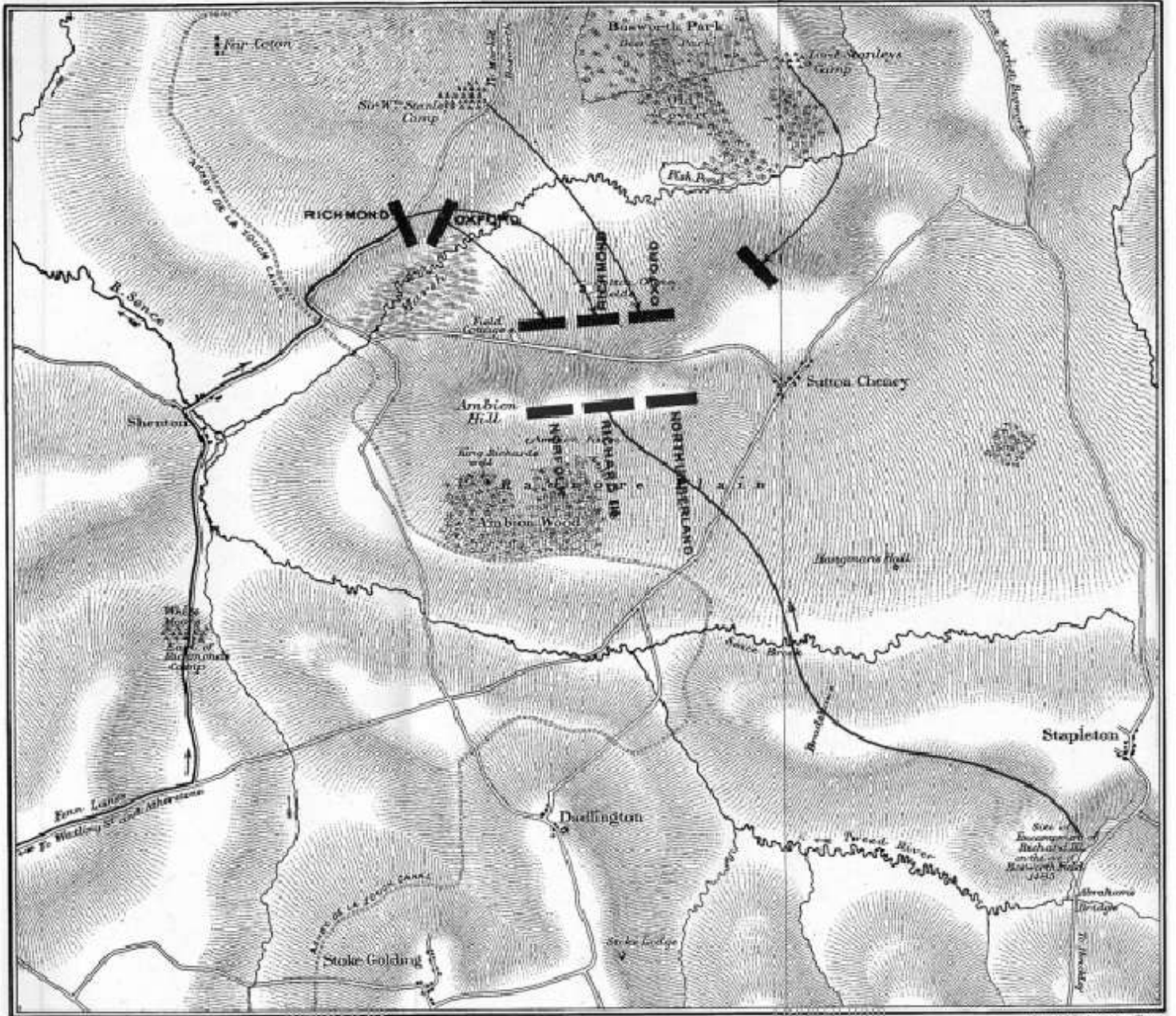
² "Faciem uti semper attenuatam tunc magis discoleratam et mortiferam
 prae se tulit"; Croyland, Cont. 574; so too Polydore.

³ Croyland, Cont. sup.

⁴ See Hutton, 70-72. The existing hedgerow timber is of very moderate
 age.

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH, 22ND AUGUST 1485.

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top of Ambion Hill Richard could watch every step taken by the enemy. CH. XXXV.

Polydore, whose ideas of tactics were probably derived from classical authors, describes the King as advancing and fighting in two lines, with horse and foot intermixed. We may rest assured that all fought on foot, as the English always did¹; and the Croyland writer distinctly tells us that Richard fought in line of three contiguous 'battles'—the invariable formation. Richard, of course, commanded the centre, the two wings being led by Norfolk and Northumberland. The course of the ensuing action makes it clear that Norfolk was in command of the left wing; it follows therefore that Northumberland was in command of the right, the position his father had held at Towton. 1485.
Disposition of the
Forces.

Richmond on his side had not been backward in getting ready for action, but the Sence brook precluded a direct attack on Richard's position; besides, a junction had to be effected with the Stanleys, upon whose co-operation everything depended. Sir William Stanley was probably encamped at Hanging Hill, on the road from Shenton to Market Bosworth², and Lord Stanley must have been stationed a little further East, on the road from Sutton to Bosworth, in or near Bosworth Park³. Accordingly Henry led his men through Shenton and thence onwards towards Bosworth, under the existing canal and railway, and probably half a mile further on, thus wheeling round two sides of Ambion Hill. The advance was evidently carried on till the army had got clear of the low-lying swampy meadows to the North of Ambion Hill, as marked on the map⁴. They were also now face to face with the most Henry
advances
to the
attack.

A wheel.

¹ Polydore himself, however, and the Ballad of the Lady Bessy represent Richard as urged to take horse for flight, and for flight only, at the last. For the song see Gairdner, App. 401.

² So J. Nichols, App. to Hutton, 245.

³ Lord Stanley may have occupied the position strangely assigned to the Duke of Norfolk; Id. 246. It may be worth noticing that the distribution of the forces given by us preserves the fourfold arrangement which Hutton had picked up somehow, but the details are wholly different.

⁴ These may be safely identified with the "palus" of Polydore ("maresse"

CH. XXXV. accessible part of Richard's position, and lastly they had
 1485. partly got rid of the sun, which till then must have shone
 in their faces.

A message was sent to Lord Stanley begging him to fall in and take his place in line: we are expressly told that he was close at hand, but that he occupied an intermediate or 'indifferent' position between the two armies¹. But his son's safety had still to be considered, and so he bade Henry go forward, nothing doubting, and that he himself would be at hand if needed. The Earl was not over comforted by this message, but he had to make the best of it, and accordingly he manfully led his men on to assail Richard's very superior forces on their vantage-ground. Polydore again would have us to believe that Henry advanced in two lines, the front line being commanded by the Earl of Oxford and the rear by himself. That Oxford would command the marching van we may assume with the utmost confidence; he was the Captain-General of Henry's army², and his services and position entitled him fully to the post of honour: in fighting line his position would be on the right: Henry of course would command the centre; as for the left it was clearly left open for the Stanleys to fall in there, if they could be induced to do so; and, to a certain extent, eventually they did³.

Still wheeling to the right, Henry crossed the fields lying between the two roads, his centre being probably directed on the farm house of Sutton Cheney Fields. After crossing the road from Shenton to Sutton the ascent would begin.

Richard's dispositions were determined by the ground he occupied and the movements of his adversary. His

or "marrysse", Hall), round which Henry wheeled to the right (*ad dexteram dimisit*).

¹ "Qui jam ut medius loco pugnae appropinquarat"; Polydore. Hall renders this "in a place indifferently betwene both the armies".

² So Bernard André, *sup.* 29.

³ Bernard André distinctly states that Henry went into action trusting to the co-operation of the Stanleys; p. 32. This is the only detail relative to the battle that he supplies. Apparently he was present, but being blind could give no description.

position as viewed from the North, the direction from which Richmond was advancing, may be described as a well-defined ridge, with a saddle in the middle, and culminating points at the extremities in Ambion Hill and Sutton Vicarage. In the centre where the elevation was the least the gradient was also the easiest. The battle-field as pointed out by tradition suggests a frontage of less than half a mile.

CH. XXXV.
1485.

As the natural consequence of a wheel to the right,—perhaps a wheel *en echelon*,—the Earl of Oxford on Henry's right came first into action, joining issue with Norfolk on Richard's left. Oxford's men at once began to gain ground; but their leader, profiting by the lesson he had received at Barnet, was careful not to be drawn into a premature advance before his supports had come up, and so gave an order that no man should advance ten feet beyond the line of the standards: Norfolk's men on the other hand showing no disposition to press forward, a temporary lull ensued on that side of the battle. But meanwhile Henry had come into action; and Richard at once made a desperate onslaught on his standards. Sir William Brandon, Richmond's Standard Bearer, was killed, and Sir John Cheney beaten to the ground: still Henry's men held their ground stubbornly till the tide was finally turned in their favour by the co-operation of Sir William Stanley, who must have joined in on their left. Northumberland on Richard's right stood idle, waiting for some one to attack him¹. The man who might have attacked him but did not was obviously Lord Stanley. In fact the two paired off for the occasion.

The discomfiture of Richard's centre and left was complete. He himself fell in the forefront of the battle², disdaining any attempt to fly; but the pursuit and slaughter were kept up quite two miles through Dadlington to Stoke Golding. There Lord Stanley greeted Henry as King and

Defeat and
death of
Richard
III.

¹ "Cum nihil adversi neque datis neque susceptis belli ictibus cernebatur"; Croyland, Cont.

² "Cecidit inter pugnandum et non in fuga quasi Princeps animosus et audientissimus"; Croyland, Cont. Tradition speaks of Richard as having fallen in a bog; Hutton, 126; that would be in the middle of the "saddle," the only place where water could lie.

CH. XXXV. tendered the crown which had been snatched from Richard's
 1485. corpse by a plunderer, and then hidden in a thorn-bush.
 The spot is still known as Crown Hill¹.

The losses. The number of the fallen on Richard's side was estimated at 1000. Among these were the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers of Chartley (Walter Devereux), Sir Richard Radcliffe, Sir Robert Brakenbury, and the Controller of the Household, Sir Robert Percy². On the night before the battle Norfolk had received a friendly warning through a distich affixed to the door of his tent—

"Jack of Norffolke be not to bolde,
 For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde."³

If such was the anticipation before the event we cannot wonder that the impression of the actual battle left on the mind of an eye-witness was that the whole affair was a mere betrayal⁴. The good generalship of the Earl of Oxford, however, must not pass unrecognised.

Among the prisoners taken were Northumberland, Surrey, and William Catesby. Northumberland was received into immediate favour; Surrey sent to the Tower; and Catesby to the block⁵. His blood with that of two underlings, father and son, of the name of Brecher, was all that was shed after the battle; a novel clemency that gave great satisfaction⁶. On Henry's side only 100 men were supposed to have fallen, chief of whom was his Standard Bearer, Sir William Brandon⁷. But no trustworthy estimate

¹ "In proximum collem se recepit"; Polydore. Hutton; Gairdner. "In memory of this event Henry adopted the device of a crown on a hawthorn bush, which is seen in the great window of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster."

² Croyland, Cont.; Polydore.

³ E. Hall, 419.

⁴ See the minute of the 23rd August, based on the report of John Sponner; Davies, York Records, 218.

⁵ Catesby's will, dated 25th August, is given in Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 552; so Hutton, 148.

⁶ Croyland, Cont. 575.

⁷ Id.; Polydore; Hall. Mr. Gairdner questions the accuracy of their statements in this respect, referring to a petition in Parliament presented in the autumn by Sir William Brandon; Rot. Parl. vi. 291. But this man must have been William Brandon the younger, mentioned in the Paston Letters. He had been in Sanctuary in England while his father had been abroad with Henry.

can be given either of the losses or of the men engaged. Polydore rates Henry's following at something like 5000 men, without the Stanley troops, of whom 3000 were engaged; while Richard's forces were vaguely estimated at twice as much. The reader may remember that our estimate of the great army of 1482 in which all England joined under Edward IV was under 10,000 men.

The action from first to last is said to have lasted little more than two hours; accordingly Henry was able to enter Leicester in triumph that same night¹: Richard's body "naked as he was borne" was brought in "overthwarte" a horse's back; to make the indignity if possible more complete, his own Pursuivant-at-Arms "*Blaunche Senglier*" was made to ride the horse.

After two days' exposure in "the New Warke" for public identification the remains were committed to decent burial at the Grey Friars, Leicester².

Thus the Red Rose of Henry VII had avenged the White Roses of Edward IV and his sons³. Ultimate victory had fallen to the House of Lancaster; and the long war of succession was at an end. For the accession of Henry VII was essentially a Lancastrian triumph: and the war from first to last had been primarily a war of succession, and to the chief actors in it nothing else.

To some extent the result must be attributed to the seeming accident of Richard's usurpation. Had he been content to play the loyal part of a Regent Bedford or a Cardinal Beaufort the House of Tudor need never have

¹ Polydore, 715.

² Croyland, Cont. 575; R. Fabian, 673; Polydore, 715, 716; E. Hall, 421; MS. Harl. 542, f. 34, in Hutton, 218. A tomb of coloured marbles was erected by Henry VII over the resting-place of his enemy; *Excerpta Historica*, 105; Kennet, i. 576. At the dissolution of the monasteries the ground became private property, but Wren saw a pillar marking the place in 1613; *Parentalia*, 114; Hutton, 222.

³ "Puerorum regis Edwardi, quorum causa hoc bello potissime vindicata est . . . consideratis signis et bagis (*badges*) hodiemi victoris atque victi . . . dentes apri stupuerunt. Et vindex albae rosa rubra refulget in ore"; Croyland, Cont. 576. This is the first mention of the Red Rose.

CH. XXXV.
1485.

Henry
enters
Leicester.

Advent of
the Red
Rose.
The War
of Suc-
cession at
an end.

Causes of
the Lan-
castrian
success.

CH. XXXV. 1485. been heard of in history. But again, Richard's conduct cannot be dissociated from the school in which he was brought up; and from nine years of age he had been in the hands of his brother Edward. It must be admitted that the Lancastrian dynasty shewed great vitality. It was hard to upset in the first instance: it rose again mysteriously in 1470; and in 1485 it finally carried the day when only two years before it seemed extinct. These facts prove that its roots went deep into the soil. The accepted explanation is that the one party was constitutional and Parliamentary; the other Legitimist and arbitrary. These facts in themselves cannot be denied. But the constitutional question did not present itself to the mind of the Fifteenth Century as definitely as it does to our mind of the Nineteenth. "Sad and politique rule," as then understood, made large allowance for acts of executive authority; and the Lancastrian Governments had indulged at times in very strong acts; but they were not habitually sanguinary; while the personal lives and characters of their Kings had been in harmony with English feeling. Yorkist rule was sanguinary from the beginning, and in the person of Richard III it became utterly abhorrent.

To bring our point of view into harmony with that of the Fifteenth Century we ought perhaps to say that the House of York fell as much from the repugnance excited by the lives and conduct of its sons as for any definite offences against the nation.

Constitutionally, the Benevolences of Edward and Richard were their worst acts. We cannot gauge the exact amount of hostility excited by these proceedings: but the reader must have followed our narrative to little purpose if he has failed to realise the fact that the control of taxation was the one point on which Parliament was really tenacious; the one point on which it insisted on making good its constitutional pretensions.

Appearance and character of Richard III.

Physically Richard III was as much inferior to his brothers as intellectually he was their superior. His stature was clearly short: his left arm was partly deformed, and his right

shoulder higher than the left ¹; hence the epithet of Crouch-back ². His forehead was his fine feature, broad and intelligent. His portrait is that of a strong, business-like, joyless nature: the lean cheeks, half-closed grey eyes, and thin set lips suggest a calculating, distrustful temperament of rigid purpose. We are told that when in thought he would bite his nether lip; and that he had a great habit of playing with the handle of his dagger. In the picture we see him with his left hand nervously twisting a ring on the little finger of his right hand ³. Of his general ability there can be no doubt: had he been called to the throne by a legitimate title he might have ruled with great distinction. The consciousness of this fitness may have given the spur to his ambition. He had a sense of national honour, as shewn by his opposition to the treaty of Picquigny. The legislation of his one Parliament shewed a purpose of grappling with admitted evils: he also threatened to deal with the chaos of the Exchequer ⁴; a reform that would have arrayed against him a host of vested interests. His foundation at Middleham, and his benefactions to Queen's College, Cambridge, have been already noticed. Besides these we must credit him with the foundation of a chapel at Towton, and a college of priests at All Hallows, Barking ⁵, near the Tower. He also contemplated a foundation of no less than a hundred priests at York ⁶.

The College of Herald's was incorporated by him, and settled at Cold Harbour, the site of the existing college ⁷.

"Brave, cunning, resolute, clear-sighted, bound by no ties

¹ "Parvae staturae erat, curtam habens faciem, inaequales humeros, dexter superior sinisterque inferior"; J. Ross, 216. "Statura fuit pusilla"; Polydore; see also Archdeacon Whitelaw's speech, above, p. 525.

² See Davies, York Records, 221; "crochebake"; "croke-backed"; T. More, 5.

³ See our engraving, taken from the portrait at Windsor.

⁴ Letters Richard III, i. 81.

⁵ Wrongly called by Ross St. Mary Berking, p. 215. See also Strype's Stow, ii. 32; Gairdner.

⁶ Ross, sup.; Wilkins, Conc. iii. 617. "The brief is supposed by the editor to have been addressed to Henry VII, but the date shows it is to Richard III"; Gairdner, 315.

⁷ 2 March, 1484; Foed. xii. 215.

CH. XXXV. of love or gratitude, amenable to no instincts of mercy or
 1485. kindness"¹, Richard III left no one who cared enough for him to attempt the arduous task of rehabilitating his fame. The descendants of Edward IV might feel some tenderness for the name of their ancestor, but Yorkist and Lancastrian alike could join in execrating the memory of the treacherous Richard Crouchback.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY.

But for the sake of continuity and completeness, the Revenue for the period from the death of Edward IV to the accession of Henry VII might be passed over without notice. Materials are very deficient, and our estimates of Richard's income must be largely based on those of the latter years of Edward IV.

The Customs Accounts however for the period are available, and as we have taken them out fully the reader may as well have the benefit of our labours. We will therefore frame rough estimates for the three years from Michaelmas, 1482, the last of Edward IV's reign, to Michaelmas, 1485, the first of the reign of Henry VII.

Old Crown Revenues. The Old Crown Revenues, including Cornwall, Chester, Wales, and the Lancaster estates, we will simply take as for the latter part of Edward IV's reign at £24,000 a year gross, and £9000 a year net. The Enrolled Foreign Accounts allow us to add £3000 a year net for the Clarence estates.

Customs. The Parliamentary Customs, Tonnage and Poundage, and the Subsidy on wool, lapsed at Edward's death, leaving only the smaller duties of the *Antiqua Custuma* and *Parva Custuma*² exigible from the 9th April, 1483, till the 22nd January, 1484, when a fresh grant of the larger duties was obtained from Parliament. We took up the Customs

¹ Stubbs, iii. 225. For brilliant remarks on the paradoxes and contradictions of the period, see *id.* 235.

² For these see preceding vol., 148.

Accounts¹ with some curiosity to see whether the principles of the constitution had or had not been respected. With respect to Tonnage and Poundage we may say that they were ; as although a few payments under this head are entered, the amount is trifling, and the collectors generally say that they had not exacted the duties because they had ceased to be exigible at the death of the late King.

With respect to the Subsidy on wool the case was otherwise. The reader is aware that under an arrangement made in Parliament in 1467, and renewed in 1473, the syndicate known as the Merchants of the Calais Staple were authorised to receive the whole of the wool duties, except those levied at Southampton, upon trust to pay the wages of the garrison of Calais, and subject thereto to retain a certain sum *per annum* in liquidation of a sum of money due to them from the King². We must suppose that this arrangement was considered equivalent to a Parliamentary grant of the Subsidy on wool during the fifteen years included in the agreement. At any rate, we find the Subsidy on wool still being paid³ after the death of Edward IV, as if it had not lapsed ; and on this point the testimony of the Customs Accounts is fully corroborated by that of the Enrolled Foreign Accounts, where we find the Calais Merchants accounting for the sum of £14,526 received from the wool duties between the 6th April, 1483, and the 6th April, 1484. As the Parliamentary duties were not renewed till the 22nd January, 1484, we may take it that practically the whole of this amount was raised before that day, because the wool was always shipped in the autumn, soon after the shearing.

As all the Customs Accounts make a break at Edward's death we have done the same, giving the accounts for the year 1482-1483 in two portions, as they give them, the total coming to £20,318 16s. 8d. gross, or, deducting, as in previous reigns, £500 for the allowances to the collectors, £19,818 16s. 8d. net. For the two subsequent years

¹ L. T. R. Enrolled Customs Accounts, Nos. 22 and 23.

² See above, 325, 394.

³ Except at Southampton.

CH. XXXV. the reader will notice that the totals came to a trifle, but
 1482-1485. only a trifle, more. In 1485 the Accounts close punctually
 on the 22nd August, nothing being offered for the period
 up to Michaelmas, when Henry VII's Accounts begin.

Rates of Duties. The rates granted in January 1484 were the same as
 those current under Edward IV. Tonnage and Poundage
 continued at 12 pence and 3 shillings respectively; while
 the Subsidy on wool for natives was fixed at 34s. 4d. the
 sack, making, with Antiqua Custuma, Cocket, and Calais
 dues, a total of 41s. 4d. the sack: for foreigners, the Subsidy
 was fixed at 66s. 8d. the sack, making with Magna Custuma, Parva Custuma, Cocket, and Calais dues, a grand
 total of 78s. the sack, an impossible rate. Still we do find
 in the Southampton Accounts some foreigners, not Italians,
 charged as much as 66s. 8d. the sack, the Italians being let
 off with 43s. 4d.

Subsidies. No Parliamentary Fifteenth and Tenth was raised during
 the period under review, the Subsidy granted by the last
 Parliament of Edward IV having been remitted by
 Richard III¹. Nor was any Tenth vouchsafed by the
 Northern Province; but the Convocation of Canterbury
 granted three Tenths; one in 1483, one in 1484, and one in
 1485². The accounts of these are not complete, but as we
 have £12,000 returned as the yield of one of these Tenths,
 with £6151 returned for the half of another Tenth³, we
 allow £12,000 for each.

Hanaper. With respect to the proceeds of the Hanaper, the reader
 is aware that the first years of a reign were always the
 most fruitful. For our first year, the account being want-
 ing, we allow the same sums, net and gross, as were paid in
 the first year of Edward IV. Our second year is taken
 from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts. For the third year
 we again allow the same sums as for the corresponding
 year of Edward IV.

Tower Mint. For the Tower Mint, our first and third years are taken

¹ See Rot. Parl. vi. 401.

² See 3 Deputy Keeper's Report, App. ii. 45.

³ Receipt Rolls, Richard III.

from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts; for the second year, which is wanting, we take the mean between the two. CH. XXXV.
1482-1485.

With respect to loans, we saw that these fell almost to nothing in the last years of Edward IV. For our first year we have no evidence to offer under this head; but under the Easter Term, in the second of our years, we have £1746 borrowed, all marked as repaid except £206; doubling this we should get £412, or say £500 for the whole year; and we will allow the same for the first year, which assuredly was not a time for heavy borrowing; especially as Richard had Edward's hoard to draw upon. In our third year, however, we have recorded loans to the sum of £8458, of which three-fourths are marked as repaid. But as these loans were mostly repaid by 'assignments,' drafts that Henry VII would certainly repudiate, the bulk of the money may be supposed to have remained unpaid. Lastly, we must take account of the Benevolences. If these were supposed to be included under the £8458 the amount would not be serious. But as we saw that the Benevolences of Edward IV were kept off the Rolls, so we may suppose it to have been with those of Richard III, except perhaps with regard to the sum of £5120 drawn from the clergy, who, as already pointed out, could retain the money out of the Tenth they had to pay. Loans and
Benevo-
lences.

We have shown that the gross amount demanded by way of Benevolence must have come to £31,000, or something like it. But, as already urged, it is most unlikely that Richard got in all that he asked for. We have therefore, at a venture, allowed £20,000 as the possible yield of unpaid loans, Benevolences and all.

Our estimates therefore will show a total revenue, in round numbers, of £64,000 for the first year, £65,000 for the second year, and £82,000 for the third year. To the income for the first year, however, should be added the amount of Edward's treasure, an unknown quantity; it may have amounted to £10,000, it may have amounted to £20,000, we cannot tell; whatever it came to it was soon Total
Estimates.

CH. XXXV. spent. Taking it at £20,000 the Royal income for our
1482-1485. first year would still only come to £84,000.

Richard's
Issue.

By Anne Neville, younger daughter of Richard Earl of Warwick (the King-maker) and widow of Edward Prince of Wales, who fell at Tewkesbury, Richard had—

Edward Plantagenet, born 1473¹; created Earl of Salisbury 15th February, 1478²; and Prince of Wales 8th September, 1483³; died 9th April, 1484⁴.

Richard married Anne 12th July, 1472⁵; she died 16th March, 1485⁶.

Richard also left the following natural children:—

(1) John of Gloucester, appointed Captain of Calais 11th March, 1485, being then under age⁷: apparently he fell a victim to the jealousy of Henry VII⁸.

(2) Catherine Plantagenet, married to William Herbert Earl of Huntingdon, March, 1484⁹.

(3) Richard Plantagenet, who "lived in obscurity as a stonemason at Eastwell in Kent," and was buried there in 1550¹⁰.

¹ Pauli.

² Lords' Report, App. v. 413.

³ Foed. xii. 200.

⁴ See above.

⁵ Pauli.

⁶ Above.

⁷ Foed. xii. 265.

⁸ Buck, Kennet, i. 560.

⁹ MS. Harl. 258, f. 11 b; Id. 433, ff. 40, 46.

¹⁰ Hutton, Besworth, 176; Gairdner, 316, citing Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii. 249.

TABLE I.

CUSTOMS, 1482-1485.

	Half Year, 1482-3. Mich. 22- 9 April, 23 Ed. IV.	Half Year, 1483. 9 April, 23 Ed. IV-Mich., 1 Ric. III.	Year, 1483-4. Mich. 1- 2 Ric. III.	Year, 1484-5. Mich. 2-22 August, 3 Ric. III.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Newcastle. .	Wanting	Wanting	Wanting	Wanting
Bridgewater .	136 5 6	24 3 6	85 15 7	90 8 5
Yarmouth. .	67 14 5	10 8 2	49 7 11	70 7 10
Plymouth and Fowey . .	70 8 7	64 11 2 ¹	129 2 4 ¹	219 8 10
London:				
Antiqua C. and WoolSubsidy	5792 8 6	1409 8 7	9327 2 7	7480 0 9
Parva C. . .	1144 15 3	1084 3 1	2894 15 9	2699 17 1
T. and P. . .	2869 4 3	375 0 0	2637 17 6	2892 0 10
Hull . . .	186 16 11	55 6 3	1222 8 0	284 10 2
Sandwich . .	542 18 0	404 5 0	803 3 4	724 0 4
Southampton .	1373 0 5	714 9 6	1839 10 2	5478 16 6
Boston . . .	25 0 0	2063 12 1	1231 15 8	28 13 8
Bristol . . .	607 17 1	234 18 3	Wanting	Wanting
Ipswich . . .	32 2 9	22 3 8	548 13 3	118 5 3
Lynn . . .	29 13 4	28 7 3	43 8 8	41 12 0
Chichester . .	Wanting	11 15 8	74 16 4	27 18 6
Poole and Mel- combe . . .	280 2 6	153 14 0	Wanting	364 10 10
Exeter and Dartmouth .	267 3 0	188 0 0 ¹	376 0 0 ¹	485 1 11
Chief Butler .	Say 25 0 0	Say 25 0 0	Say 50 0 0	Say 50 0 0
<i>Totals</i>	13,450 10 6	6868 6 2	21,313 17 1	21,055 12 11

Whole Year—Mich. 22 Ed. IV-1 Ric. III:—

£ s. d.
13450 10 6
6868 6 2
20318 16 8

¹ One aggregate sum apportioned between the two periods.

CH. XXXV.

1482-1485.

TABLE II.

ROYAL REVENUES, 1482-1485.

	Mich. 1482-1483.		Mich. 1483-1484.		Mich. 1484-1485.	
	Gross. £	Net. £	Gross. £	Net. £	Gross. £	Net. £
(1) Old Crown Revenues (with Cornwall, Chester, Wales, Lancaster, and sundry estates in hand), say .	24000	9000	24000	9000	24000	9000
Clarence estates .	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000
(2) Customs .	20318	19818	21313	20813	21055	20555
(3) Subsidies :						
Lay Fifteenth, &c.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Canterbury Tenth	12000	12000	12000	12000	12000	12000
York Tenth .	—	—	—	—	—	—
(4) Hanaper in Chancery .	3400	2800	3716	2930	1700	1100
(5) Tower Mint and Exchange .	415	130	370	120	321	112
(6) Loans not repaid and Benevolences .	500	500	500	500	20000	20000
	63633	47248	64899	48363	82076	65767

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THE END.

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